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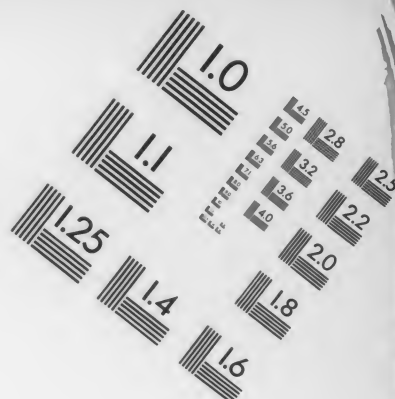
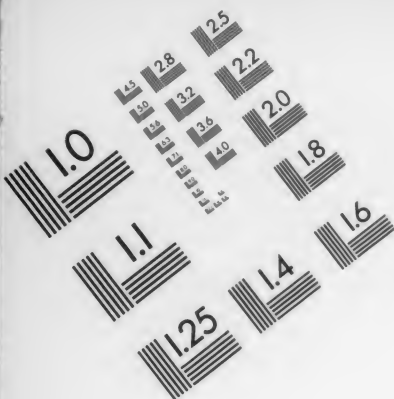
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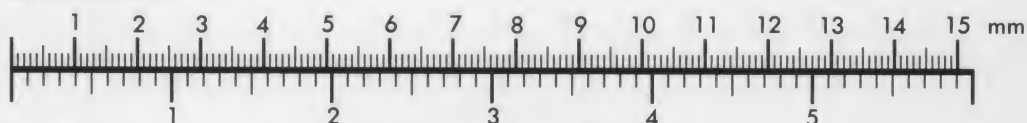
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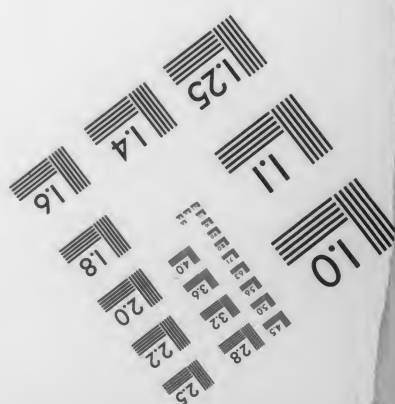
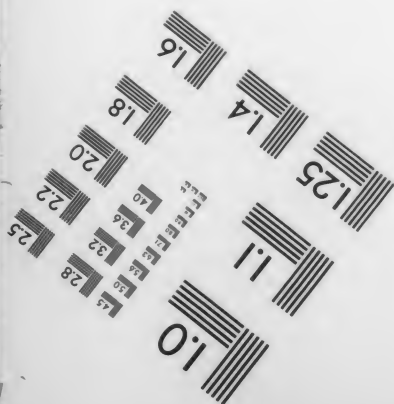
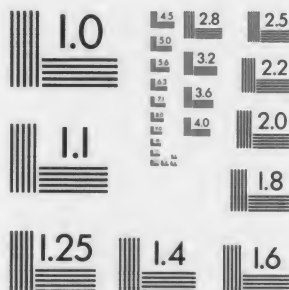
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**HISTORY OF ROME**

AND

**THE ROMAN PEOPLE.**

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# HISTORY OF ROME

AND

## THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

VICTOR DURUY,

MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,

PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

ILLUSTRATED WITH ABOUT 2500 ENGRAVINGS, 100 COLOURED MAPS, AND  
NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

### VOLUME I.

(PRIMITIVE HISTORY TO THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR),

WITH 590 WOOD ENGRAVINGS,

11 MAPS, 4 PLANS AND 8 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.



LONDON:

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1883.

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It is the duty of those who offer to the public so large a work on a subject already treated in English books, to justify its position and explain the principles followed in translating and editing it. Strange to say, though some of the greatest English historians have devoted themselves to Roman history, there does not exist any standard English work on the whole subject. Portions of it have been thoroughly handled, but a complete survey is not to be found except in little handbooks; so that the Englishman or American who wants as a work of reference for his library a history of Rome down to the close of its pagan days, has hitherto been unable to find it. Even if he can read French and German, he will encounter the same difficulty, nor is it in any way satisfactory to supply the want by two or three special histories. No doubt the English edition of Mommsen's history, the large work of Merivale, and the incomparable Gibbon cover the ground, but they cover it writing from widely different standpoints, in various styles, and without any general index which could enable the ordinary reader to find any fact required. Moreover, the very original and suggestive work of Mommsen on the early history of Rome is totally unsuited for ordinary readers and for ordinary reference, inasmuch as he treats with silent contempt most of the popular stories, and re-arranges the remnants of tradition according to new and peculiar principles of his own. To a public ignorant of his special researches—his *Römische Forschungen*, and *Römisches Staatsrecht*—the history, published without

PREFACE.

references or explanations, must be often quite unintelligible. The account of the early reforms in the Constitution, and of the relations of the Three Assemblies, are so totally opposed to the accounts in ordinary English histories, that the thoughtful reader is completely at a loss to find out when all these novelties were discovered, or how they are to be justified. An edition of this fine book, with some such information in footnotes, would have made it a work of far greater value; for it represents a school of thought which is as yet quite foreign to England, and which, under the able expositions of Rubino, Mommsen, Soltan and others, bids fair to displace the views of Niebuhr. even when corrected and modified by Schwegler, Lange, and Clason.<sup>1</sup> But as yet these matters are within the field of controversy, and to assume all his own views as proved, may indeed be admitted as lawful in the historian, but cannot be regarded as satisfactory in a work professing to give all the facts of Roman history.

The broad difference between the older school of Niebuhr and that of Mommsen is this: that while Niebuhr sifts tradition, and tries to infer from it what are the real facts of early Roman history, Mommsen only uses tradition to corroborate the inferences drawn concerning early Roman history from an analysis of the traditional facts and usages still surviving in historical days, and explained as survivals by critical Roman historians. Thus, the usages in appointing a dictator or consul lead him to infer that of old the kings were appointed in like manner, these magistrates having taken the place of the king. Such researches are naturally only of value in reconstructing early constitutional history.

The work of Duruy does not adopt this method, and stands on the ground of Niebuhr, or rather of Schwegler, whose valuable history, like that of our own Thirlwall, is regaining its real position after some years of obscurity by a more brilliant, but not impartial, rival. Indeed, the newer critical school in Germany cannot yet, and perhaps never will, furnish a real

<sup>1</sup> The first glimpse of these new lights in English is to be found in Mr. Seeley's Introduction to his edition of *Livy*; Ihne's *Essay on the Roman Constitution*, and his *History* are original and independent labours on the general lines of Niebuhr.

PREFACE.

history of early Rome, such as Niebuhr's, Ihne's, Schwegler's, or the present, but only acute and often convincing essays on the constitution. It was beyond my duty to introduce these newer views by way of footnotes, even though often convinced of their truth, for I undertook to edit Duruy's great work, and not to supply anything more. Accordingly I have confined myself here and there to mentioning a fact, or suggesting a different view of some event, but have avoided stating any conflicting theory. Additional books of reference, however, and these principally of the newer school above described, have been sometimes cited, and a great deal has been done to improve another capital feature of the book—the illustrations. In this respect Duruy's book stands alone, giving the reader all kinds of illustration and of local colour, so as to let him read the history of Rome, as far as possible, in Italy, and among the remains of that history, with all the lights which archaeological research can now afford us. In many places I have left out a cut which seemed of little authority, and supplied from photographs (collected in Italy and Sicily) better and truer pictures. I have had recourse to contemporary art, and given some ideal pictures of great events in Roman history as imagined by artists learned in the local colour and the dress of the period. Here and there I have also ventured to curtail the descriptions of battles, which are borrowed from the ancient historians, as they were composed from purely rhetorical considerations, and have no claim to accuracy. Enough, and more than enough, has been left to show the views of these patriotic historians. It is a perpetual cause of offence and annoyance in the extant classical historians, that instead of giving us some intelligible account of military movements, they supply us with the most vulgar and often absurd platitudes concerning tactics, and with the invented harangues of the respective leaders.

As regards the translation of the book, it has been done by Mr. Clarke and by Miss Ripley, and then revised carefully, so that we may hope to have produced a faithful version of the original, so far as any translation can claim to be faithful; but let no reader expect that we have turned a French book into a



PREFACE.

really English book, a task perhaps impossible, and at all events, requiring a lifetime of labour and consideration. To translate six great volumes is a very different task from composing a paragraph of idiomatic English to represent a paragraph of another language. We cannot, therefore, hope to have banished all traces of the original from our version, nor did we deem it desirable to attempt such a labour. The work is professedly a translation, and many readers may not be displeased at a certain foreign accent, which in spoken English is so attractive.

TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN, 1883.



## INTRODUCTION.

### THE PRE-ROMAN EPOCH.

#### I.

##### THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY.



Coin of Antoninus representing Italy.<sup>1</sup>

**H**ORACE was afraid of the sea; he called it *Oceanus dissociabilis*, the element which separates; and yet it was even for the ancients, the element which unites.

Looking at the mountains, which run from Galicia to the Caucasus, from Armenia to the Persian Gulf, from the region of the Syrtes to the Pillars of Hercules, we recognize the higher parts of an immense basin, the bottom of which is filled by the Mediterranean. These limits, marked out by geography, are also, for antiquity, the limits of history, which never, save towards Persia, departed far from the coasts of the Mediterranean. Without this sea, the space it occupies would have been the continuation of the

<sup>1</sup> The letters TR. POT. an abbreviation of "Tribunicia Potestas," signify the tribunician power with which the Emperors were invested; the letters COS. III. mean that Antoninus was, or had been, Consul for the third time; and s.c. that it was by order of the Senate, "Senatus Consulto," that the piece of money was coined. Antoninus having had his third Consulship in A.D. 140, and the fourth in 145, the medal is either of that year or one of the four following. The Senate of the Empire only coined bronze money. The first *trib. pot.* dated from the day of the prince's accession; since Trajan's time, all the succeeding ones dated from the 1st of January. Hence the number of the *trib. pot.* gives the number of the years of the reign.

African Sahara—an impassable desert; by means of it, on the contrary, the people settled on its shores have interchanged their ideas and their wealth, and if we except those ancient societies of the distant East, which always have remained apart from European progress, it is around this coast that the first civilized nations have dwelt. Italy therefore, by its position, between Greece, Spain, and Gaul, and by its elongated shape, which extends almost to the shores of Africa and towards the East, is in truth the centre of the ancient world, at once the nearest point to the three continents, which the Mediterranean washes and unites. Geography explains only a portion of history, but that portion it explains well; the rest belongs to men. According as they show in their administration wisdom or folly, they turn to good or evil the work of nature. The situation of Italy, therefore, will easily account for her varied destinies in ancient times, and in modern up to a recent period; it will account for the vigour and energy she manifested outside her limits so long as her inhabitants formed an united people, surrounded by divided tribes; later, for the evils which overwhelmed her from all points of the horizon, when her power was exhausted and her unity destroyed; it accounts for Italy, in a word, mistress of the world around her, and Italy, the prize for which all her neighbours contend.

There is another important consideration. If the position occupied by Italy at the very centre of the ancient world favoured her fortune in the days of her strength, and procured her so many enemies in the time of her weakness, was not this very weakness, which at first delivered the peninsula to the Romans, and after them, for fourteen centuries, to the stranger, chiefly due to her natural conformation?

Surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth by the Alps, Italy is a peninsula, which stretches towards the south in two points, while, at the north, it widens into a semi-circle of lofty mountains, above which towers majestically, with its sparkling snow, the summit sometimes called by the Lombards "La Rosa dell' Italia." The summit next in height to Mont Blanc is this Monte Rosa, it is not 600 feet lower than the giant of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Italy, then, consists of two parts, a peninsular part

<sup>1</sup> Mt. Elbourz, in the Caucasus, is now known to be the highest (18,500ft.).



Monte Rosa.

and a continental part, each distinct by their configuration and their history. The one, a vast plain, formed from the alluvia of the great river which traverses it, has been at all times the battle-field of European ambition; the other, a narrow ridge of mountains, hollowed by rapid torrents and rivers, and shaken by volcanoes, has almost always had an opposite fate.

This peninsula, which is Italy proper, is one of the most divided countries in the world. In its innumerable valleys, many of which are quite isolated, its inhabitants have acquired that love of independence which mountain populations have ever shown, but with it that other quality which compromises this much loved liberty—the desire of keeping ~~to~~ to themselves. Every valley will have its state, every village its god. Never would Italy have come forth from its obscurity, had there not arisen in the midst of her tribes an active principle of combination. By dint of ability, of courage, and of perseverance, the Senate and its legions triumphed as well over natural obstacles as over the interests and passions protected by these ramparts. Rome united together all the Italian population, and made of the whole peninsula a single polity.

But, like the oak bent down and half split by Milo, which rises again, when the strength of the old athlete is exhausted, and seizes him in its turn, Nature, for the moment overcome by Roman energy, recovered her sway, and when Rome fell, Italy, once more free, returned to her constant divisions, up to the time when the modern idea of great nationalities recovered for her that which, twenty-three centuries ago, had been attained by the ablest policy supported by the most powerful military organization.

Italy was destined, then, by geographical position, to play a great part in the affairs of the world, whether she acted beyond her limits, or whether she became, herself, the prize of heroic struggles. Rome, too, is not an accident—a chance in the history of the peninsula; it is the moment when the Italians, united for the first time, attained the promised end of their common efforts—the power begotten of union. Undoubtedly history has often been obliged to say, with Napoleon, "Italy is too long and too divided." But when there were found, from the Alps to Malta, a common people and a common interest, an incomparable prosperity became the glorious lot of this beautiful country, which possessed



3,500 miles of coast-line, with its brave population of mountaineers and sailors, with its fertile provinces, with its natural harbours at the foot of majestic forests—a country which had the command of two seas, and held the key of the passage from one to the other of the two great basins of the Mediterranean. Between the East, now decaying through anarchy, and the West, still new to civilization, Italy, united and disciplined, naturally took the lead. This stage of humanity took ten centuries to dawn, grow, and spread, and its history forms what is called the History of Rome.

A modern poet, has, in a single line, given an exact description of this country:

*Ch' Apennin parte e'l mar circonda e l'Alpe.*<sup>1</sup>

The Alps, which divide Italy from the rest of Europe, extend, from Savona to Fiume, for a distance of about 1,150 kilometres (720 miles); the breadth of the mountain-mass is from 130 to 180 kilometres (82 to 113 miles) under the meridians of S. Gothard and the Septimer, of more than 260 kilometres (143 miles) in the Tyrol.<sup>2</sup> The perpetual snow, piled on the summits, forms an immense glacier, the melting of which feeds the rivers of upper Italy, and which traces against the sky its brilliant outline. But the water-shed, being nearer to Italy than to Germany, does not divide this broad mass into equal parts. Like all the great mountain chains of Europe<sup>3</sup> the Alps have their slope less steep towards the North, whence all the invasions have come, and their precipitous descent towards the South, the side which has received them all.<sup>4</sup> On the French and German side the mountains run to the plain by long spurs, which break the descent, while, from the Piedmont side Mont Blanc appears like a wall of granite, sheer

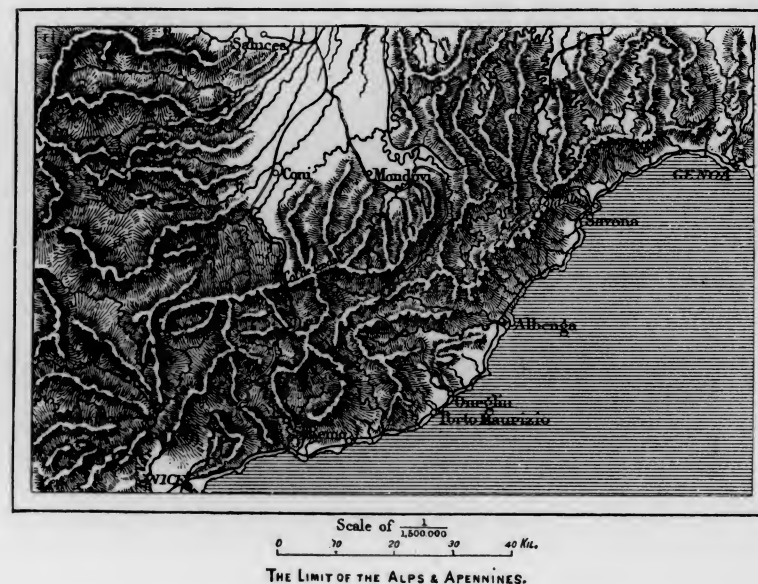
<sup>1</sup> Which the Apennine divides, and the sea surrounds, and the Alps.

<sup>2</sup> From St. Gothard to the Straits of Messina, Italy measures 625 miles, with a mean breadth of from 88 to 100 miles; in area, 185,000 square miles.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the Caucasus, whose northern slope is much steeper than that of the south.

<sup>4</sup> This is true, especially for the Maritime, Cottian, Graian and Pennine Alps; but the Helvetian and Rhaetian Alps send forth to the south long spurs, forming the high valleys of the Ticinus, of the Adda, the Adige and the Brenta. Geographically, these valleys belong to Italy (canton of the Ticino, the Valteline, and part of the Tyrol), but they have always been inhabited by races foreign to the peninsula, which have never protected her against invasions from the north.

for about 10,000 feet down from its summit. Man stops at the foot of these cliffs, on which hold neither grass nor snow; and Northern Italy, having little Alpine pasture land, is not like the Dauphiné, Switzerland, and the Tyrol,<sup>1</sup> defended by a race of brave mountaineers.



This difference between the incline and extent of the two sides indicates one of the causes which ensured the first successes of the expeditions directed against Italy. Once masters of the northern side, the invaders had only a march of a day or

<sup>1</sup> These Alps are covered with beautiful forests, which Venice, at the time of her power, turned to profit; intractable mountaineers live there, like the inhabitants of the Sette Comuni. One of the characteristics of the Julian Alps is the number of grottoes and subterranean channels which they embrace. From the river Isonzo to the frontiers of Bosnia there are more than a thousand, and the natives of the country say that there are as many streams below the soil as there are over it. Channels of this kind, when not filled with water, afford an entry into the Sette Comuni.

<sup>2</sup> The question of the boundary between the Alps and the Apennines has been long a subject of debate; the engineers have decided it by making a railroad above Savona over the Col d'Altase, which is not 1,600 feet in height, whence one descends into the famous valleys of the Bormida and the Tanaro.

two to bring them into the richest country.<sup>1</sup> Thus Italy has never been able to escape from invasions or to keep aloof from European wars, despite her formidable barrier of the Alps, with their colossal summits, "which, when seen close," said Napoleon, "seem like giants of ice, commissioned to defend the approach to that beautiful country."<sup>2</sup>

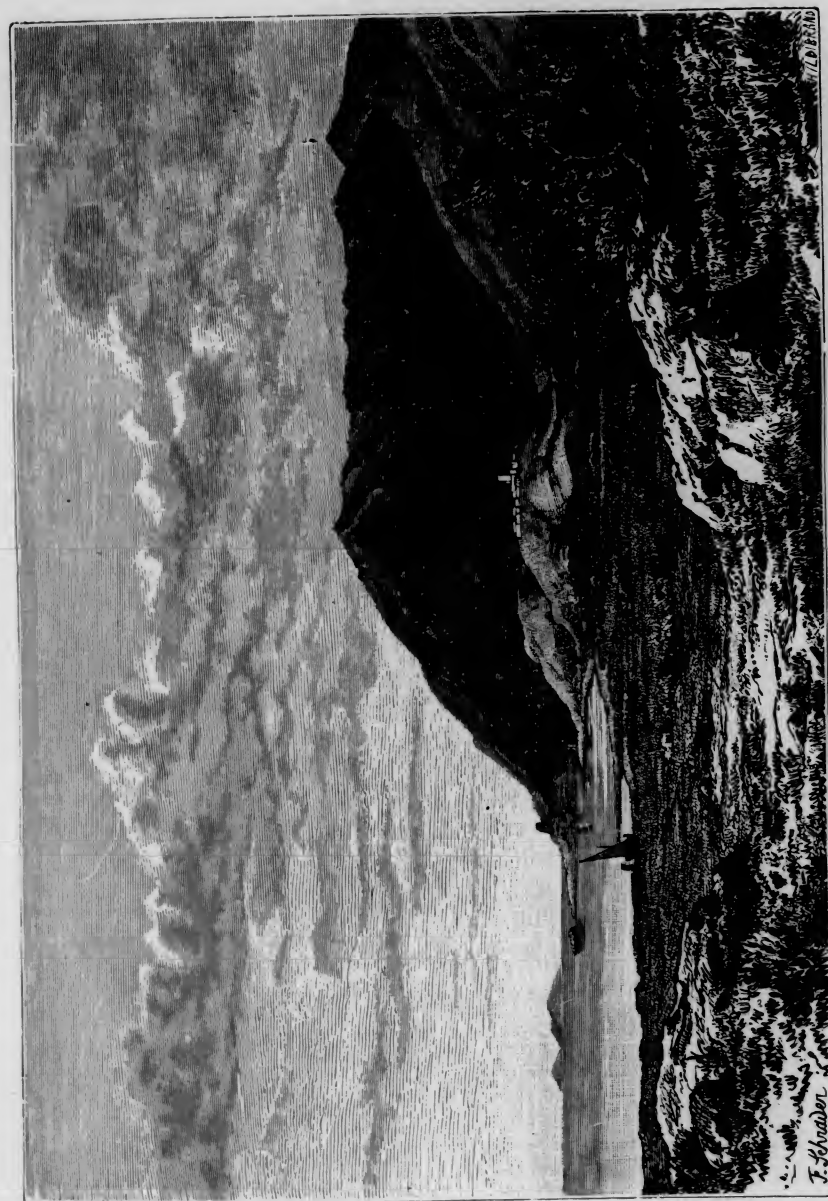
The Alps are joined, near Savona, by the Apennines, which traverse the whole peninsula, or rather, which have formed it and given it its character. Their mean height in Liguria is 1,000 mètres (3,275 feet), but in Tuscany they are much higher, where the ridges of Pontremoli, between Sarzana and Parma, of Fiumalbo, between Lucca and Modena, of Futa, between Florence and Bologna, attain the height of 3,300 to 3,900 feet. Thus Etruria was protected for a long time by these mountains against the Cis-Alpine Gauls, and, for some months, against Hannibal.

The highest summits of the whole chain of the Apennines are to the east of Rome, in the country of the Marsians and the Vestini: Velino, 8,180 feet; and Monte Corno 9,520 feet, whence can be seen the two seas which wash Italy, and even the mountains of Illyria on the Eastern shore of the Adriatic. At this height a peak of the Alps or the Pyrenees would be covered with perpetual snow; in the climate of Rome it is not cold enough to form a glacier, and Monte Corno loses its snow at the end of July; but it always preserves its Alpine landscape, with the bears and the chamois of great mountains.

Three branches separate at the west from the central chain, and cover with their ramifications a considerable part of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. One of these branches, after sinking to the level of the plain, rises at its extremity in a rock, almost insular to the promontory of Circe (Monte Circello), where is shown the grotto of the mighty sorceress. Tiberius, who, on the question

<sup>1</sup> Augustus understood it, and in order to defend Italy, he carried the Roman outposts as far as the Danube. Marius also had gone beyond the Alps to meet the Cimbri, while Catulus, who wished only to defend the Italian side, was forced to retreat without a battle behind the Po. Thus it was not in the mountains, but behind the Adige, that General Bonaparte established his line of defence in 1796.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de Prov. Consul.* 14, said more simply: "Alpibus Italian muniverat antea natura, non sine aliquo divino numine."

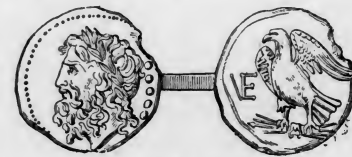


Monte Circello.

of demons, believed neither in those of the past nor in those of the present, had a villa built near this dreaded spot.

From the Eastern side of the Apennines there are only some hills detached, which descend straight towards the Adriatic. But, like Vesuvius on the opposite coast (3,948 feet), Monte Gargano forms, over the Gulf of Manfredonia, a solitary group, of which one summit rises to the height of 5,283 feet. Ancient forests cover this mountain, ever beaten by the furious winds which toss the Adriatic.

Below Venosa (Venusia) the Apennines separate into two branches, which surround the Gulf of Taranto; the one runs through the land of Bari and Otranto, and ends in a gentle slope at Capo di Leuca; the other forms, through the two Calabrias, a succession of undulated tablelands, one of which, the Sila, 4,910 feet<sup>2</sup> high, is not less than fifty miles long from Cosenza to Catanzaro. Covered



Coin of Venusia.<sup>1</sup>



Cape Santa Maria di Leuca.

formerly with impenetrable forests, the Sila was the shelter of fugitive slaves (Bruttians), and was the last retreat of

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse the head of Jupiter; on the reverse, an eagle bearing a thunderbolt; the letters AE (ÆS) signify that the piece is bronze money, and the five ooooo that it was a quincunx; that is to say, that it weighed 5 oz., the as libralis or Roman pound weighing 12 oz. Rome never struck the quincunx; they are only found in the South of Italy.

<sup>2</sup> The highest top of the Sila, the Monte Nero, is nearly 6,000 feet high.



Hannibal in Italy. Now fine pastures have partly taken the place of these forests, whence Rome and Syracuse obtained their timber. But the temperature there is always low for an Italian country, and notwithstanding its position in lat. 38°, snow remains during six months of the year.<sup>1</sup> Still further to the south, one of the summits of the Aspromonte measures 4,368 feet high. Furthermore, while beyond Capo di Leuca there is only the Ionian Sea, beyond the lighthouse of Messina, we come to Etna and the triangle of the Sicilian mountains, an evident continuation of the chain of the Apennines.

The two slopes of the Apennines do not differ less than the two sides of the Alps.<sup>2</sup> On the narrow shore, which is washed by the Upper or Adriatic Sea, are rich pasture lands, woody hills, separated by the deep beds of torrents, a flat shore, no ports (*importuosum litus*),<sup>3</sup> no islands and a stormy sea, enclosed between two chains of mountains, like a long valley where the winds are pent in and rage at every obstacle they meet. On the western side, on the contrary, the Apennines are more remote from the sea, and great plains, watered by tranquil rivers, great gulfs, natural harbours, numerous islands, as well as a sea usually calm, promote agriculture, navigation, and commerce. Hence a population of three distinct and opposite kinds: mariners about the ports, husbandmen in the plains, and shepherds in the mountains; or, to call them by their historical names, the Italiotes and Etruscans, Rome and the Latins, the Marsians and the Samnites.<sup>4</sup>

Yet these plains of Campania, of Latium, of Etruria,

<sup>1</sup> Bruguère, *Orographie de l'Europe*.

<sup>2</sup> However, Apulia, with its extinct volcano, its great plains, its Lake Lesina, its marshes, situated to the north and to the south of Mount Gargano; beyond this the marshy but extremely fertile lands watered by the Gulf of Taranto; lastly, the numerous harbours of this coast, reproduce some of the features of the Western Coast.

<sup>3</sup> All the Islands of the Adriatic, with the exception of the unimportant group of the Tremiti, are on the Illyrian coast, where they form an inextricable labyrinth, the resort of pirates, who have in all times levied contributions on the commerce of the Adriatic.

<sup>4</sup> All the extinct as well as active volcanoes are west of the Apennines, except Mount Vultur in Apulia. It is these numerous volcanoes which have driven the sea far from the foot of the Apennines, and have enlarged this coast, whereas the opposite shore, where not a single volcano is to be seen, is so narrow; whence come also those lakes in the midst of ancient craters, and perhaps a part of the marshes. It is known that in 1538 the Luerine lake was changed into a marsh by a volcanic eruption. The lowest part of the Pontine Marshes is on a line joining Stromboli to the ancient craters of Bolsena and Vico.

and of Apulia, notwithstanding their extent, cover but a very small part of a peninsula, which may be described generally as a country bristling with mountains, and intersected by deep valleys. Why need we wonder at persistent political divisions in a country so divided by nature herself?—Aelian counted up as many as 1,197 cities, each of which had possessed, or aspired to, an independent existence.

The Apennines possess neither glaciers, nor great rivers, nor the pointed peaks of the Alps, nor the colossal masses of the Pyrenees. Yet their summits, bare and rugged, their flanks often stripped and barren, the deep and wild ravines, which furrow them, all contrast with the soft outlines and the rich vegetation of the sub-Apennine mountains. Add to this, at every step, beautiful ruins, recalling splendid traditions, the brightness of the sky, great lakes, rivers which tumble from the mountains, volcanoes with cities at their foot, and everywhere along the horizon the sparkling sea, calm and smooth, or terrible when its waves, lashed by the Sirocco, or by submarine convulsions, buffet the shore, and beat now upon Amalfi, now upon Baïæ or Paestum.

Europe has no active volcanoes but in the peninsula and islands of Italy. In ancient times, subterranean fires were at work from the Carinthian Alps, where are found some rocks of igneous origin: these reach as far as the island of Malta, a part of which has sunk into the sea.<sup>1</sup>

The basaltic mountains of Southern Tyrol, and of the districts of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; near the Po the catastrophe of Velleja buried by an earthquake; in Tuscany, subterranean noises, continual shocks, and those sudden disturbances, which made Etruria the land of prodigies; on the banks of the Tiber, the tradition of Cacus vomiting forth flames,<sup>2</sup> the gulf of Curtius, the volcanic matter which forms the very soil of Rome, and of all its hills, the Janiculum excepted; the streams of lava from the hills of Alba and Tusculum; the immense crater (38 miles in circumference), the sunken edge of which shows us the charming lake of Albano

<sup>1</sup> The Travels of Major de Valentienne: The volcanic action used to reach still further in the same direction. Many extinct volcanoes and lava are found in the regency of Tunis towards El-Kef (Sicca Veneria). Cp. *La Régence de Tunis*, by M. Pelissier de Reynaud.

<sup>2</sup> This legend is true so far as concerns the recollection of the volcanic eruptions of Latium, but it is false in placing them on the Aventine, the abode of Cacus.

and that of Nemi, which the Romans used to call the Mirror of Diana; the legend of Cæculus building at Præneste walls of flames; the enormous pile of lava and *débris* on the sides of Mount Vultur;<sup>1</sup> the islands rising from the sea, of which Livy speaks; the Phlegrean fields, the ancient eruptions of the island of Ischia, of Vesuvius, and of Etna, and so many extinct craters—all these show that the whole of Italy was once situated on an immense volcanic centre.

At the present time the activity of the subterranean fires seems to be concentrated in the middle of this line, in Vesuvius, whose eruptions are always threatening the charming towns which insist on remaining close to this formidable neighbour; in Etna, which, in one of its convulsions, tore away Sicily from Italy,<sup>2</sup> and in the Lipari Islands situated in the centre of the seismic sphere of the Mediterranean. In the north we find only craters half-filled up<sup>3</sup>, the volcanic hills of Rome, of Viterbo, and of St. Agatha, near Sessa, the hot streams and springs of Tuscany, the fires or "hot springs" of Pietra, Mala, and Barigazzo, and lastly those of the "Orto dell' Inferno," the Garden of Hell.<sup>4</sup>

Before the year 79 A.D. Vesuvius appeared to be an extinct volcano; population and culture had reached its summit, when, suddenly reviving, it buried Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia under an enormous mass of ashes and dust. In the year 472, according to Procopius, such was the violence of the eruption, that the ashes were carried by the winds as far as Constantinople. In 1794 one of these streams of incandescent lava, which are sometimes 8 miles long, from 300 to 1,200 feet in breadth, and from 24 to 30 feet in depth, destroyed the beautiful town of Torre del Greco. Stones were hurled to the distance of 1,300 yards; vegetation far away was destroyed by mephitic gases; and within a radius of 10 miles, people went with torches at mid-day.

<sup>1</sup> Tata (Lett. sul Monte Vulture), considers this extinct crater as one of the most terrible of pre-historic Italy.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the town of Rhegium (now Reggio) on the Strait, signifies "rupture."

<sup>3</sup> Lakes Avernus, Lucrine, Albano, Nemi, Gabii, Regillo, San Guiliano, Bracciano, &c. Earthquakes are still frequent in the neighbourhood of Belluna and Bassano.

<sup>4</sup> With regard to the "Salse" of the neighbourhood of Parma, Reggio (di Emilia), Modena and Bologna, which are also called volcanoes of mud, we must not confound them with true volcanoes, although they possess some of the features of volcanic eruptions. In the Salse, carburetted hydrogen, the inflammable gas of the marshes, predominates.



Naples, and Mount Vesuvius.

Humboldt has observed that the frequency of the eruptions varies inversely with the size of the volcano. Since the crater of Vesuvius has diminished, its eruptions, though less violent, have become almost annual. Its terrors are no more, its curiosity remains. Rich travellers come from all parts, and the Neapolitans, who have short memories, while exhuming Herculaneum and Pompeii, say of their volcano, "It is the mountain which vomits gold."

In 1669, the inhabitants of Catania had likewise ceased to believe in the old tales of the fury of Etna, when an immense stream of lava came down upon their town, passed through the walls, and formed in the sea a gigantic mole in front of the harbour. Fortunately, this formidable volcano, whose base is 113 miles in circumference, from whose summit there is a view of 750 miles in extent, and which has grown, by excessive piles of lava, to the height of 10,870 feet, has very rarely any eruptions. Stromboli, on the contrary, in the Lipari Islands, shows from afar by night its diadem of fire, by day a dense mantle of smoke.

Enclosed between Etna, Vesuvius and Stromboli, as in a triangle of fire, Southern Italy is often shaken to her foundations. During the last three centuries no less than a thousand earthquakes are recorded, as if that part of the peninsula were lying on a bed of moving lava. That of 1538<sup>1</sup> cleft the soil near Pozzuoli, and there came forth from it Monte Nuovo, 459 feet high, which filled up the Lucrine Lake, now only marked by a small pond. In 1783 the whole of Calabria was wrecked, and forty thousand people perished. The sea itself shared these horrible convulsions; it receded, and then returned 42 feet above its level. Sometimes new islands appear; thus have risen one after another the Lipari Islands. In 1831 an English man-of-war, on the open sea off the coast of Sicily, felt some violent shocks, and it was thought she had grounded: it was a new volcano opening. Some days after an island appeared about 230 feet high. The English and the Neapolitans were already disputing its ownership, when the sea took back in a storm the volcanoes gift.<sup>2</sup>

For Southern Italy, the danger lies in subterranean fires, for

<sup>1</sup> Livy speaks (iv. 21) of numerous earthquakes in Central Italy and in Rome itself in 434. The overflowing of the Alban lake, during the war with the Veientes, is perhaps due to an event of this kind.

<sup>2</sup> In these same parts the cable from Cagliari to Malta was twice broken in 1858 near Maretime by submarine eruptions.



Northern and Western Italy it lies in water, either stagnant and pestilential, or over-flowing and inundating the country and filling up the ports with sand. From Turin to Venice, in the rich plain watered by the Po, between the Apennines and the Alps, not a single hill is to be seen; and consequently the torrents, which rush down from the belt of snowy mountains, expose it to dreadful ravages by their inundations.<sup>1</sup> These torrents have, indeed, created the whole plain, by filling up with alluvial deposits the gulf which the Adriatic Sea had formed there, and whose existence is proved by the remains of marine animals found in the environs of Piacenza and Milan,<sup>2</sup> as well as by the sea-fish which still haunt its lakes.

Springing from Mount Viso, and rapidly swelled by the waters which run down from the slopes of the Alpine Giant,<sup>3</sup> the Po is the greatest river of Italy, and one of the most celebrated in the world. If it had a free outlet into the Adriatic, it would open to navigation and commerce a magnificent territory. But the condition of all rivers, flowing into seas, which, like the Mediterranean, have no tides, renders them unfit for sea navigation. The Italian torrents bring to the Po quantities of mud and sand, which raise its bed<sup>4</sup> and form at its mouth that delta before which the sea recedes each year about 220 feet.

Adria, which preceded Venice in the command of the Adriatic, is at the present day more than 19 miles inland; Spina, another great seaport was, in the time of Strabo, 30 stadia from the coast,

<sup>1</sup> " . . . Sic aggeribus ruptis quum spumeus amnis,  
Exit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,  
Fertur in arva furens . . .  
Cum stabulis armenta tulit. (Vergil *Æn.*, ii. 496).

<sup>2</sup> Ramazzini believed also that the whole country of Modena covers a subterranean lake. This would explain the prodigy, which startled the whole Senate, of fish which came forth from the earth under the plough-share of the Boian peasant. Near Narbonne there had also been a subterranean lake, where they used to fish with a lance. Cf. Strabo IV. 1. 6. They are found in many places.

<sup>3</sup> The height of Mount Viso is 12,550 feet. The tributaries of the Po: on the right bank, the Tanaro, the Trebbia, whose banks have been the scene of great battles; the Reno, where was the Island of the Triumvirs; on the left bank, the Ticino, the Adda, the largest tributary of the Po, the Oglio, and the Mincio.

<sup>4</sup> Napoleon I. thought of having a new bed dug for the Po; for in its present state imminent dangers threaten the country which it traverses in the lower part of its course, where the rising of its bed has caused a rise in the level of the waters which overflow the surface of the country. (De Prony, *Recherches sur le Système hydraulique de l'Italie*). During the last two centuries only M. de Prony has calculated the prolongation of the delta by 230 feet a year.

which in former times it used to touch;<sup>1</sup> and Ravenna, the station of the Imperial fleet, is now surrounded by woods and marshes. Venice, also, has too long suffered the channels of its lagoons to be stopped up by the alluvium of the Brenta. The port of Lido, from which the fleet which carried forty thousand crusaders went forth, is now only navigable for small boats, and that of Albiola is called the 'Porto secco (dry port).'

The north-east extremity of Italy is surrounded by a semicircle of mountains, which send forth to the Adriatic several streams, whose ravine-beds afford an easy defence against any invasion from the Julian Alps. Of all these obstacles the last and most formidable is the Adige, a broad and mighty river at its very departure from the mountains.

In peninsular Italy

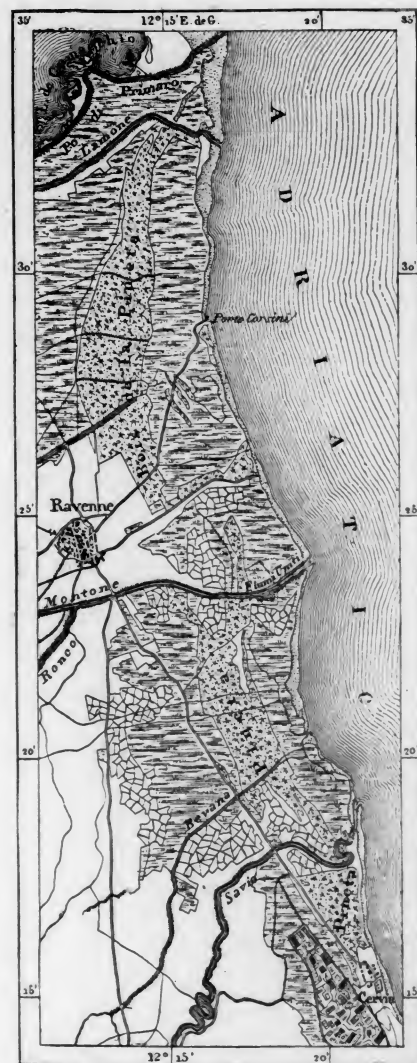


As of Adria.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strab. V. 1, 7. It had a treasure house at Delphi; and is conjectured to be the present village of Spina.

<sup>2</sup> We cannot say whether this medal, one of the beautiful brouzes of the French national

the Apennines are too near both seas to send them great rivers.



Graue chez Erhard

Rice plantations  
Pine forest  
Marshes  
Sea shore

Scale 200,000

Present state of coast to the south of the mouths of the Po.

However, the Arno is 75 miles long, and the Tiber 190 miles. But this king of ancient rivers is sad to look at; its waters, constantly filled with reddish mud, cannot be used for drinking or bathing, and in order to supply the deficiency, numerous aqueducts brought into Rome the water of the neighbouring mountains. Hence one of the characteristics of Roman architecture: triumphal arches and military roads for the legions; amphitheatres and aqueducts for the towns. Moreover, all the water courses of the Apennines have the capricious

collection, and which bears the head of a bearded Bacchus, belongs to Adria on the borders of the Po, or to that of Picenum. The character of the three letters on this piece H A T (for Hadria), shows that it cannot be earlier than the third century before our era. The 'as' denoted with the Romans the monetary unit. It ought exactly to weigh a Roman pound, that is exactly twelve ounces, or 288 scruples, whence the name "as libralis." The real weight, however, on the average, is not more than ten ounces. The Romans have, without doubt, kept to this usage because ten ounces of bronze were worth in Italy a scruple of silver or  $\frac{1}{288}$  of a silver pound. Mommsen's *Hist. of Roman Coinage*.

\* The Adige, 250 miles in length, the Bacchiglione 62, the Brenta 112, the Piave 129, the Tagliamento 33, the Isonzo 56.



Canals and Pine-forest of Ravenna.



character of torrents:<sup>1</sup> wide and rapid in spring-time, they dry up in summer, and are at all times almost useless for navigation.<sup>2</sup> But how beautiful and picturesque is the scenery along the banks of their streams, and in the valleys where their tributaries descend! The waterfalls of Tivoli, the most charming of sights, make a delightful contrast to the wild grandeur of the Roman campagna; and near Terni, at the Cascade delle Marmore, the Velino falls into the Nera from a vertical height of 540 feet, then rushes in cataracts over the huge boulders which it has brought down from the mountain.

All the lakes of Upper Italy are, like those of Switzerland, hollow valleys (Lake Maggiore, 39 square miles; Como, 35; Iseo, 14; Garda, 34) where the streams from the mountains have accumulated till they have found in the belt of rocks and land the depression whence they have made their escape and given rise to rivers. Those of the peninsula, on the contrary, filling up ancient craters or mountain basins, have no natural outlets, and often threaten, after long rains or the melting of the snow, to inundate the surrounding country: such were the overflowing of Lake Albano, the signal of the downfall of Veii, and those of Lake Fucino, which at times rose 54 feet, and has lately been drained. There are others, as Lake Bolsena, a kind of inland sea, 25 miles round, and the famous Trasimene lake, resulting from an earthquake.<sup>3</sup> The rains have filled up these natural cavities, and as the neighbouring mountains are low they supply just sufficient water to compensate the loss produced by evaporation. There hardly issue from them even insignificant rivers. Lake Trasimene, at its

<sup>1</sup> Often and often in the middle ages, Florence, which, by the way, was built on a dried up marsh, was near being carried away by the Arno. In 1656, Ravenna was flooded by the Ronco and the Montoue: and in the last century Bologna and Ferrara have many times been on the point of coming to blows, as the Provençals and Avignonnais did, on the subject of the Durance, to decide the spot where the Reno should join it. Thanks to the numerous cavities, where during the winter the water of its sources stores itself, the Tiber does not sink much at its summer level.

<sup>2</sup> Other water-courses of peninsular Italy: at the West, the Magra, the boundary of Tuscany and Liguria, 36 miles in length; the Chiana, the Nera, and the Teverone (Anio), tributaries of the Tiber; the Garigliano (Liris), 70 miles; the Volturno, 83; the Sele; the Lao: at the East, the Pisatello (Rubico); the Metauro; the Esino; the Tronto, 56 miles; the Pescara (Aternus), 83; the Sangro, 83; the Biferno, 58; the Fortore, 81; and the Ofanto, 114.

<sup>3</sup> There is some doubt on this point, for the lake of Bolsena, which some travellers (Dennis, *Etruria* i., p. 514) and some learned men (Delesse, *Revue de géol.* 1877) regard as a crater.



said the poet Rutilius, when contemplating, fifteen centuries ago, the crumbling ruins of a great town of Etruria.

To restrain and direct their streams was then, for the Italians, not only a means, as with other people, of gaining lands for agriculture, but a question of life and death. These lakes at the summit of mountains, these rivers overflowing their banks every spring, or changing their beds, these marshes, which under an Italian sun so quickly breed the plague, compelled them to constant efforts. Whenever they stopped, all that they had conquered with so much trouble reverted to its pristine state.<sup>1</sup> To-day Baïæ, the delightful retreat of the Roman nobles; Pæstum, with its fields of roses so much beloved by Vergil—*tepidi rosaria Pæsti*; rich Capua, Cumæ, which was once the most important city of Italy, Sybaris, which was the most voluptuous, are in the midst of stagnant and fetid waters, in a fever-breeding plain, 'where the decaying soil consumes more men than it can feed.' Pestilential miasma, solitude, and silence have also conquered the shores of the Gulf of Taranto, once covered with so many towns; leprosy and elephantiasis in Apulia and Calabria exhibit the hideous diseases of the inter-tropical regions, traversed by "untamed waters." In Tuscany, 120 miles of coast line, in Latium, 82 square miles of land, have been abandoned to poisonous influences. Here the wrath of man has aided that of nature. Rome had ruined Etruria and exterminated the Volscians; but water invaded the depopulated country; the malaria, extending gradually from Pisa to Terracina, reached Rome herself; and the eternal city expiates now, in the midst of her wastes and her unhealthy climate, the merciless war waged by her legions.<sup>2</sup> At the point where but lately the Maremma of Tuscany and that of the States of the Church join the saddest of solitudes meets the eye; not a hut nor a tree to be seen, but huge fields of asphodel, the flower of the tomb. One day, about fifty years ago, a vault, hidden under the grass, gave way under the heavy tread of an ox; it was a funeral chamber. Excavations were prosecuted. In a little time 2000 vases

<sup>1</sup> Muratori (*Rer. Ital. Script.* ii. 691, and *Ant. Ital. diss.* 21) has shown how quickly the drained lands became marshy again as soon as cultivation is suspended.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de Rep.* ii. 6., said of Rome: "Locum . . . in regione pestilenti salubrem," and Livy, v. 54, "saluberrimos colles."

and other objects of art were discovered,<sup>1</sup> and Etruscan civilization was reclaimed from oblivion.

The name of the rich city which had buried so many marvels in its tombs is not mentioned by any of the Roman historians, and must have remained unknown but for an inscription which mentioned its defeat and the triumph of its conqueror.<sup>2</sup> The Vulcienes had fought the last battle for Etruscan liberty. How heavy were the hands of Rome and of Time, and how many flourishing cities they have destroyed! But again, how many wonders does the Italian soil reserve for the future, when the malaria is expelled, and the towns it has slain shall deliver up their secrets.<sup>3</sup>

Bordering on the great Alps, and reaching to Africa, Italy has every climate, and can have all kinds of culture. In this double respect she is divided into four regions: the valley of the Po, the slopes of the Apennines turned towards the Tuscan Sea, the plains of the Peninsula, and the two points in which it terminates.<sup>4</sup>

Calabria, Apulia, and part of the coast of the Abruzzi have almost the sky and the productions of Africa: a climate clear

<sup>1</sup> M. Noël des Vergers has narrated with eloquence the emotion he felt, when, in an excavation that he made in the same necropolis of Vulci: "At the last blow of the pick, the stone, which formed the entrance to the crypt, gave way, and the light of the torches illumined vaults where nothing had for more than twenty centuries disturbed darkness and silence. Everything was still in the same state as on the day when the entrance had been walled up, and ancient Etruria arose to our view in the days of her splendour. On their funeral couches, warriors, covered with their armour, seemed to be resting after the battles they had fought with the Romans, or with our ancestors, the Gauls—forms, dresses, stuffs and colours were visible for a few minutes, then all vanished as the outer air penetrated into the crypt, where our flickering torches threatened at first to be extinguished. It was a calling up of the past, which lasted not even the brief moment of a dream, and passed away, as it were, to punish us for our rash curiosity,

[ ' Like that long buried body of the king,  
Found lying with his arms and ornaments,  
Which, at a touch of air, a breath of heaven,  
Slipped into ashes, was found no more.' Tennyson.]

While these frail remains crumbled into dust in contact with the air the atmosphere became clearer. We then saw ourselves surrounded by another population due to the artists of Etruria. Mural paintings adorned the crypt all round, and seemed to come to life with the flash of our torches."

<sup>2</sup> *Fast. Capit.*, ad. ann. 473. Triumph of T. Coruncanius in 280 for his victories over the Vulcienes and Volsinienses.

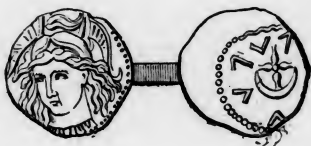
<sup>3</sup> Those unhealthy countries, where a thick vegetation covers the ruins, protect so well against curiosity even the monuments which are there, that a century ago the temples of Pæstum were not known, and also a few years ago, the curious necropolis of Castel d'Asso, of Norchia and of Soana.

<sup>4</sup> In antiquity Italy abounded more in woods and marshes, and the winter was colder.



and dry, but scorching; the palm-tree, which, at Reggio, some times ripens its fruit, the aloes, the medlar, the orange and the lemon; on the coast the olives, which are the source, as formerly, of the wealth of the country; further up, for 2000 feet, forests of chestnut trees covering a part of the Sila. But from Pisa to the middle of Campania, between the sea and the foot of the mountains, the malaria reigns; the soil is abandoned to herdsmen, and although very fertile, waits for the labour of man to produce its old return. Already, in Tuscany, tenant-farming is driving back the Maremma, and the land is peopled again wherever it is drained.

Above these plains, on the first slopes of the Apennines, from Provence to Calabria, there extends the district of the olive, the mulberry tree, the arbutus, the myrtle, the laurel, and the



Coin of Populonia.<sup>1</sup>

vine. This latter grows so freely that it may be seen reaching the top of the poplars which support it; and, in the time of Pliny, a statue of Jupiter used to be shown at Populonia carved in a vine trunk. Further up, on the

mountain, come chestnut trees, oaks, and elms; then fir trees and larch. The summer snow and the freezing wind remind one of Switzerland but for the flood of dazzling light from the Italian sky.

But it is in the valley of the Po, when coming down from the Alps, that the traveller receives his first and most pleasant impressions. From Turin, as far as Milan, he keeps in view the line of the glaciers, which the setting sun colours with brilliant tints of rose and purple, and makes them glitter like a magnificent conflagration spreading along the sides and on the summits of the mountains. In spite of the vicinity of the perpetual snow the cold does not descend far on this rapid slope; and when the sun bursts forth in the immense amphitheatre of the valley of the Po, its rays,

[This is proved, for historical times, not only by allusions like Horace's "Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte," &c.; but by the researches of Hehn, in his well-known work on the spread of domestic animals and plants in antiquity.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, the head of Minerva with helmet; on the reverse, a crescent and a star with the words PVPLV, written from right to left in Etruscan characters. *Poplu* was the commencement of the name Populonia.

arrested and reflected by the wall of the Alps, raise the temperature, and scorching heat succeeds suddenly the cold air of the lofty summits. But the number of the streams, the rapidity of their courses, the direction of the valley, which opens on the Adriatic and receives all its breezes, cool the atmosphere, and give Lombardy a most delightful climate. The inexhaustible fertility of the soil, enriched by the deposits of so many rivers, causes everywhere a very rich vegetation. In one night, it is said, grass which has been cut shoots up afresh,<sup>1</sup> and the land, which no culture exhausts, never lies fallow.

Such is the general aspect of Italy—a land of continual contrasts: plains and mountains, snow and scorching heat, dry and raging torrents, limpid lakes formed in ancient craters, and pestilential marshes concealing beneath the herbage once populous cities. At every step a contrast: the vegetation of Africa at the foot of the Apennines; on their summits the vegetation of the north. Here, under the clearest sky, the malaria, bringing death in one night to the sleeping traveller; there, lands of inexhaustible fertility,<sup>2</sup> and above, the volcano with its threatening lava. Elsewhere, in the space of a few leagues, sixty-nine craters and three entombed towns. At the north, rivers which inundate the lands and repel the sea; at the south, earthquakes opening unfathomable depths or overthrowing mountains. Every climate, every property of the soil combined—in short, a reduced picture of the ancient world,<sup>3</sup> yet with its natural peculiarities strongly marked.

"Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus

Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet." (Virg., *Georg.*, ii. 201.)

Varro (*de Re rust.* i. 7) said more prosaically, "In the plain of Rosea let fall a stake, to-morrow it is hidden in the grass."

<sup>2</sup> In Etruria and in some other parts of Italy the land produced 15-fold, and elsewhere 10-fold (Varro. *de Re rust.* i. 44). The fertility of the ground of Sybaris, like that of Campania, was proverbial: it used to be said that it returned 100-fold [and even now the traveller is delighted with the sudden display of rich pasture in the valley of the Crati, and with the splendid herds of cattle roaming through its meadows and forests. Nowhere in Southern Italy is there such verdure.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> This can be maintained without any systematic survey. Has not Italy the sun of Africa; the valleys and mountains of Greece and Spain; the thick forests, the plains, the marshes of Gaul; indented coasts and harbours like Asia Minor; and even the valley of the Nile, in that of the Po; both are the product of these rivers, with their delta, their lagoons, and their great maritime cities, Adria or Venice, Alexandria or Damietta, according to the age? "The Veneti," says Strabo (V. i. 5, "had constructed in their lagoons, canals and dikes, like those of

In the midst of this nature, capricious and fickle, but everywhere energetic for good as for evil, there appear peoples whose diversity of origin will be stated in the following pages; but we know, already, by the study of the Italian soil, that the population, placed in conditions of territory and climate varying with each canton, will not be moulded by any one of those physical influences whose action, always the same, produced civilizations uniform and impervious to external influences.

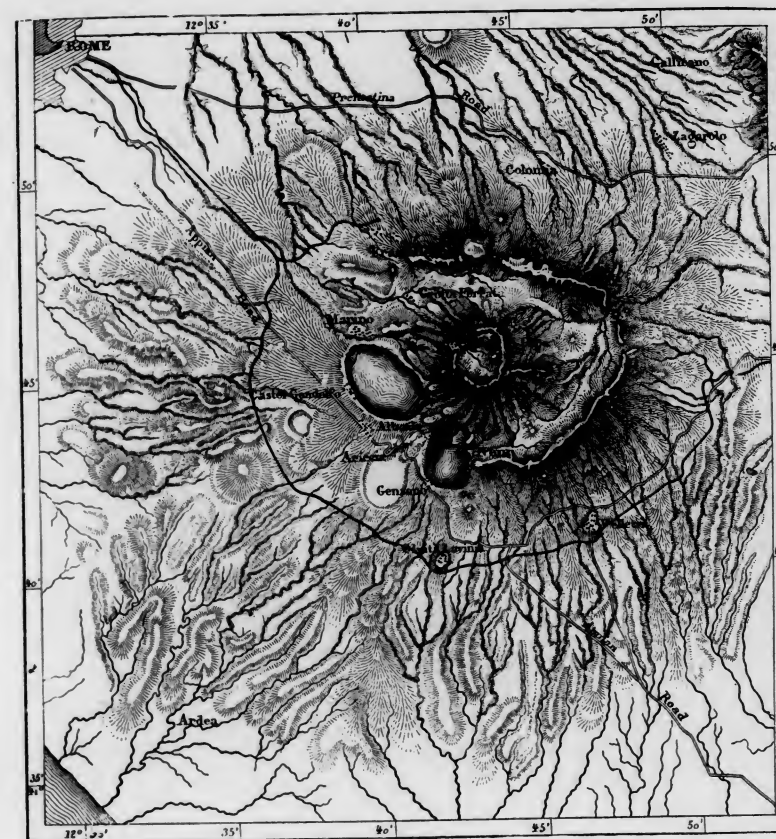
In this general description of Italy we have only glanced in passing at the hills of Rome, which, notwithstanding their modest size, surpass in renown the proudest summits of the world. They deserve careful study. The earth is a great book wherein science studies revolutions, beside which those of man are but child's-play. When the geologist examines the soil of Rome and its environs he finds it formed, like the rest of the peninsula, from the two-fold action of volcanoes and water. Remains have there been found of the elephant, the mastodon, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus, proving that at a certain period of geological time, Latium formed a part of a vast continent with an African temperature, and one in which great rivers ran through vast plains. At another epoch, when the glaciers descended so far into the valley of the Po that their *moraines* were not far from the Adriatic, the Tuscan Sea covered the Roman plain. It formed in it a semi-circular gulf, of which Soracte and the promontory of Circei were the headlands.<sup>1</sup>

At the bottom of this primordial sea, volcanoes burst forth, and their liquid lava was deposited by the water in horizontal beds, which, at the present day, from Rome as far as Radicofani, are found mingled with organic remains. When this lava has become solidified by time and the action of water, it becomes the *peperino*, the close-grained *tufo* of which Rome, both under the Kings and the Republic, was built. When the lava remains in a

Lower Egypt." In another passage Ravenna recalls to him Alexandria. See in the 4th chapter of the 6th book, the different causes he assigns for the superiority of Italy. It has even been established that all the geological formations are represented in Italy, and although mining operations are not well prosecuted they give rise to an annual exportation of 600,000 tons of the value of 100 millions (of francs).

<sup>1</sup> It is considered that the Campagna di Roma from Civita Vecchia to Terracina is 91 miles in length, and that from the Mediterranean to the mountains its breadth is more than 27 miles. As far inland as Rome, the mountains are in some parts distant only from 3 to 5 miles. The Anio falls into the Tiber at less than three miles distance from Rome.

granulous state it produces the *pozzolana*, from which was made the tenacious cement of the Roman walls. Of this *pozzolana* the Seven Hills, on the left bank, are formed. The Capitol alone



Scale 1/200,000

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Extinct Volcanoes about Alba.

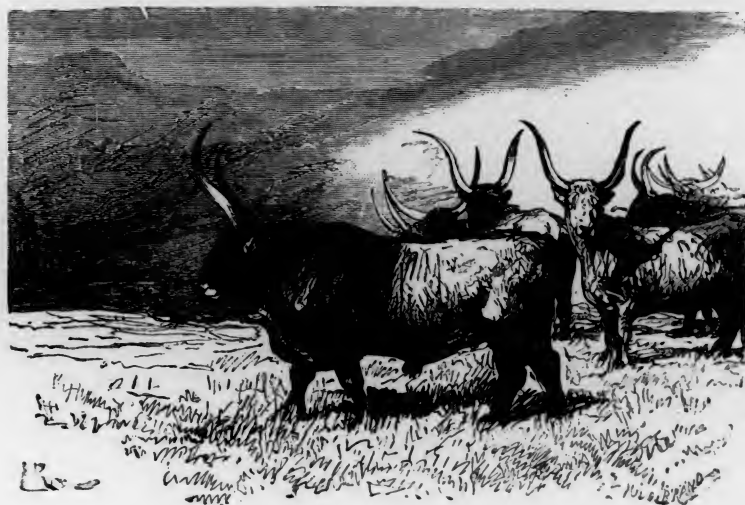
is almost entirely composed of a porous *tufo*; a more solid substance seemed needed for the hill which was destined to be the throne of the world.<sup>1</sup>

When the formidable volcanoes of the Alban Hills had lifted

<sup>1</sup> Ampère *l'Histoire Romaine à Rome* (vol. i. p. 8).

Latium above the sea, the lava, which came from their craters, spread over the sides of the mountain, and one of the hot streams descended across the new plain as far as Capo di Bove.<sup>1</sup> From this lava, when consolidated, Rome procured the flagstones with which she paved the Appian Road, and which remain to this day.

The Roman campagna, formed in the midst of waters, whose gentle undulations or level surface it reproduces in turn, changed afterwards by the volcanoes of the Alban Hills, is furrowed by little hills and low ground, 'a humpy soil,' said Montaigne,

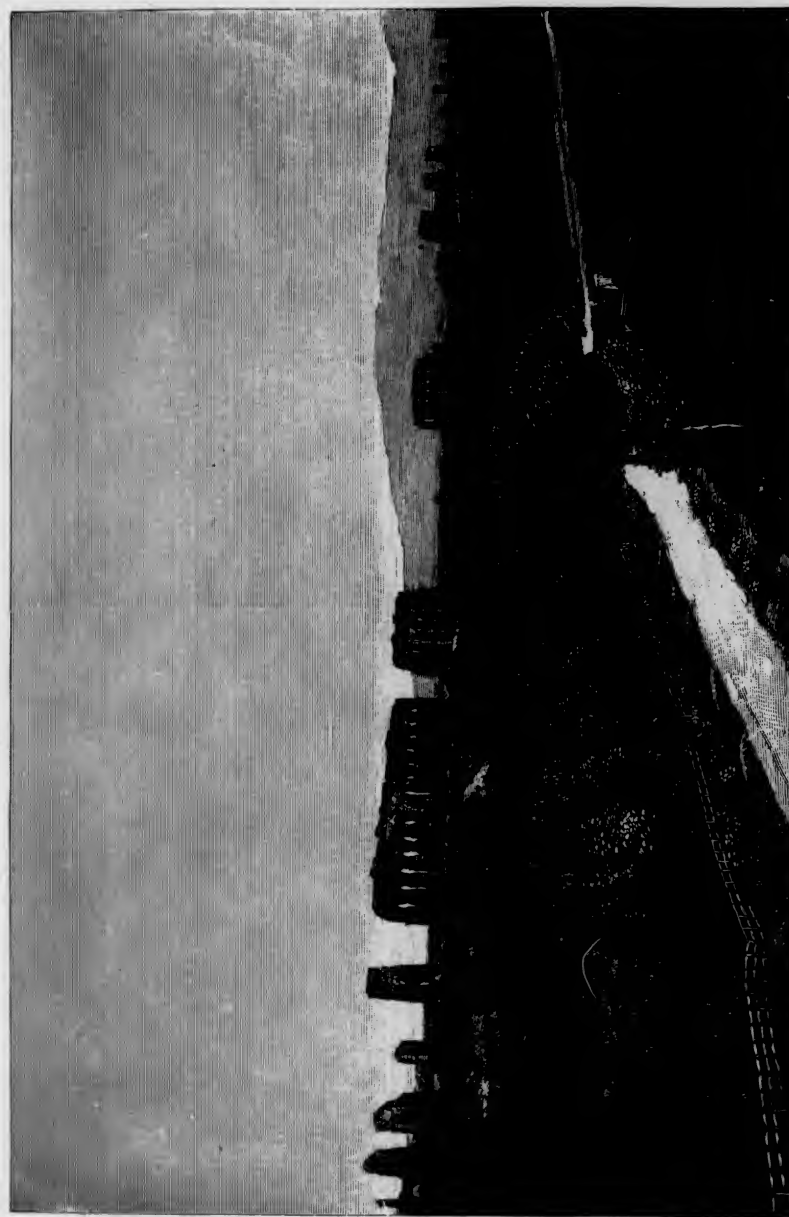


Cattle of the Roman Campagna.

whose cavities are filled with fresh water. Once they were limpid lakes, now they are unhealthy pools<sup>2</sup>; and a learned

<sup>1</sup> Brocchi, "Dello stato fisico del suolo di Roma." Capo di Bove is the part of the Appian Road, where is the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, the frieze of which bears heads of oxen, in remembrance of the sacrifices made before the tomb.

<sup>2</sup> The season of [Malaria] fever [typhoid, now so common, is apparently a new scourge to the city, arising from modern causes—*Ed.*] extends from June to October. Horace especially dreaded the autumn (*Od.* II. xiv. 15; *Sat.* II. vi. 19; see also *Ep.* I. vii. 5). M. Colin, the chief physician of the French army, attributes the malaria in the Campagna di Roma less to the effluvia of the marshes, since the Pontine marshes do not reach so far, than to the exhalations from a soil, very fertile, and untilled, under a sky of fiery heat during the day time, from July to October, and comparatively very moist and cold during the night. (*Traité des fièvres intermittentes*, 1870.)



View of the Roman Campagna.



man, Brocchi, attributes to the influence of the *aria cattiva*, the gloomy, violent, and irritable temper of those who carry in their veins the germs of the fever of the Maremma. This has been noticed by all travellers; while, under a beautiful sky, and on the shore of the bright sea of the Gulf of Naples, the people are merry, playful, and noisy, the people of Rome, on the other hand, in the midst of their majestic and stern country, are gloomy, silent, and prompt with the knife. We shall find this harshness of character running through the whole history of Rome, for though man may call himself intelligent and free, the surrounding influences of nature impress their mark upon him, and for the majority this mark is indelible.

We might assert the same influences for all animals alike; for the buffaloes and great oxen with formidable horns, which wander about the country of Roman *campagna* are as savage as the herdsmen who drive them, and it is dangerous for a stranger to venture near them.

While the volcano was furnishing Rome with indestructible paving for her military roads, the waterfalls of Tivoli, larger then than they are now, and the waters of the neighbouring lakes, saturated with carbonic acid or sulphurated hydrogen, formed the *travertino*, a light and whitish limestone, which hardens in the air and takes warm and orange-coloured tints. With this stone Rome built all her temples, the Coliseum, and other monuments of the Empire.

The architecture of a nation depends on the materials which it has at hand. The bricks give London its dulness, while Paris owes its elegance to the French limestone, so easy to handle. Marble made Athens sparkling with beauty. Rome was severe with her greyish peperino, massive with her travertino cut in large blocks, until the time came when she was able, with the costly marbles unloaded at Ostia, to indulge in all the splendours of architecture; "so that her very ruins are glorious, and still does she retain, in her tomb, the marks and image of her Empire" (Montaigne).

The Tiber was much larger than it is at the present day, for it received then all the Chiana, perhaps a part of the Arno, and carried to the sea, with the streams of the Sabine territory,

those of a great part of the Tuscan Apennines. A large and deep lake once covered the site of Rome, and on the Pincian, Esquiline, Aventine, and Capitoline Hills, fluvial shells are found, 130 to 160 feet above the present Tiber.

The river, barred probably by the hills of Decimo, had accumulated its waters behind that obstacle, which at length it succeeded in sweeping away.



Flint Weapons found in the Roman Campagna.<sup>2</sup>

Man appeared early on this soil. In the post-tertiary strata of the basin of Rome his remains are found, and some cut or polished flints along with the bones of the *cervus elephas*, of the reindeer, and of the *bos primigenius*.<sup>1</sup> Implements of stone were followed, as everywhere, by implements of bronze. Man, then armed, was able to contend against the *fauna*, and afterwards against nature herself. But many centuries passed before his efforts produced any useful effects. In the first days of Rome, the Forum, the Campus Martius, the Velabrum, the valley between the Aventine and the Palatine hills (Vallis Murcia), which ultimately the Circus Maximus filled up entirely, in short all the low-lying lands at the foot of the Seven Hills were marsh lands, where the river often returned, and where it still returns. It is from a slough that the most beautiful city in the world was destined to rise.

For the purpose of self-defence, the Capitoline and Aventine were secure refuges; but in order to live and spread, she must descend from the hills and overcome the wandering or stagnant waters over which already the malaria began to hover. Fever had early an altar on the Palatine, where they attempted, by prayer and sacrifices, to charm away its fatal influence.<sup>3</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> *Bull. de l'Inst. arch.*, 1867, p. 4, and the *Atlas*, vol. viii. p. 38. M. Capellini believes he has found quite recently (1870) in Tuscany, traces of Pliocene man.

<sup>2</sup> *Atlas de l'Inst. archéol.* vol. viii. p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> For the Latins the Fever was the God Februus, to whom was consecrated the month of February, during which purificatory sacrifices were offered, hence the verb *februare*, to purify. [Yet surely it seems strange that so healthy a month should be chosen for this purpose. It may be connected with ceremonies at the end of the old year, when the 1st of March was New Year's Day.—Ed.]

though superstitious the people were also energetic. What they asked from the gods they were ready to demand from their toil; and this struggle against Nature prepared the way for the struggle against men. In this work of improving the Roman soil they



Articles in terra-cotta found in the environs of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

were helped by the Etruscans, who knew how to drain marshy plains and to build imperishable monuments for the leading away of subterranean waters. The entrance of Etruscan art into Rome was a geographical necessity, as also was the laborious and rough life of the first Romans. With art many also of the civil and religious institutions of Etruria migrated to Rome.

<sup>1</sup> *Atlas de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. viii. p. 37.



## II.

## THE ANCIENT POPULATION OF ITALY—PELASGIANS AND UMBRIANS.

ITALY has not, like France, England, Germany and Scandinavia, preserved numerous traces of a race anterior to the epoch in which man had learned to furrow the earth with implements of metal; at least, as far as our researches have reached, it seems to have possessed only in certain spots what has been called the age of stone.<sup>1</sup> Separated from the rest of the world by the Alps and the sea, it was peopled later than the vast countries of easy access which lie on the east, north, and west of its mountains. But when these regions were once inhabited Italy became the country of Europe where the greatest number of foreign races have met together. All the surrounding nations contributed their share in forming the population; and each revolution, which disturbed them, produced a new people. The Sicani were formerly derived from Spain; now they are identified with the Pelasgic Siculi.<sup>2</sup> But from Gaul came the Ligurians, the Senonian, the Boian, the Insubrian, and the Cenomanian Celts; from the great Alps, the Etruscans; from the Julian Alps, the Veneti; from the Eastern coast of the Adriatic Seas and from the Peloponnesus many Illyrian and Pelasgic tribes; from Greece, those Hellenic tribes which came in so great numbers into Southern Italy as to give to that part the name of Great Greece; from Asia Minor, the Lydian Pelasgians; lastly, from the coasts of Syria and Africa, the more certain colonies which Tyre and Carthage established in the two great Italian islands.<sup>3</sup> And if we were to trust to the patriotic pride of one of her historians,<sup>4</sup> Etruria

<sup>1</sup> However, prehistoric discoveries occur daily in the Campagna di Roma, in Tuscany, and from the Valteline, as far as Leuca, at the extremity of Italy, where M. Botti Ulderico has discovered grottoes which have served as shelters for primitive man.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Benloew, *Études albanaises*.

<sup>3</sup> [We may add at least Agylla (Cære), in Etruria, whose name, as Mommsen has shown, declares its origin.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> Micali, "Storia degli antichi popoli Italiani, i. 142, Cf. Fréret, "Recherches sur l'origine et l'histoire des différents peuples d'Italie," *Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xvii. p. 72—114.

would owe to Egypt and the distant East her religious creeds, her arts, and her sacerdotal government.

Italy was, therefore, a common asylum for all the wanderers of the ancient world. All brought in with them their language and their customs; many preserved their native character and their independence, until, from the midst of them, there should arise a city, which formed at their cost her population, her laws, and her religion—Rome herself, the asylum of all races and of all Italian civilizations!<sup>1</sup>

All the Italian races belonged to the great Indo-European family, which came from the high regions of Central Asia and gradually peopled a part of Western Asia and the whole of Europe. When they penetrated into the peninsula, they had already arrived at that degree of civilization which stood mid-way between the pastoral or nomad and the agricultural or settled state. The most ancient geographical names are a proof of this; Enotria was the country of the vine; Italy (*vitulus*), that of oxen; the Opici meant "labourers of the fields," and the first means of exchange



Coin of Sybaris.

were cattle, *pecus* whence *pecunia*. Sybaris, like Buxentum, seems to have wished to preserve this remembrance. One of her coins bears on both sides the image of an ox.<sup>2</sup>

The most ancient of these nations seem to have belonged to

<sup>1</sup> We must say that these questions of origin and relationship are among the historical controversies which are still being argued every day. The evidence for and against are so mixed, that both sides can accumulate contrary quotations and interpretations, so that this mass of doubtful proofs rather fatigues than enlightens the mind. Niebuhr says, as regards one of these peoples: "What abuses of imagination were not indulged in with regard to the mysteries and wisdom of the Pelasgians! Their very name is an abomination to the truthful and serious historian. It is this disgust which kept me from making any general references to that people, lest I might open the floodgates for a new deluge of writing about this wretched subject." But later on he himself could not resist "that inclination which led him, like most of his countrymen, to guess out lost history," and the Pelasgians obtained from him sixty pages. The most recent and complete work on the ancient populations of Italy is that of Schwegler (*Römische Geschichte* vol. i. pp. 154—384.). [A valuable book obscured, like our Thirlwall, by the brilliancy of a more passionate, but less trustworthy rival.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Some Samnite coins, struck during the Social War, have also *Vitelu* inscribed in place of *Italia*. It is perhaps in a letter of Decimus Brutus to Cicero (*Fam.* xi. 20) that the earliest mention is made of the name of Italy as applied to the entire peninsula as far as the Alps.

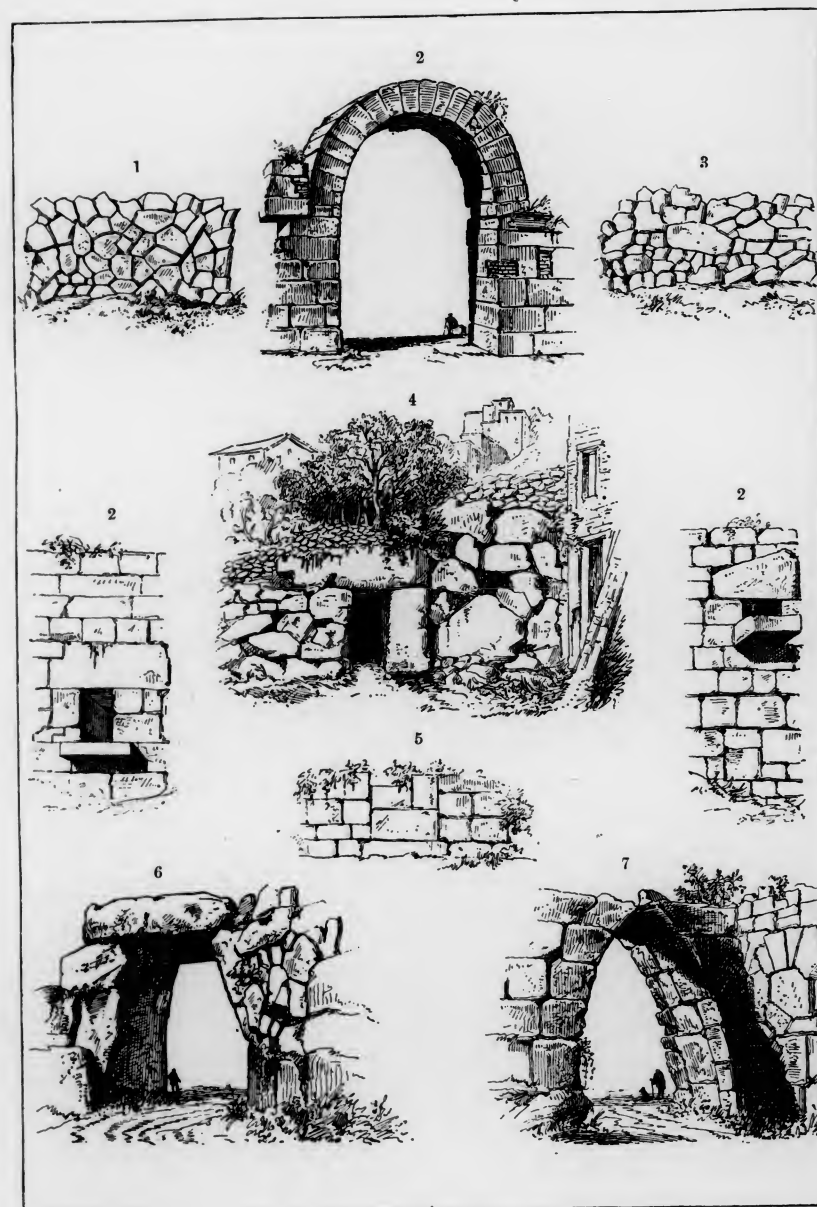
the mysterious race of the Pelasgians,<sup>1</sup> whom one finds confusedly at the commencement of so many histories, though there is nothing left of it but its name and its indestructible buildings. After having carried its industry and activity into Greece and its Islands, into Macedonia and Epirus, into Italy, and perhaps into Spain, the race disappeared, pursued, according to the ancient legend, by the celestial powers, and suffering endless misfortunes.

At the commencement of historic times, nothing but uncertain remains of that great people are found, as we discover, in the bosom of the earth, the mutilated remains of primitive creations. It is a whole buried world, a civilization arrested, and then calumniated by the victorious tribes after they have destroyed it. Their altars were stained, they say, with the blood of human sacrifices, and, in a vow, they offered a tithe of their children. The priests directed at their will the clouds and tempests; they summoned the snow and the hail, and by their magic power they changed the form of objects; they were acquainted with fatal charms; they fascinated men and plants by their glance; on animals and on trees they poured the deadly water of the Styx; they knew how to heal, and how to compose subtle poisons. Thus in the mythologies of the North the Goths have consigned the Finns, whom they had dispossessed, to the extremities of the earth under the forms of industrious dwarfs, and of formidable magicians. Like the Pelasgians, the Finns open mines and work metals, and it is they who forge for the Odinic gods the invincible shackles of the wolf Fenris, as Vulcan, the Pelasgic god, had made, for new divinities also, the chains of Prometheus.

It seems, then, that there were at the north and at the south of Europe two great nations who knew the earliest arts, and commenced this struggle against physical nature, which our modern civilization continues with so much success. But both were subdued and cursed after their defeat by the war-like tribes, who looked upon work as servile labour, and made slavery the law of the ancient world.

In Italy, where their first colonies settled at a remote epoch, the Pelasgians covered, under various names, the greater part of

<sup>1</sup> "Pelasgi primi Italiam tenuisse perhibentur" (Serv. in *Æn.*, viii. 600).



Pelasgic Remains.

1. Bovianum. 2. Volaterræ. 3. Lista. 4. Olivano. 5. Veii. 6. Signia. 7. Arpinum.

the coast. At the North, in the low plains of the Po, and along the Western coast from the Arno, there were Siculi, the founders of Tibur, a district of which was called the Sicelion;<sup>1</sup> at the South-west, the Chonians, Morgetes, and, above all, Ænotrians, who had, like the Dorians of Sparta, public meals; at the South-east, Daunians, Peucetians and Messapians, divided into Calabrians and Salentines, and said by tradition to come from Crete; at the East, lastly, Liburnians, of that Illyrian race, which we must perhaps identify with the Pelasgic.<sup>2</sup>

The Tyrrhenians were probably one of these Pelasgic nations. According to a Greek tradition, which agrees with Egyptian records, they come from Lydia. "In the days of King Atys, son of Manes, there was a great famine throughout the land of Lydia. The King resolved to divide his kingdom into two equal parts, and made his people draw lots to decide which part should remain in the land, and which should go into exile. He was to continue to rule over those who remained; the emigrants were to have his son, Tyrsenus, as their chief. The lots were drawn, and those who were destined to depart came down to Smyrna, built ships, put in them the necessaries of life, and went in search of a hospitable land. Having coasted for a long time, they reached the shore of Umbria, where they founded the towns which they inhabit to this day. They discontinued the name of Lydians, and called themselves Tyrseni, after the name of their king's son, who had acted as their guide."<sup>3</sup> These towns, of which Herodotus speaks, were built to the north of the mouth of the Tiber, and consequently very

<sup>1</sup> There is still near Tivoli a *valle di Siciliano*.

<sup>2</sup> From a number of testimonies it seems to result that people of the Illyrian race covered the whole of the eastern coast of Italy, exactly opposite Illyria, while the western shore was occupied by Pelasgians, and Micali (ii. 356) identifies these two people. This is also the opinion of Dalmatian critics, who have found a strong analogy between the Oscan, which is akin to Latin, and the remains of the ancient Illyrian, preserved in the dialect of the Skippetars. Grote admits the relationship of the Ænotrians, the Siculians, &c., with the Epirotes. "All," he says, "have the same language, the same customs, the same origin, and can be comprised under the name of Pelasgians." He adds: "They were not very widely separated from the ruder branches of the Hellenic race" (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 468). The Pelasgic influence can be recognised in the oldest religion of Rome, especially in the worship of Vesta, and is found in the Sibylline books which recommended the building of a temple to the Dioscuri, the worship of the Bona Dea, and the sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks. Lastly, Samothrace, the centre of the Pelasgic religion, had her relationship with Rome acknowledged by the Senate. Cf. Plut., *Marcellus*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, i. 94. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiq. Rom.*, i. 27—30.



close to Rome. They were Alsium, Agylla or Caere,<sup>1</sup> Pyrgi, which was their port, Tarquinii, which played so great a part in Roman history, and perhaps, at the mouth of the Arno, the city of Pisa, the population of which spoke Greek.

The story of Herodotus is fabulous, but it may allude to a real emigration. In the time of the Emperors this tradition was national both at Sardis and in Etruria.<sup>2</sup> Whatever be their origin, the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians possessed a power which spread far their name; for, notwithstanding the conquest of the country by the Rasena, the Greeks never recognized any people between the Tiber and the Arno but "the glorious Tyrrhenians,"<sup>3</sup> and the Athenians have consecrated, in the beautiful frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates<sup>4</sup> the memory of the exploits of one of their gods against the pirates who came forth from the harbours of Tyrrhenia.

But, while admitting the existence of these Tyrrhenians, it is not necessary to sacrifice the Etruscans to them. The Romans, who certainly had not learnt it from the Greeks, called the Rasena, their neighbours, Tusei or Etrusci,<sup>5</sup> and the Eugubine tables, an Umbrian monument, also call them Turseum; a plain proof that the name of the Tyrrhenians was national also in Etruria. What can this native use of two names mean, if not the co-existence of two nations? After the conquest, the Tyrrhenians were neither exterminated nor banished; their name even prevailed with foreign nations, as in England, the name of Anglo-Saxons over that of the Norman Conquerors; and the subsequent progress of Etruscan power appeared to be that of the ancient Tyrrhenians.

The Pelasgians, then, formed along the western coast of the peninsula a first stratum of population, which was soon covered by other nations. In the midst of these new races, the ancient masters of Italy, like the Pelasgians of Greece, lost their language, their manners, their liberty, and even the remembrance of what they had been. Nothing remained of them but the Cyclopean walls of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 34 n. 1. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ibid.* i. 20) makes Pisa a Pelasgian city.

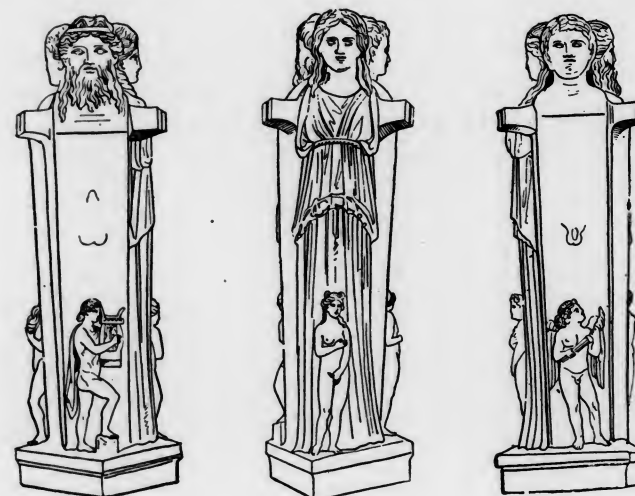
<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* iv. 55, and Strabo. V. i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod. *Theog.*, 1015 and 1016.

<sup>4</sup> [Pictured in Stuart & Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, and since in all the histories of Greek art. It dates from 335 B.C.—*Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> The Greeks said *Τυρρηνοί* and *Τυρρηννοί*, whence from the Etruscan form, Turseum, we easily arrive at Tusei, Etrusci and Etruria.

Etruria and of Latium, enormous blocks of stone, set without cement, which have withstood the ravages of time as well as of man.<sup>1</sup> Some Pelasgians, however, escaped, and yielding to the impulse for invasion, which was at work from north to south,



The Cabeiri.

gained by slow degrees the great island to which the Siculi gave their name, and where the Morgetes followed them.<sup>2</sup> Those who preferred the rule of the foreigner to exile, formed in many parts of Italy an inferior class, who rested faithful, in their degradation, to that habit of labour, which was one of the characteristics of their race. In Ænotria the low or servile occupations, that is to say, all arts and manufactures,<sup>3</sup> fell to their lot, as in Attica, where

<sup>1</sup> "At Segni the walls, composed of enormous blocks, form a triple enclosure. At Alatri we still see a Pelasgian citadel. The walls are 40 feet high, and some stones are 8 to 9 feet long. The lintel of one of the gates of the town is formed of three blocks placed side by side. These stones have been carefully cut and set with skill. The joining of the stones is perfect. It is a work of giants, but of clever giants" (Ampère, *l'Histoire romaine à Rome*, vol. i. p. 135.) For the description of these monuments see Abeken, *Mittel Italien vor den Zeiten Römischer Herrschaft*.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides (vi. 2) shows the Siculi fleeing into Sicily before the Opici.

<sup>3</sup> It is to Temesa (Tempta, in Bruttium) that the Taphians came to exchange brass for glittering iron (*Odys.*, A 184). In the time of Thucydides, the Siculi still inhabited this town. *Stephanus Byz.* (sub. voc. *χῆροι*) says that the Italian Greeks [Italiotes] treated the Pelasgians as the Spartans did the Helots.

the building of the citadel of Athens was entrusted to them, so that the much vaunted Etruscan arts, the figures in bronze<sup>1</sup> or terra-cotta, the drawings in relief, the painted vases,<sup>2</sup> like those of Corinth, etc., would be the work of the Pelasgians, who remained as slaves and artisans under the Etruscan Lucumons.

Their religion was as obscure as their history. It was con-



The Cabeiri. [See p. xlix.]

nected with the worship of the Cabeiri of Samothrace, Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and Casmilos, cosmic deities, personifications of earthly fire and celestial fire, the religion of a nation of miners and smiths. Later on the Cabeiri were identified with Greek divinities. Thus on a famous Hermes of the Vatican Axiokersos is associated with Apollo-Helios, Axiokersa with Venus, and Casmilos, "the ordainer,"

with Eros. Axieros, the supreme god, remained above the trinity who emanated from him.

It has been said that all the ancient religions have been the worship 'of nature naturalizing (*naturantis*), of nature naturalized (*naturatæ*).' The expression is barbarous but it is just. Of these

<sup>1</sup> According to tradition it was the Pelasgic Telchines—half men, half sprites—who had discovered the art of working metals, and who had made the first images of the gods. Niebuhr has remarked the singular coincidence which exists in Latin and in Greek between the words for a house, a field, a plough, husbandry, wine, oil, milk, oxen, pigs, sheep, apples (he could have added *metallum*, *argentum*, *ars* and *agere*, with their derivatives, *abacus*, &c.), and generally all the words concerning agriculture and a peaceful life; while all the objects which belong to war or hunting, *duellum*, *ensis*, *sagitta*, *hasta*, are denoted by words foreign to Greek. This fact is explained if we consider that the peaceful and industrious Pelasgians formed the foundation of the population in Greece and Italy, especially in Latium, where the Sicilians remained mingled with the Cisci. [Niebuhr's acute remark anticipated what Pictet and others have shown to result from the common Aryan, not Pelasgian, ancestry of Greeks and Romans before they settled in either country. The common roots indicate what culture each race brought with it into its adopted home.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> We must not forget the direct importation of these things from Attica.—Ed.



Walls of Norba.

religions the first belonged to simple naturalism; the second have given rise to anthropomorphism, in which all terminate. The Cabeiri, being considered the cause of things, the symbol of generation played an important part in their figurative worship and history. On a Tusco-Tyrrhenian mirror of the fourth century before our era, two of the three Cabeiri, transformed into the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux, are seen in the act of killing the youngest under the eyes of Venus, who opens the cista in which the remains of the god are to be placed, and in the presence of the wise Minerva, calmly and serenely witnessing his death, which is no real death. Life in reality comes from death; the god will revive when Mereury has touched him with his magic wand.

The initiation into the mysteries of the Island of Samothrace remained an act of deep piety with the Romans as with the Greeks. Rome was, by the legend, even put in direct relation with the Pelasgic Island.

The Palladium and the Penates, carried away by Æneas from the flames of Troy, to be the pledge of power to the eternal city, were taken by the Pelasgian Dardanus, it is said, from Samothrace to the banks of the Scamander, whence they passed to Rome.

Vesta, the goddess of the inextinguishable fire, who played so great a part in the Italian religions, must also have been a deity of the Pelasgians; but she belonged to all the people of the Aryan race, for she was the feminine representative of the Agni of the Vedas.

The Pelasgians, and those who imitated their method of building, rendered a service to the pretended descendants of the Trojans, which has not been sufficiently noticed. The Cyclopean walls, with which they surrounded so many towns of central Italy, saved Rome in the Second Punic War, by preventing Hannibal from occupying a single one of those impregnable fortresses which defended the approaches to the "Ager Romanus." During sixteen years the great Carthaginian held little beyond the enclosure of his camp.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the *Revue Archéol.* for December, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> See plate of the walls of Norba. Twenty centuries ago this town, taken and burnt down by Sylla, ceased to exist, but its walls are the most curious Italian specimen of the architecture called Cyclopean. The town was built on a declivity commanding the Pontine Marshes. The enclosure remains almost entire; it has no tower to defend the foot of the wall, but the principal gate is flanked by two quasi-bastions.



For two centuries the Pelasgians had the mastery of Italy, when the Sicanians, expelled from Spain by a Celtic invasion, and some Ligurians, who had come from Gaul,<sup>1</sup> spread themselves along the shores of the Mediterranean from the Pyrenees to the Arno. In Italy, they occupied, under various names, a great part of Cis-Alpine Gaul and the two slopes of the northern Apennines. Their constant attacks, especially those of the Sicanians,<sup>2</sup> who had advanced furthest south, forced the Siculians to leave the banks of the Arno. It was the beginning of the disasters of that nation, which pretended to be indigenous in order to prove its right to the possession of Italy.

When, four centuries later, the Etruscans descended from their mountains, they drove the Ligurians from the rich valley of the Arno, and confined them within the banks of the Macra. However, bloody fights still took place for a long time between the two nations, and notwithstanding their advanced post of Luna, the Etruscans were unable to maintain themselves in peaceable possession of the fertile lands watered by the Serchio (Ausar).<sup>3</sup>

Not far, on the San Pellegrino, the highest summit of the northern Apennines (5,150 feet), and in the impracticable defiles, from which the Macra descends, the Apuans dwelt, who, from their lofty mountains, watching the roads and the plain, gave neither truce nor respite to the merchants and traders of Tuscany.

Divided into as many little states as they had valleys, and always in arms against each other, these nations preserved, however, the general name of Ligurians and some of the customs common to all their tribes—respect for the character of the *fetials* and the custom of proclaiming war by ambassadors. Their manners also were alike everywhere. They were those of poor mountaineers upon whom nature had bestowed courage and strength, in place of the wealth of a fertile soil.<sup>4</sup> The women laboured, like

<sup>1</sup> For a long time the Ligurians were believed to be Iberians. "Their language is Indo-European," says M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe*); "it is Celtic," adds M. Maury (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, 1870). M. Ern. Desjardins discusses this question in the second volume of his *Géographie ancienne de la Gaule*, and arrives at the same conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides (vi. 2) admits the Sicanians as an Iberian tribe, ὡς εἰ ἡ ἀλήθεια εἰρήσκειται.

<sup>3</sup> The country of Lucca, watered by the Serchio, is called the garden of Tuscany, which is itself one of the most fertile countries of Italy.

<sup>4</sup> "Assuetum malo Ligurem" (Verg., *Georg.*, ii. 168).

the men, at the hardest work, and hired themselves out for the harvest in the neighbouring countries, while their husbands traversed the sea in their frail ships as far as Sardinia and Africa, to the detriment of the rich merchants of Marseilles, of Etruria, and of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> They had no towns, except Genoa, their common market, but numerous small villages, hidden in the mountains, where the Roman generals never found anything worth taking. A few prisoners, and long rows of chariots loaded with rude arms, were ever the only ornaments of their triumphs over the Ligurians.<sup>2</sup>

Few people had so high a reputation for hard work, for sobriety, and valour. During forty years, their isolated tribes held in check the Roman power in their mountains; which succeeded in overpowering them only by forcing them away from that ungrateful soil,<sup>3</sup> where they saw famine ever threatening them, but where they possessed that which they esteemed their chief good, their liberty.

At the other extremity of Cis-Alpine Gaul dwelt the Veneti. The two nations are contrasted, like their countries. In the midst of those beautiful plains, fertilised by the mud of so many rivers, under the mildest climate of Italy, the Veneti, or the "victorious,"<sup>4</sup> as they were called—exchanged their poverty and valour for effeminate and timid manners. They had, it is said, fifty towns, and Padua, their capital, manufactured fine woollen stuffs and cloths, which, by means of the Brenta and the port of Malamocco, they exported to distant countries; their horses were in great demand for the Olympic races, and they travelled to Greece and Sicily to sell the yellow amber, which they obtained from the Baltic. Their industry and commerce accumulated wealth, which often tempted the pirates of the Adriatic. But never were they seen in arms; and they

<sup>1</sup> Poseidonius (ap. Strab. III. iv. 17, and Diod. v. 39). The descendants still go to the coasts of Sardinia and Algeria to get fish and coral, which the Ligurian sea does not afford them, because of the depth of its water near the coast.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xl. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Forty thousand Apuans, the bravest of the Ligurians, were transported into the country of the Hirpini, and thirty times, if there is no mistake in the text of Pliny (iii. 6), the Ingaunians were compelled to change their abode. "Ingaunis Luguribus agro tricies dato." This is the Asiatic system of *μετοίκισις*, which we know from early Greek, and from Hebrew history.—*Ed.*

<sup>4</sup> This is the sense given by Hesychius to the word Heneti, sub. voc., Ἐνετίαι πάλιν.

For two centuries the Pelasgians had the mastery of Italy, when the Sicanians, expelled from Spain by a Celtic invasion, and some Ligurians, who had come from Gaul,<sup>1</sup> spread themselves along the shores of the Mediterranean from the Pyrenees to the Arno. In Italy, they occupied, under various names, a great part of Cis-Alpine Gaul and the two slopes of the northern Apennines. Their constant attacks, especially those of the Sicanians,<sup>2</sup> who had advanced furthest south, forced the Siculians to leave the banks of the Arno. It was the beginning of the disasters of that nation, which pretended to be indigenous in order to prove its right to the possession of Italy.

When, four centuries later, the Etruscans descended from their mountains, they drove the Ligurians from the rich valley of the Arno, and confined them within the banks of the Macra. However, bloody fights still took place for a long time between the two nations, and notwithstanding their advanced post of Luna, the Etruscans were unable to maintain themselves in peaceable possession of the fertile lands watered by the Serchio (Ausar).<sup>3</sup>

Not far, on the San Pellegrino, the highest summit of the northern Apennines (5,150 feet), and in the impracticable defiles, from which the Macra descends, the Apuans dwelt, who, from their lofty mountains, watching the roads and the plain, gave neither truce nor respite to the merchants and traders of Tuscany.

Divided into as many little states as they had valleys, and always in arms against each other, these nations preserved, however, the general name of Ligurians and some of the customs common to all their tribes—respect for the character of the *fetials* and the custom of proclaiming war by ambassadors. Their manners also were alike everywhere. They were those of poor mountaineers upon whom nature had bestowed courage and strength, in place of the wealth of a fertile soil.<sup>4</sup> The women laboured, like

<sup>1</sup> For a long time the Ligurians were believed to be Iberians. "Their language is Indo-European," says M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe*); "it is Celtic," adds M. Maury (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, 1870). M. Ern. Desjardins discusses this question in the second volume of his *Géographie ancienne de la Gaule*, and arrives at the same conclusions.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides (vi. 2) admits the Sicanians as an Iberian tribe, *ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλγίθια ἐπιόκραι.*

<sup>3</sup> The country of Lucca, watered by the Serchio, is called the garden of Tuscany, which is itself one of the most fertile countries of Italy.

<sup>4</sup> "Assuetum malo Ligurem" (Verg., *Georg.*, ii. 168).

the men, at the hardest work, and hired themselves out for the harvest in the neighbouring countries, while their husbands traversed the sea in their frail ships as far as Sardinia and Africa, to the detriment of the rich merchants of Marseilles, of Etruria, and of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> They had no towns, except Genoa, their common market, but numerous small villages, hidden in the mountains, where the Roman generals never found anything worth taking. A few prisoners, and long rows of chariots loaded with rude arms, were ever the only ornaments of their triumphs over the Ligurians.<sup>2</sup>

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accepted disgracefully, without battle, without a struggle, the Roman domination: a luxurious life had early sapped their courage.

Having entered Italy with the Liburnians of Illyria, or having come, perhaps, from the borders of the Danube,<sup>1</sup> the Veneti had been driven into the mountains of Verona, of Trent, and Brescia, by the Euganei, who had possessed the country before them, and who had given their name to a chain of volcanic hills between Este and Padua.

To the north of the Veneti, the Carni, probably of Celtic origin, covered the foot of the mountains, which have taken their name, and some wild Illyrians had taken possession of Istria.

At a period probably contemporaneous with the invasion of the Ligurians, the Umbrians<sup>2</sup> (*Amra*—the noble, the brave) arrived, who, after bloody battles, took possession of all the countries possessed by the Siculi in the plains of the Po. Pursuing their conquests along the Adriatic, they drove towards the south the Liburnians, who left only a few of their number (Præutians and Pelignians)<sup>3</sup> on the banks of the Prexara, and penetrated as far as Monte Gargano, where their name is still preserved.<sup>4</sup> At the west of the Apennines they subdued a part of the country between the Tiber and the Arno.<sup>5</sup> The Sicani, who had settled there, found themselves involved in the ruin of the Siculi, and many bands of these two nations united and emigrated beyond the Tiber. But they met there with new enemies; the natives, encouraged by their disasters, drove them gradually towards the country of the Ænotrians, who, in their turn, forced them to go with the Morgetes, and find a last asylum in the island which they called by their name. The

<sup>1</sup> Mannert declares them to be of Slave origin.

<sup>2</sup> The Gallic origin of the Umbrians accredited by antiquity, has been revived by modern writers. But the inscriptions found in Umbria, on the frontier, it is true, of the Sabine country, tell of a Latin tongue; we must then connect the Umbrians with the Sabellian Osci. Pliny (iii. 14) says of them, "gens antiquissima Italiae." The recent works of M. Bréal have proved that Umbrian was an Italian dialect, which, after all, does not solve the ethnological question. M. Ern. Desjardins makes them a Ligurian people; M. d'Arbois de Jubainville makes them akin to the Latins.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, who was himself Pelignian, gives to these people a Sabine origin (*Fast.* iii. 95).

<sup>4</sup> Scylax (*Periplus*, p. 6). See the map of the kingdom of Naples by Rizzi Zannoni. At the centre of the group of mountains are found, besides the "Valle degli Umbri," other localities named Catino d'Umbra, Umbricchio, Cognito d'Umbri (Micali, i. 71).

<sup>5</sup> The Umbro takes its name from them.

Sicanians shared a second time their fate, and passed after them into Sicily.<sup>1</sup>

Heirs of the Pelasgians of the north of Italy, the Umbrians ruled from the Alps to the Tiber on the one side, and as far as Monte Gargano on the other. They divided this vast territory into three provinces: Isombria, or Lower Umbria, in the partly inundated plains of the Lower Po; Ollumbria, or Upper Umbria, between the Adriatic and the Apennines; Vilumbria, or Maritime Umbria, between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Like the Celts and the Germans, they dwelt in open villages in the middle of the plains, disdaining to screen their courage behind high walls, but therefore exposed after a defeat to irretrievable disasters. It is said that when the Etruscans came down into Lombardy, the Umbrians, being conquered, lost at one blow three hundred villages. However, in the mountainous cantons of Ullumbria, after the example of the Tyrr-



Libral as of Tudet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. (i. 73) and Thucydides (vi. 2) fix this migration as having taken place two hundred years after the Trojan war, of course without certainty.

<sup>2</sup> Tudet (Todi), or, as it is called on the money, TVTERE, was early an important city. What is left of the walls resembles, in its greater regularity and absence of rudeness, those of Volaterræ and Perugia. It will be observed that its money, which dates perhaps from the fourth century B.C., is of remarkable elegance.



henian cities which were in the neighbourhood, their towns were built on the summits, and surrounded with ramparts;<sup>1</sup> thus Tuder, close to the Tiber; Nuceria, at the foot of the Apennines;



Fragment of Eugubine Tables (from Iguvium).

Narnia, on a rock which commands the Nar; Mevania, Interamna, Sarsina, Sentinum, etc., which by their construction, are proof of a more timid, but also more advanced, civilization.

For three centuries the empire of the Umbrians gained for that people a reputation of great power; but it was broken by

<sup>1</sup> These fortifications are perhaps the work of the Etruscans, for Umbria remained subject to them for a long time. "Umbria vero pars Tuscie" (Serv. in *Æn.* xii. 753). Livy (v. 33) says, without any restriction, that the Tuscan empire embraced the whole width of Italy, from sea to sea.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bréal, the learned author of the work entitled *Les Tables Eugubines*, has been kind enough to give me this passage from Table V. in both Etruscan and Latin characters. It contains two decrees given by the brotherhood of priests who caused the Eugubine tables to be engraved. The first decree, of which only the end is here reproduced, is in Etruscan letters, the second is in Latin letters; but the language of the two documents is the same—it is Umbrian. We only give a transcription of the commencement:—

"Ehvelklu feia fratreks ute kvestur panta muta adferture si.  
Rogationem faciat fratrius aut questor quanta multa adfertori sit.  
Panta muta fratri Atiiediu mestru karu pure ulu benurent.  
Quantam multam fratrum Attidiorum major pars qui illuc venerint  
adfertore eru pepurkurent herifi, Etantu mutu adferture si.  
adfertori esse jusserint [quantam] libet, tanta multa adfertori sit."

The date of these two passages may be placed between the first and second centuries before the Christian era, but the language of them is much older.

the Etruscan invasion, which deprived them of the plains of the Po and of Maritime Umbria, where the attacks of the Tyrrhenians, who remained masters of a part of the country, had shaken their power.

Shut in from that time between the Apennines and the Adriatic, they were there subject to the influence and even to the rule of their neighbours. Etruscan characters are seen on their coins; they are found, too, on the tables of *Iguvium*, together with some words which appear to belong to the language of the Rasena, and finally the soothsayers of Umbria had no less reputation than the Tuscan augurs.<sup>1</sup>

Oftentimes they banded together against the same adversaries. Thus the Umbrians followed the Etruscans to the conquest of Campania, where the towns of Nuceria and Acerræ recall by their names two Umbrian cities; and they took part in the great expedition against the Greeks of Cumæ.<sup>2</sup> When Etruria understood that the cause of the Samnites was that of all Italy, Umbria did not abandon her at that last hour; sixty thousand Umbrians and Etruscans, stretched on the battlefield of Sutrium, bore witness to the ancient alliance and perhaps blending of the two peoples. Finally, when the loss of liberty left them no other joy than pleasure-seeking and effeminacy, they were devoted to these and remained united still in the same reputation for intemperance.<sup>3</sup> Both, too, had had the same enemies to resist, Rome and the Gauls; with this difference—due to the position and direction of the Apennines, which protected Etruria against the Gauls and Umbria against Rome—that the latter had first come to be more dreaded by the Etruscans, as no barrier separated them, and the former by the Umbrians, whose country opened into the valley of the Po. The Senones invaded a considerable portion of it, and always struck across Umbria in their raids towards the centre and south of the peninsula.

The Umbrians were divided into numerous independent tribes, of which some dwelt in towns, others in the country. Thus

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, V. iv. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 5; Dionysius, *Ant. Rom.*, vii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> "Aut pastus Umber aut obesus Etruscus" (Catullus, xxxix. 11). On the dissoluteness of Etruscan manners, see Theopompus, in *Athenæus*, xii. 14.

while the mass of the nation made common cause with the Etruscans, the Camertes treated with Rome on a footing of perfect equality; Oriculum also obtained the Roman alliance, but the Sarsinates dared to attack the legions alone, and furnished the consuls with two triumphs. Pliny still counted, in his time, in Umbria, forty-seven distinct tribes,<sup>1</sup> and this separation of the urban and rustic populations, this passion for local independence, this rivalry between towns, was always the normal state of the Romagna, of the marches of Ancona, and of almost the whole of Italy. In the fifteenth century, just as in ancient times, there were in the Romagna communities of peasants entirely free, and all the towns formed jealous municipalities.<sup>2</sup> Thus it happened that this energetic race, which had no knowledge of the litigious spirit of the Romans, and with whom might settled right,<sup>3</sup> these men that Napoleon declared to be the best soldiers in Italy, have, thanks to their divisions, submitted quietly to the ascendancy of Rome, and came ultimately to obey the weakest of governments.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Ranke, *History of the Popes*, ii. 198.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ομιβρικοὶ ὅταν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχωσιν ἀμφισβήτησιν, καθοπισθίνετες ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ μάχονται καὶ ἑοκοῦσι δικαιοτέρα λέγειν οἱ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀποσφάξαντες (Nic. Damasc., *ap. Stob. Flor.*, 10, 70.). Here we have the judicial duel of the middle ages. They said, too; 'Αναγκαῖον ἡ νικᾶν ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν. *Ibid.*, 7, 39).

	Aeolo-Dorian	Etruscan	Umbrian	Sabellian	Oscan
C	Ο	*	*	*	*
P	Γ	1	1	Γ	Π
Q	Υ	*	*	*	*
R	Q	"	"	"	"
S	Σ	"	"	"	"
S	Μ	"	"	"	"
T	Τ	†	†	Τ	Τ
V	Υ	"	"	"	"
PH	Φ	"	"	"	"
PS	Ψ	"	"	"	"
O	"	8	8	"	"

	Aeolo-Dorian	Etruscan	Umbrian	Sabellian	Oscan
CG	A	A	A	ΛΛΛ	N
D	B	*	B	B	B
E	C	Υ	*	*	>
F	D	*	*	R	RR
Z	E	Ξ	Ξ	E	Ξ
Eta	F	1	1	Γ	Γ
TH	I	†	†	"	I
I	B	Θ	Θ	"	Θ
K	Θ	⊗	⊗	⊗	*
L	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι	Ι
M	K	*	K	K	F
N	Λ	Υ	Υ	V	K
(ss) X	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ
	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν	Ν
	Ξ	*	*	*	*

Alphabets of Central Italy, (from Lenormant's *Art. in Saglio's Dict. of Antiq.*)  
 A much earlier alphabet than any of these, consisting of the old Phoenician 16 letters has lately been found, and will be shown in Mr. Isaac Taylor's forthcoming work on Early Writing.



## III.

## THE ETRUSCANS.

OUR western civilization has its mysteries, like the old East; Etruria is to us what Egypt was before Champollion. We know very well that it was inhabited by an industrious people, skilled in commerce, art and war, rivalling the Greeks at the same time that they were under their influence, and for a long time powerful and formidable in the Mediterranean; but this people has disappeared, leaving us for its riddle an unknown language, for a proof of what it once was, innumerable monuments, vases, statues, bas-reliefs, ornaments, objects precious both for workmanship and for materials—a people rich enough to bury with its chiefs the means wherewith to pay an army or build a town; industrious enough to flood Italy with its products, and civilized enough to cover its monuments and tombs with inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> But all this is mute, and modern science, wholly baffled, has hitherto been unable to interpret more than twenty words or so of the Etruscan language.<sup>2</sup> Their portraits which they have left us on their tombs tell us nothing more of them. These obese and thickset men, with aquiline noses and retreating foreheads, have nothing in common with the Hellenic or Italiote type, and are not of the same race as the thin-featured people represented on their vases.

Whence did they come? The ancients themselves did not

<sup>1</sup> See plate. M. de Longpérier says of this monument, which was found at Cervetri (Cære): "It is directly connected with the Corinthian art of the seventh century, so that this tomb may give us an exact idea of what that of Demaratus, the father of Tarquin the Elder, must have been." (*Musée Napoléon III.*, explanation of pl. LXXX.) [The tomb here represented on the plate is very similar to that now in the British Museum.] Let us note that the Etruscans interred their dead, and did not burn them; the contrary was the case in the later times of the republic and under the empire, [or rather both customs prevailed.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> See the work of M. Noël des Vergers, *L'Étrurie et les Étrusques ou dix ans de fouilles dans les Maremmes toscanes*. Varro (*de Ling. Lat.*, iv. 9), speaks of Etruscan tragedies which are lost. We have nearly two thousand inscriptions, but we cannot understand them, and Max Müller, in his *Science of Language*, is obliged to pass over the Etruscan in silence. The interpretations of Corssen, who [thought the language Indo-European, and] was for a time called "the Œdipus of the Etruscan Sphinx," have been abandoned, and the Sphinx remains mute [till we find a bilingual text.—*Ed.*]



Etruscan Tomb.

Florentine Inscription	Etruscan Minor	Perugian Inscription	Patera from Nola, No. 2	Vase from Bomarzo	Vase Galassi	Patera from Nola, No. 1
A	AA	A	A	AA	AAA	AAAA
λ	C	∩	∩	>	> C	∩ >
∫	E	7	∫	∫	∫∫E	∫λ∫
∫	Γ	7	∫	λ ∫	∫Γ∫	∫∫
±	I	E	†			† Z
⊠	⊠	⊠	⊠	◻	⊠⊠H	⊠⊠⊠
⊠	⊕	O	O	◊	○○◊⊠	○○
I	I	I	I	I	I	I
J		J	✓	J	J	J
W	M	W	M	WM	WMW	WMWM
W	M	W	H	WH	WHH	WHH
Λ	P	7	1	1	7 7	717
⊠		M	M	M	M	MM
∩	9	D	9	4	∩	∩49
λ	Σ	Σ	2	λ	λ 2	λ2λ
†	T	†	†	†	††T†	††T†
V	V	V	V	YV	VYV	V Y
◊		◊		◊	◊	◊◊◊
↓	Υ	↓	↓	Υ	↓ ↓	↓ ↓
8	9	8	8		888	8 8

Some Etruscan Alphabets.

know. Deceived by the name of the Tyrrhenians, who had preceded the Etruscans north of the Tiber, the Greeks took them for Pelasgians, and represented them as having travelled from Thessaly and Asia Minor into Tuscany. But, on the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, their language, their laws, their customs, and their religion had nothing in common with those of the Pelasgians. Niebuhr and Otf. Müller consider that the Etruscans, or Rasena, as they called themselves, came from the mountains of Rætia.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, there is no reason why the Etruscans, who placed the abode of their gods in the north, and gave<sup>2</sup> them the Scandinavian name of Ases,<sup>3</sup> should not be regarded as an Asiatic tribe, which, after having penetrated into Europe by the defiles of the Caucasus, by which the Goths afterwards passed, had left on the south the peninsula of the Balkans occupied by the Pelasgian races, and had ascended the valley of the Danube as far as the Tyrolean Alps. Priestly rule, division into strictly separated classes, and the predominance of fatalism are characteristics more and more marked in proportion as we trace back the course of centuries and approach more nearly to Asia. Etruscan civilization has also in common with Semitic literatures the omission of the short vowels, the reduplication of the consonants, and the writing from right to left. The dwarf Tages reminds us of the clever dwarfs and magicians of Scandinavia; whilst the obese figures found at Cervetri; the gorgons, of which there are so many representations; the gods with four wings, two spread, and two drooped towards the earth; the sphinxes, the monsters which guard the approaches to the mansions of the dead; the animals unknown to Italy, lions and panthers,

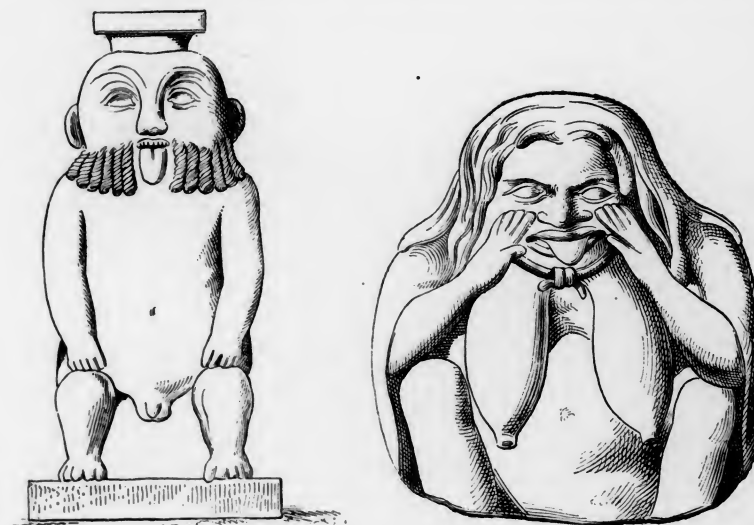
<sup>1</sup> Livy (v. 33), Pliny (iii. 20), and Justin (xx. 5) maintain on the contrary that the Rætians are Etruscans who took refuge in the Alps after the conquest of Lombardy by the Gauls. Niebuhr supposes that the singular language of Gröden, in southern Tyrol, is a remnant of the Etruscan language. Many names of places there recall the Rasena, and the museum of Trent preserves vases and small figures in bronze with Etruscan inscriptions discovered in that province. Quite recently, in 1877, there were found in the Valteline, not far from Como, some Etruscan objects of great antiquity (*Rev. Arch.*, Sept. 1877, p. 204). Ogiuli tried to prove in the *Giornale Accademico* the relationship of the Germans and Etruscans. M. Noël des Vergers, who has sought for the solution of the problem especially in the study of figured monuments, is disposed to accept the tradition of Herodotus as to their Lydian origin. But the plastic arts may have been introduced into Etruria later than the arrival of the Etruscans, by commerce, or previously to it by the Tyrrhenians. In short, the problem will remain insoluble until we decipher the Etruscan language.

<sup>2</sup> Fest. s. v. "Sinistræ aves."

<sup>3</sup> "Æsar . . . Etrusca lingua Deus vocaretur," (Suet. *Oct.* 97).

devouring one another; the Egyptian scarabæi, the good and evil genii, like the *devs* of Persia, which conduct souls to the lower world; finally, a quantity of details of ornamentation, show either borrowing from the East, or memories of their early home.

We have above compared the two industrious and universally persecuted races of the Finns and Pelasgians; we might also compare



Etruscan figures. (*Atlas of Micale*, pl. xiv).<sup>1</sup>

the two peoples who have taken their place; the enigmatical language of the Rasena with the Scandinavian Runes; Odin, the Ases and royal families of the Goths with the Tuscan Lucumons, who were at the same time nobles and priests. Like the Germans, the Etruscans united what the East separates, religion and arms—the caste of priests and that of warriors.

If the Goths believed in the death of the gods, and dared to strive against them, the Etruscans predicted the renewal of the

<sup>1</sup> We reluctantly reproduce these figures, to which we find none analogous in Grecian art. But the Etruscans, so clever in the manufacture of bronzes, jewels and vases, preserve the taste of barbarous nations for monsters to serve as bugbears. When they thought to make them terrible they made them hideous. We must show this side of their plastic art. [Similarly, in old Irish illuminations and carvings, the animals introduced are simply grotesque, and the human figures as bad as possible, while both the feeling and execution of the geometrical ornament is the most beautiful which can possibly be found.—*Ed.*]



world, and imagined that they could by their magic formulæ constrain the divine will. The grave, melancholy and religious character of this people, their respect for women, their kindness towards slaves,<sup>1</sup> the length and abundance of their repasts, would also suggest Germanic manners, if it were not probable that these resemblances are purely accidental. The saying of one of the ancients has, in fact, remained the opinion of modern science: "By their language and manners the Etruscans are separated from all other nations."



Etruscan Gorgon. (Campana Museum.)

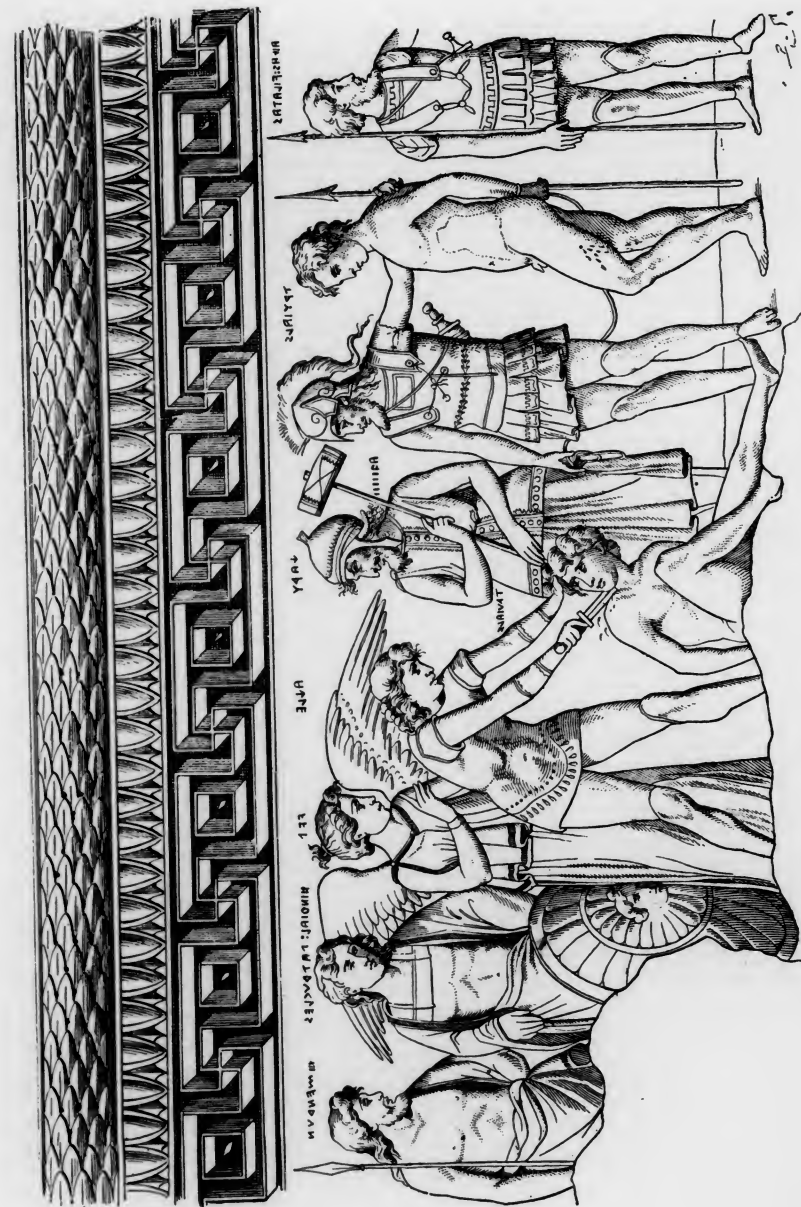
We will suppose, without firm conviction, that the Etruscans came down from the Alps into the valley of the Po, bearing with them from Asia, which they had perhaps quitted for but a few centuries, their half-sacerdotal government, and from the mountains, where they had recently sojourned, that division into independent cantons, which has existed in all time among the people of the Alps. They first stopped in Cisalpine Gaul, where they possessed as many as twelve large towns; then they crossed the Apennines, and established themselves between the Tiber and the Arno. There they found some Tyrrhenian Pelasgians in possession of Hellenic beliefs, traditions and arts, and in commercial relations with the Greeks of Southern Italy and Ionia. These Pelasgians, protected by cities stronger than the open villages of the Umbrians, could not be expelled or exterminated, and formed a considerable portion of the new nation.<sup>2</sup> Is it going too far to attribute the



Figure with Four Wings.

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. *Ant. Rom.*, ix. 5. The Veientes enrolled them in their troops.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in the towns of Southern Etruria, which always display characteristics differing from those of the northern cities, and through which the Greek religion obtained an entry



Human Sacrifice represented in the catacomb of Vulci.



works of drainage,<sup>1</sup> the Cyclopean constructions, the pretended knowledge of omens and the industrious activity of the Etruscans, to the influence, counsels and example of these Pelasgians,<sup>2</sup> who are said to have excavated the tunnels from Lake Copais through a mountain, to have built the fortifications, still remaining, of Argos,



Chimera in the Gallery of Florence. (Micali, *Atlas*, pl. XLII.)

Mycenæ and Tiryns, and who passed for magicians on account of their learning? Moreover this people never had the spirit of hostility towards strangers; the tradition of Demaratus, the mixture of Umbrian, Oscan, Ligurian and Sabellian names in the Etruscan inscriptions, and finally the introduction of the gods and arts of Greece, show with what facility they admitted men and things of other countries.

One particular feature of Etruscan manners is, however, in absolute contradiction to the Greek manners. This sensual people loved to heighten pleasure by scenes of death. They were accustomed to human sacrifices; they decorated their tombs with scenes of

into Rome. At Cære there have been found inscriptions thought to be Pelasgian. Moreover, Cære and Tarquinii had each its treasure house at Delphi, like Sparta and Athens, and the painted vases of Tarquinii are exactly similar to those of Corinth. We might call to mind, too, the religious character of the people of Cære and the reputation they had of having always abstained from piracy.

<sup>1</sup> See Noël des Vergers' *Etruria and the Etruscans*, vol. i. p. 96. The railway through the Maremma has led to the discovery of a quantity of subterranean conduits for draining the soil.

<sup>2</sup> [To account for the Etruscans by referring them to the Pelasgi, and that, too, by  
F 2

blood;<sup>1</sup> and gave to their neighbours of the seven hills those gladiatorial games which the towns of half the Roman world imitated.<sup>2</sup>

The ruin of the Umbrians was accomplished, said the Etruscan annals,<sup>3</sup> 434 years before the foundation of Rome. The Rasena succeeded to their power, and increased it by four centuries of conquests. From Tuscany, the principal seat of their twelve tribes, they subdued Umbria itself with a part of Picenum, where traces of their occupation are to be found.<sup>4</sup> Beyond the Tiber, Fidenæ, Crustumeria and Tusculum, colonised by them, open the road towards the country of the Volscians and Rutulians,<sup>5</sup> who were brought into subjection; and towards Campania, a new Etruria was founded 800 years before our era, of which the principal cities were Volturnum, afterwards called Capua, Nola, Acerræ, Herculaneum and Pompeii.<sup>6</sup> From the cliffs of Sorrento, which were crowned by the temple of the Etruscan Minerva, they watched any vessels hardy enough to venture into the gulfs of Naples or Salerno, and their long galleys cruised as far as the coasts of Corsica and Sardinia, where they had settlements. "Then almost the whole peninsula, from the Alps to the Straits of Messina, was

attributing to the latter all sorts of works without any conclusive evidence, is indeed to explain *obscurum per obscurius*, and gives new point to Niebuhr's remark already quoted by the author above, p. 39.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> This design, taken from pl. xxi. of the *Atlas* of Noël des Vergers, represents Achilles immolating captives to the *manes* of Patroclus. This is the reading of the names written over the head of each figure, and M. Bréal's rendering of them, going from left to right: —ACHMENRUM (Agamemnon); HINTHIAL PATRUCLES (Ghost of Patroclus); VVP (?): ACHLE (Achilles); TRUJALS (Trojanus); CHARN (Charon); AIVAS TLMUNUS (Ajax Telamonius); TRUJALS (Trojans); AIVAS VILATAS (Ajax Oileus). This scene of murder corresponded so well with the manners of the Etruscans that, when they wished to represent an episode of the *Iliad*, they chose the only narrative of this nature which is found in Homer. Many testimonies of ancient authors and those which they themselves have left on their monuments bear witness to this odious feature of Etruscan society. Macrobius (*Saturn.*, i. 7) says that Tarquin caused children to be immolated to the goddess Mania, the mother of the Lares. As for the winged figure, who is standing behind Achilles, I should be inclined to take it for the genius of the hero. For the Etruscan doctrine of genii see below.

<sup>2</sup> [If more conjectures are encouraged, we shall soon have the Mexican Aztecs, so like the Etruscans in these and other points, declared to be their descendants.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Varr., *ap. Censor.*, 17, Dionysius said five hundred years; it is useless to add that these chronological data are valueless.

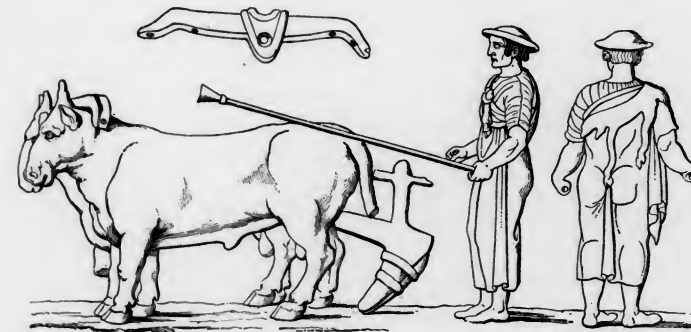
<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Some tombs have been discovered at Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, which appear to belong to the Etruscans, and the citadel of that town, more imposing than those of Etruria, is built like them, of enormous stones.

<sup>6</sup> Livy, iv. 37; Cato, *ap. Vell. Paterc.*, i. 7; Polybius, ii. 17. Lanzi adds to these five towns Nocera, Calatia, Teanum, Cales, Suessa, Aesernia and Atella.

under their sway,"<sup>1</sup> and the two seas which wash the shores of Italy took and still keep, the one the name of this people, *Tusceum Mare*, the sea of Tuscany; the other of its colony of *Adria*, the Adriatic.

Unhappily, there was no union in this vast dominion. The Etruscans were everywhere, on the banks of the Po, the Arno and the Tiber, at the foot of the Alps and in Campania, on the Adriatic and on the Tyrrhenian Sea; but where was Etruria? Like Attica under Cæcrops, like the Æolians and Ionians in Asia, the Achæans in Greece, the Salentines and Lucanians in Italy, the Etruscans were divided, in each country occupied by them, into twelve independent tribes, which were united by a federal bond, without any



Tuscan Ploughman.<sup>2</sup>

general league for the whole nation. For instance, when any grave circumstances occurred in Etruria proper, the chiefs of each city assembled at the temple of Voltumna, in the territory of Volsinii, to treat there concerning the interests of the country, or to celebrate, under the presidency of a supreme pontiff, the national feasts.<sup>3</sup> In the days of their conquests, the union was doubtless very close, and the chief of one of the twelve tribes, being proclaimed generalissimo, exercised an unlimited power, indicated by the twelve lictors furnished by the twelve cities, with their fasces surmounted by

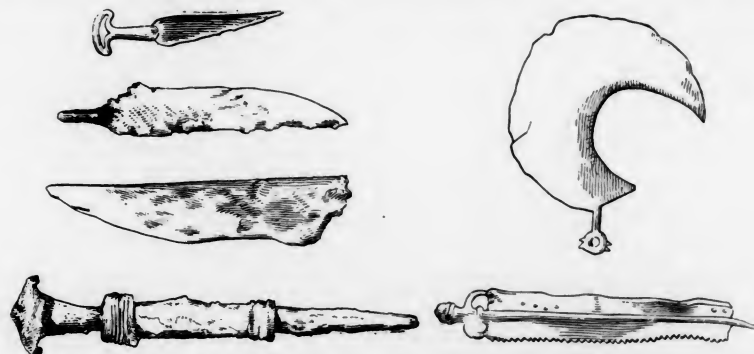
<sup>1</sup> Cato, *ap. Serv.* in *Æn.*, xi. 567. Livy repeats it in almost the same terms in different places (i. 2.; v. 33).

<sup>2</sup> This group in bronze, found at Arezzo, is thought to be connected with the legend of the birth of Tages.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, vi. 1.; and elsewhere, *principes Etruriæ*.

axes. But little by little this bond was relaxed, and the Etruscans, who had at first presented the appearance of a great nation, were unable to escape this political particularism, which has been too dear to the Italians even up to our own days. At the epoch when Rome seriously menaced Etruria all union had decayed, and they had gone so far as to declare solemnly in a general assembly that each city must settle its own quarrels, and were not ashamed to explain that it would be imprudent to engage the whole of Etruria in the defence of one of its tribes.<sup>1</sup>

Each of these twelve tribes, represented by a capital which bore its name, possessed an extensive territory, and within it subject-towns were in dependence on the principal city with inferior political rights; but in the capital itself the ruling power was the order of the Lucumons, the true patricians, who possessed, by hereditary right, power religion and learning. In some cases they



Bronze Arms and Tools found at Bologna.<sup>2</sup>

governed the city in turn as annual magistrates, in others one of them governed as king,<sup>3</sup> but with a power limited by the privileges

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> In 1871 there were brought to light at the Chartreuse, near Bologna, 365 Etruscan tombs, and in the environs of Villanova, numerous pre-historic objects, like those of the lake cities of Switzerland. In 1877 a single search at Bologna led to the discovery of an amphora 4½ feet high and 4 feet broad, buried doubtless at the moment of an invasion, and containing 14,000 bronze objects, utensils, arms and ornaments. These bronzes were then precious and very expensive objects, spread through Italy and into the Transalpine countries by a commerce which was at once timorous and daring (*Rev. Arch.* of June 1877). Count Gozzadini places these bronzes as far back as the tenth century B.C.

<sup>3</sup> "Tædio annuæ ambitionis regem creavere" (Livy, v. i.)

of that sacerdotal aristocracy which had united religion, agriculture, and the state by indissoluble bonds. The nymph Bygoïs had revealed to them the secrets of the augur's art, and the dwarf Tages the precepts of human wisdom with the science of the Aruspices. One day when a peasant was driving his plough in the fields of Tarquinii, a hideous dwarf, with the face of a child under his white hair, Tages, came out of a furrow. All Etruria flocked thither; the dwarf spoke for a long time; they collected his words, and the books of Tages, the basis of Etruscan discipline,<sup>1</sup> were for Etruria



Jewels found at Bologna (see note on last page.)

what the laws of Manu had been for India and the Pentateuch for the Hebrews.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Div.*, ii. 23.

The common people, brought up by its superstitious fears to respect the great, and to submit to the laws which they had dictated, did not dispute their dominion, and this docile obedience rendering violence superfluous, the aristocracy and the people were not separated by that implacable hatred which rends states asunder. Like the subjects of Venice, still so faithful, even in the last century, to the nobility of the Golden Book, the people fought for the maintenance of a social order wherein it held only the last place. But when the fortune of Etruria fell, the authority of the Lucumons was humbled. At Veii, at the commencement of the ten years' war, and at Arezzo, a century later, the plebeians dared to look their masters in the face and demand a reckoning.

The other Italian peoples lived scattered in straggling villages (*vicatim*). The Etruscans always had their towns walled and



Bronze vases found at Bologna.

generally placed on high hills, like so many fortresses dominating the country. Warriors, husbandmen and merchants, they fought, drained the marshes, and dug harbours. India and Egypt, believing themselves eternal, spent centuries on majestic but idle monuments. Greece covered her promontories with temples, her roads with statues, the streets and open spaces of her towns with porticoes. Here it was the disinterested genius for the arts, there a profoundly religious sentiment and the hope of an endless existence. But Etruria knew that she and her gods must die, and anxious to live and

enjoy life before that anticipated end, she lavished time and men only on useful works, making roads, opening canals, turning aside rivers, surrounding towns with impregnable walls.

In Upper Italy, Mantua thus rose in the middle of a lake on the Mincio, a position to this day the strongest in the peninsula. Its metropolis Felsina (Bologna), on the Reno, claims to have founded Perugia<sup>1</sup> also, and Pliny calls it the capital of Circumpadane

Bronze Jewels.<sup>2</sup>

Etruria. Melpum on the Adda was able to stand against the Gauls for two centuries; and Adria, between the Po and the Adige, was surrounded by canals which, connecting the seven lakes of the Po, called the seven seas, rendered the delta of the river healthy. The waters, confined or let off, prepared the fertile lands for agriculture; towns multiplied there, and from Piedmont to

<sup>1</sup> *Silius Ital.*, viii. 600.

<sup>2</sup> For the description of these objects, see *Annales du Bull. Archéol.* 1874, vol. xvi. p. 249, *seq.* and in the *Atlas*, vol. x., pl. x. *seq.*



the Adige, there are found Etruscan inscriptions, bronzes, painted vases, &c., relics of the rule of an industrious people.



Etruscan Jewels and Earrings.<sup>1</sup>

In Tuscany, the Valley of the Arno and that of the Chiana were drained, the Maremma made healthy, and six of the twelve



capitals built upon that coast, now uninhabitable. While the towns carved marble, cast iron<sup>2</sup> and bronze, modelled clay into elegant

<sup>1</sup> These jewels are taken from Noël des Vergers' *Atlas*.

<sup>2</sup> The excellent ore of the Isle of Elba was brought to Populonia, where large foundries were established. The isle is only separated from the continent by a channel 10 kilom. wide (6 miles). [The mines are still worked and give a good return.—*Ed.*]

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(From the Etruscan Museum.)

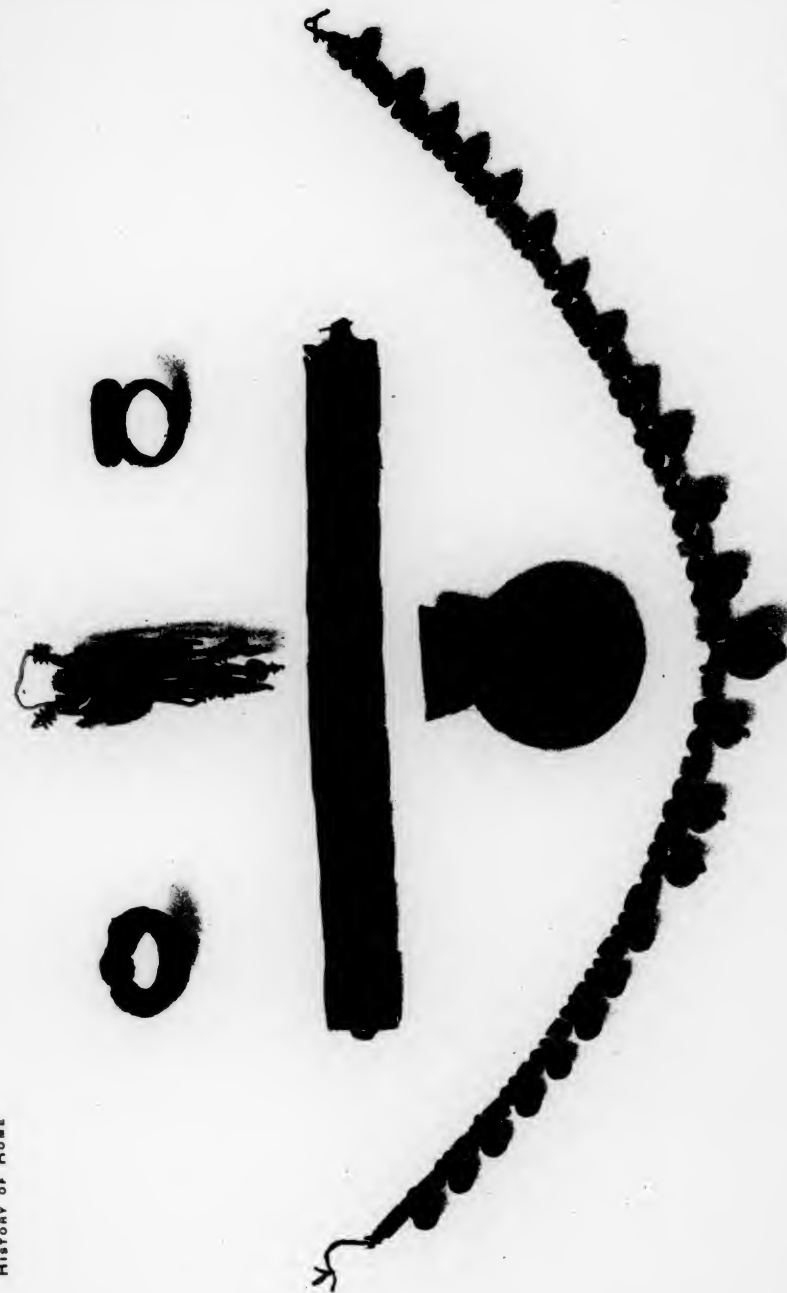
In Tuscany, the cities of the Arno and that of the Chiana were chosen, the first was not wealthy, and six of the twelve



(From the Etruscan Museum.)

capitals built upon the ruins of the Etruscans. While the towns carved in the soft and pliant clay into elegant

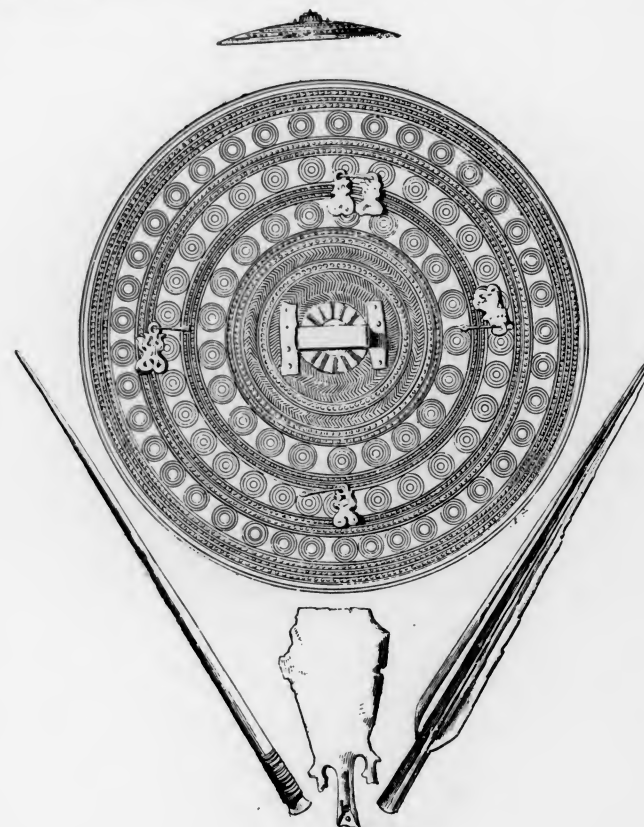
<sup>1</sup> These few are the only ones which have been preserved. The most important of them are the Etruscan bronzes, which have been brought to light in the excavations at Vulturnum, where they were found in the century by a chance of 10 miles, with a few others of the same kind. *Ed.*



GOUPIE ET C<sup>ie</sup>

ETRUSCAN ORNAMENTS

vases, sculptured innumerable bas-reliefs, chased rich armour and precious jewels, and worked up linen for the priests, wool for



Bronze Arms<sup>2</sup> (page lxxiv).

the people, hemp for cordage, and wood for ships; a skilled agriculture, closely bound up with religion, and an equitable division of land, which gave to each citizen his farm,<sup>1</sup> enriched the land, and covered it with a healthy population. Thus was realized that problem which antiquity was so seldom able to solve: large

<sup>1</sup> Bronze buckler and arms found in a tomb called that of the warrior at Corneto (Tarquinii). See *Atlas of the Bull. de l'Inst. Archéol.*, vol. x., pl. x.

<sup>2</sup> "Terra, culturæ causa, particulatim hominibus attributa" (Varro, *ap. Philarg.* in *Georg.* ii. 169.)

towns in the midst of a fertile country, industry and agriculture, wealth and strength: *sic fortis Etruria crevit*.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, from the numerous parts of the coast, from Luna, the town of the Marble Walls;<sup>2</sup> from Pisa, which was then nearer the sea than now; from Telamon, once a vast harbour, now only a swamp; from Graviscae; from Populonia; from Cosa; from Pyrgi; from the two Adrias;<sup>3</sup> from Herculaneum; from Pompeii, there sailed vessels destined for commerce, or cruising from the Pillars of Hercules to the coasts of Asia Minor and Egypt. More hardy adventurers went to Gaul to seek the tin of the islands of the Cassiterides, necessary in the manufacture of bronze; further still, to the shores of the Baltic, to seek the yellow amber of which the women made their ornaments, and which was said by the Greeks to be formed of the tears of the daughters of the Sun weeping the death of Phaëthon. Silver coins of Populonia found in the Duchy of Posen show the route followed by the Etruscan merchants across the European continent. Carthage closed against



Coins of Populonia with a Gorgon's head, reverse smooth.<sup>4</sup>

them the Straits of Gades, beyond which they were desirous of leading a colony to a large island of the Atlantic, which she had just discovered;<sup>5</sup> but she gave up to them the Tyrrhenian sea. Every strange vessel which they met westward of Italy was treated as a prize, unless some convention protected it.<sup>6</sup> When the

<sup>1</sup> Vergil, *Georg.* ii., 523.

<sup>2</sup> Near Carrara, the *Quarry* where there is a mountain of white marble.

<sup>3</sup> The most famous between the Po and the Adige still bears the same name, but is more than 14 miles from the sea; the other, Atri, in Picenum, is 5 miles from the Adriatic.

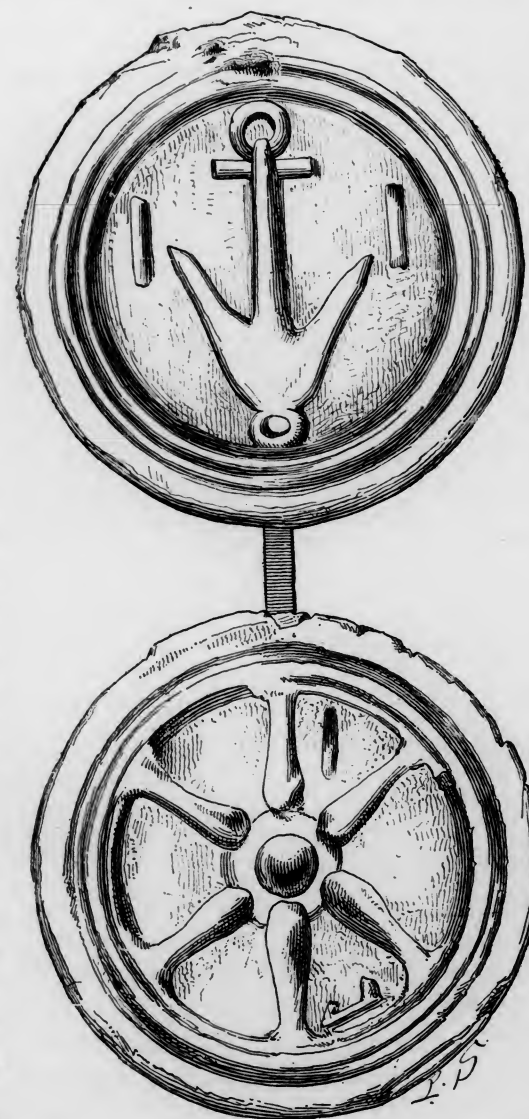
<sup>4</sup> These medals give a full-face representation of the Etruscan Gorgon, which is seen on so great a number of vases and terra-cottas; but she no longer has the hideous head which the ancient monuments of Etruria gave her. The Greeks had the Gorgon, too, but they disliked ugliness; when they had made her terrible, they made her beautiful, and Lucian ends by saying that it was by her beauty she exercised her fatal power of changing those who looked upon her to stone. [Leonardo's famous Medusa suggests the same idea.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Diod. v. 20. *Ναυτικάς ἐννέμισαν ἰσχύσαντες καὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους θαλαττοκρατήσαντες.*

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 6.

Phocæans came, in 536 B.C., to seek another country in these seas, the Etruscans united with the Carthaginians against those Greeks, whom the two nations met and fought everywhere.

But this union could not last. The Carthaginians who, for their commerce with Gaul and Spain, needed business settlements in Corsica and Sardinia, established themselves in those two islands in spite of treaties. Thence sprung up violent animosities, and an anxiety on the part of the Carthaginians to ally themselves with the Romans.<sup>1</sup> The hatred of Carthage was dangerous, yet less so than the rivalry of the Greeks who occupied the most im-



<sup>1</sup> Shown by treaties of 509, 348, and 279 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> This coin, with the sign of the wheel and the anchor, is a *dupondius*, or piece worth two asses, which are marked on the two sides of the anchor. Coins of even ten asses were made; but all these bronze multiples of the monetary unit are rare.

Bronze Coin attributed to the Etrusco-Umbrian town of Camers.<sup>2</sup>



portant commercial positions in Sicily, in Southern Italy, and as far as the centre of Campania; and who, through Cumæ, menaced the Etruscan colony on the borders of the Volturno. As early as the middle of the sixth century, some Cnidians established them-



A Lucumon's Helmet.<sup>1</sup>

selves in the Lipari islands, whence they harassed the whole of the Tuscan commerce. Being attacked by a numerous fleet they gained the victory, and in the joy of this unhopèd-for triumph, they dedicated as many statues at Delphi as they had taken vessels.<sup>2</sup> Rhodes, too, showed among its trophies the iron-bound beaks of the Tyrrhenian vessels, and the tyrant of Rhegium, Anaxilaos, drove

<sup>1</sup> [This helmet was found in 1817 in the bed of the Alpheus, and is now in the British Museum.]

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, x., 12 and 16. Thucyd., iii. 88.

them from the Straits of Sicily by fortifying the entrance.<sup>1</sup> The Etruscans, therefore, sided with Athens against Syracuse. Hiero made them pay dearly for this alliance. In conjunction with Cumæ, Syracuse inflicted on the Etruscans a defeat which marked the decline of their maritime power (474), and of which Pindar sung:—

“Son of Saturn, I conjure thee, cause the Phœnician and the soldier of Tyrrhenia to remain at their own hearths, taught by the affront that their fleet received before Cumæ, and by the evils that the lord of Syracuse wrought upon them, when victorious he cast all their brilliant youth headlong from the heights of the swift poops into the waves, and drew Greece from the yoke of slavery.” Hiero made an offering to Zeus of Olympia of the helmet of one of the Lucumons killed in this battle, with this inscription which he had caused to be engraved on it: “Hiero son of Deinomenes and the Syracusans [have consecrated] to Zeus the Tyrrhenian [arms] from Cumæ.”<sup>2</sup>

From all quarters enemies then rose up against the Etruscans. Threatened on the north by the Gauls, in the centre by Rome, and on the south by the Greeks and Samnites, they lost Lombardy, the left bank of the Tiber, and Campania, where the Samnites made themselves masters of Volturnum, slaying all the inhabitants in one night. At the end of the fifth century B.C. they retained only Tuscany. Moreover, divisions prevailed amongst them; in the midst of the public misfortune the league had been dissolved. Veii, attacked by the Romans, was left to herself, just as Clusium was abandoned when threatened by the Gauls. Such selfishness brought its own punishment. Veii succumbed, Cære became a Roman municipality, and Sutrium and Nepeta were occupied by Latin colonies. These disasters taught them no lesson, and Etruria viewed with indifference the earlier efforts of the Samnites. At last, however, she saw that it was a question of the liberty of Italy, and she roused herself fully. But she was crushed at Lake Vadimo; a second defeat completed the work. This was the last blood shed for the cause of independence. For some time longer the Etruscans, under the name of Italian allies, might think

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, VI. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 136, *seq.* Cf. plate on last page.

themselves free; but little by little the hand of Rome pressed more heavily on them, and at the end of a century, without any noticeable change, Etruria found herself a province of the Empire.

Calm under the yoke, and sadly resigned to a fate which had been long predicted,<sup>1</sup> this nation made no effort to strive against its destiny. They tried to forget, in luxury and the love of art, the loss of their liberty; and preserving amid their sensual pleasures the ever-present idea of death, they continued to decorate their tombs with paintings, and to bury in them thousands of objects, which in workmanship and material indicate extreme opulence. Etruria, in fact, was still rich; it will be seen what its towns gave to Scipio after sixteen years of the severest warfare.

But the economical revolution which followed the great wars of Rome reacted on the provinces. As in Latium and Campania, the slave took by slow degrees the place of the free man, the shepherd that of the husbandman, and small properties were lost in great domains. When Tiberius Gracchus traversed Etruria, on his return from Numantia, he was alarmed at its depopulation. Sylla completed its ruin by abandoning it to his soldiers as the price of the civil war; the Triumvirs gave it another visitation. Thenceforward Etruria never recovered. Her social organisation had perished; her language, too, was gone. From so much glory art and learning, one thing only survived; up to the last days of the ancient world the Tuscan augur retained his fame with the country people. None could better read signs in the entrails of victims, in the lightning flashes, or in ordinary phenomena.<sup>2</sup> It was a vain science which rested on the enervating dogma of fatalism, and which infected the nation with a deathlike torpor.

The Etrurians played a considerable part, however, in the civilisation of Italy; not by their ideas, for they added nothing

<sup>1</sup> In the midst of the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, the Tuscan soothsayers declared that the great day of Etruria was drawing to a close. According to the calculations of their astronomical theology, the actual world would only last eight great days, or eight times 1,100 years, and one of these days of the world was accorded to each great people (Varr. *ap. Censor*, 17). Cicero, in the *Dream of Scipio*, also believes in the periodic renewal of the world: "Eluviones exustionesque terrarum quas accidere tempore certo necesse est" (*de Rep.*, vi. 21). Virgil has clothed this grand idea with his magnificent poetry: "Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum," &c. (*Ecl.* iv. 50).

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de Divin.* ii. 12, 18. *Extā, fulgura et ostenta* were the three parts of the science of divination.

to human thought; nor by art, since as regards ideal work, theirs has little originality; but by their utilitarian conception of life, by their industry, and by the influence which they exercised upon Rome.

Livy calls the Etruscans the most religious of nations, the one which excelled in the practice of established ceremonies; the Fathers of the Church looked upon Etruria as the mother of super-



Gate of Volterra (p. LXXXII).

stitions. We shall see that she deserved this report. Their augurs' doctrine was famous among the ancients. They believed that the great events of the world were announced by signs, and they were right in believing it, if only, instead of observing the phenomena of physical nature, they had studied those of the moral order, since the best policy is that which discovers the

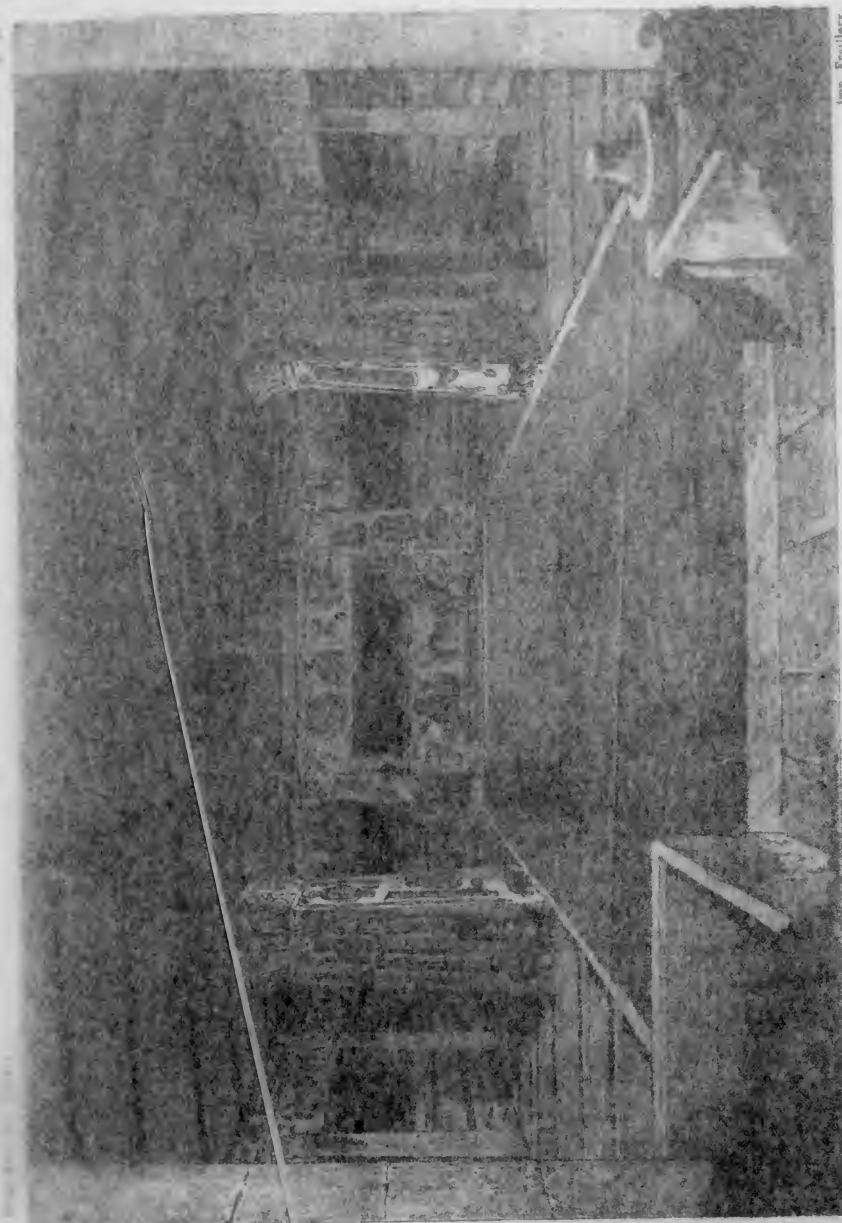
signs of the times. But the augur's art was only a collection of puerile rules, which held the mind in bondage, and made first them, and then the Romans, the greatest formalists in the world.

If we except the Greeks, settled on the shores of the gulfs of Naples and Tarentum, they were the most civilised of the Italian nations. Their artisans were skilful, their nobles loved pomp in their ceremonies, and magnificence in their dress; and they gave Rome these tastes together with their horse-races and athletic combats. They gave them, too, their massive architecture, which was a clumsy imitation of the Doric order. The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol derived from them that flattened look which suited so well the dull Roman imagination, but so ill the God of the lofty heavens.<sup>1</sup> The gate of Volaterra and the Cloaca Maxima prove that they knew how to construct arches and vaults, which the Greeks of the grand epoch had forgotten [or neglected]. The rude ogive of some Cyclopean gate had doubtless inspired them with the idea, and architecture was endowed by them with a new and precious future. They do not appear to have turned it to account for majestic constructions, as did the Romans of the Empire; but they employed the vault in their canals and tunnels to carry off the water and render the country healthy.

The senators of Rome, who lodged their gods in the Etruscan manner, lodged themselves like the Lucumons of Veii or Tarquinii: the *atrium*, which was the characteristic feature of patrician villas, is borrowed from the Etruscans; and from the Roman *atrium* came the *patio* of the Spaniards, or Moors, and the Catholic cloister.<sup>2</sup> But whilst the Romans placed their tombs on the surface of the soil as we do, the Etruscans dug funereal chambers underground, or in the rocky sides of their hills. Some of these, as for instance in the valley of Castel d'Asso, have a singular likeness to those which are seen at Thebes in Egypt. Sometimes they raised strange structures over the excavation which contained their dead, of which the fabulous tomb of Porsenna would be the most complete repre-

<sup>1</sup> [This was mainly the result of the wide separation of the pillars, which give the Etruscan style a feeble and sprawling look as compared with the Greek. The effect of widening these inter-columnar spaces is very marked.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [More probably this method of house-building was common to all the Aryans of Southern Europe, certainly to the Homeric Greeks, as well as the Italians. It is the form now adopted all through the Mediterranean countries.—Ed.]



Imp. Frailery

SEPULCHRAL ROOM AT CAERE

PH. BENOIST



signs of the times. But the augur's art was only a collection of puerile rules, which held the mind in bondage, and made first them, and then the Romans, the greatest formalists in the world.

If we except the Greeks, settled on the shores of the gulfs of Naples and Tarentum, they were the most civilised of the Italian nations. Their artisans were skilful, their gods loved pomp in their ceremonies, and magnificence in their dress; and they gave Rome these tastes together with their horse-races and athletic combats. They gave them, too, their massive architecture, which was a clumsy imitation of the Ionic order. The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol derived from them that flattened look which suited so well the dull Roman imagination, but so all the God of the lofty heavens.<sup>1</sup> The gate of Volaterra and the Clava Maxima prove that they knew how to construct arches and vaults, which the Greeks of the grand epoch had forgotten [or neglected]. The rude ogive of some Cyclopean gate had doubtless inspired them with the idea, and architecture was endowed by them with a new and precious future. They do not appear to have turned it to account for majestic constructions, as did the Romans of the Empire; but they employed the vault in their tunnels and tunnels to carry off the water and render the country habitable.

The senators of Rome, who lodged their guests in the Etruscan manner, lodged themselves like the Tarquins of Veii or the Tarquins of the *atrium*, which was the characteristic feature of Etruscan villas. It is borrowed from the Etruscans; and from the Etruscan *atrium* came the *patio* of the Spaniards, or *plaza*, and the *cloister*. But whilst the Romans placed their *atrium* on the surface of the soil as we do, the Etruscans dug their *atrium* into the ground, or in the rocky sides of their cliffs. Some of these, for instance in the valley of Capri, are still to be seen. Others, however, are those which are seen at Tiberia, or Veii, and are the most strange structures over the excavations which have been dug out of which the fabulous tomb of Horatius was said to be the most complete repre-

<sup>1</sup> [This was mainly the result of the Etruscan influence, which introduced a double and screwing form of column, and a double and screwing into-columnar spaces in very narrow ones.]

<sup>2</sup> [More probably the result of the Etruscan influence, which introduced a double and screwing form of column, and a double and screwing into-columnar spaces in very narrow ones.]

PL. II.



Imp. Frailery,

SEPULCHRAL ROOM AT CAERE

P. Benoit

HISTORY OF ROME



sentation, if the description which the ancients have left us could be reduced to the conditions of probability.

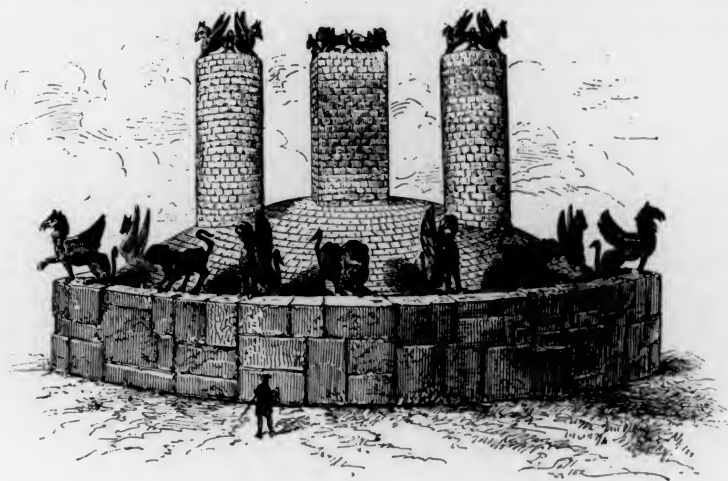
Varro, if Pliny has copied him accurately, had made himself the echo of vague memories which tradition had preserved and embellished in its own fashion. "Porsenna," says he "was buried beneath the town of Clusium, in the place where he had caused a square monument of hewn stone to be built. Each face is 300 feet long and 50 feet high. The base, which is square, enclosed an inextricable labyrinth. If anyone entered it without a ball of thread, he could not regain the outlet. Above this square are five pyramids, four at the angles and one in the middle, each 75 feet broad at the base, and a 150 feet high; so exactly equal that with their summits they all bear a globe of brass and a kind of cap, from which bells are suspended by chains, which when moved by the wind, emit a prolonged sound, such as was heard at Dodona. Above the globe are four pyramids each 100 feet high. Above these last-mentioned pyramids, and on a single platform, were five pyramids, whose height Varro was ashamed to note. This height, according to Etruscan fables, was the same as that of the whole monument."<sup>1</sup> It has been attempted to explain this impossible construction by saying that the pyramids were not placed upon one another, but upon retreating surfaces.<sup>2</sup> This legend was, however, only half fabulous. Even at Chiusi, there have been discovered sepulchral chambers, forming a sort of labyrinth, through the narrow passages of which it is difficult to make one's way, and the *Cucumella* of Vulei leads to the supposition that the glorious king of Clusium had a sumptuous tomb.

The *Cucumella*, situated in a plain, now an uninhabitable waste, is a *tumulus*, or conical mound of earth, from 45 to 50 feet high, probably higher in ancient times, and 650 feet in circumference. Though it has been searched several times, this tumulus has not given up its secret. Tombs have been met with, it is true, in the excavations; but only the obscure dead had their last abode there, and like faithful servants, guarded the approaches to the place where their master reposed. The Lucumo and his kin were further in, in a central crypt, the access to which had been shut by a

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Quatremère de Quincy, *Recueil de Dissert. arch.*, 1836.

wall of such thickness that the workmen could not break through it. All efforts made to discover the entrance to this singular monument were useless: the pyramids of Egypt have not defended their sepulchral chambers so well. In the cuttings made round the outer wall were found animals in basalt, winged sphinxes, lions standing or couched, watching over this palace of the dead to drive away the audacious visitor who should attempt to pass the gate. On the summit were still seen the bases of partially crumbled towers. With the help of these remains it was possible to restore



The Cucumella.

this mysterious tomb with some appearance of probability.<sup>1</sup> The edifice is utterly devoid of grace; but purely Etruscan art had not that gift which Greece received from Minerva, and strange as this construction appears, it is not more so than the *tumulus* of the Lydian king, Alyattes, on the banks of the Hermus.<sup>2</sup>

To bury their chiefs under great *tumuli* was the custom of the Scythians, Germans, Celts, and Lydians, and consequently of the Pelasgians: it is therefore quite natural to find it again in Etruria, especially in the region where the Tyrrhenians had settled. The

<sup>1</sup> This restoration was made under the directions of the Prince of Canino, whose domain comprised the site of Vulci.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus, i. 93; Stuart, *Mon. of Lydia*, p. 4; Texier, *Description de l'Asie min.* iii. 20.



Valley of Castel d'Asso (p. lxxxvii, n. 1).

type of the Egyptian tombs shows itself, on the contrary, in the valley of Castel d'Asso, five miles from Viterbo.<sup>1</sup> The town has been destroyed, but its necropolis exists, excavated in the rock like the tombs of Medinet Abu. The façade is of the Doric order, a general feature of Etruscan architecture, and the gates, narrowing at the top, the decorations in relief, and the mouldings recall the monuments on the banks of the Nile. Soana and Norchia, too, have their valley of tombs; those of Castel d'Asso were still unknown in 1808. In former days an immense nation moved in those solitudes, wherein the traveller dare no longer venture, as

Bronze Vessels.<sup>2</sup>

soon as he feels the close and deadly effluvia of the spring time in the Maremma.

The Etruscan excavations have yielded us an innumerable quantity of bronzes, terra-cottas, jewellery and domestic utensils, all of excellent workmanship.<sup>3</sup> Their *toreutic* was renowned even in Athens; the chasings, candelabras, mirrors of engraved bronze, gold

Castel d'Asso corresponds to the village of Axia, *Castellum Axia*, which was situated "in agro Tarquiniensi" (Cic. *pro Cec.*, 20). See the description which Dennis gives of it, *Etruria*, i., 229-242; also the *Bull. arch.* for 1863, p. 18-86. The cut is taken from the *Atlas* of the *Bulletin*, Vol. I. pl. 60.

<sup>2</sup> For the description of these objects, see *Annales du Bull. arch.* for 1874, vol. xlv. p. 249 Seq., and in the *Atlas*, vol. x. pl. 10-12.

cups and jewels from the land of the Tyrrhenians were sought for



Black Vases of Clusium (Chiusi).<sup>1</sup>

that terra-cotta statues were a sufficient decoration for their temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and they placed some of them upon the pediment.<sup>2</sup> They provided themselves yet more cheaply with statues of bronze, when they carried off two thousand at the sack of Volsinii.



Black Vase of Clusium.<sup>1</sup>

The ancients, who only learned very late to make wooden casks, were the best potters in the world: our museums contain more than fifteen thousand antique vases. The red pottery of Arezzo and the black pottery of Chiusi are purely Etruscan. The form is sometimes odd, but often very elegant. The ornaments in relief which decorate them, the fantastic animals

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Noël des Vergers' *Atlas*, pls. xvii. xviii. and xix. See the explanation of these cuts on pp. 12-14 of the same work.

<sup>2</sup> [But it is not unlikely that the same fashion existed in Greece before they had learned to carve in deep relief or set up marble figures in the pediment itself.—*Ed.*]

everywhere; and when, some years ago, the Campana Museum brought these marvels to our knowledge, the modern goldsmith was obliged to conform for a time to the Etruscan fashion.

Their figures have the rigidity of Egyptian statuary: the style had not reached even that of Ægina. Yet they furnished Italy with many bronze and terra-cotta statues of large dimensions. The Romans, who were niggardly even with their gods, thought

seen upon them—sphinxes, winged horses, griffins, and sirens—recall subjects familiar to Oriental artists, and lead us to the conclusion already propounded on the diverse sources of Etruscan civilization. Some of these vases might even be taken for Egyptian *canopes*, those urns of which the cover is formed by a man's head. Among the specimens which we give is a ewer in the shape of a fish; the Campana Museum has another in the form of a bird. The learned are agreed to consider these black vases as very ancient, and Juvenal asserted that good king Numa had no others—

. . . . . quis  
Simpvium ridere Numæ, nigrumque catinum . . . .  
Ausus erat ?<sup>1</sup>

As for the painted vases, they are copied from Greek vases, or else they were imported in the active commerce which Italy carried on with all the countries bordering on the eastern part of the Mediterranean—Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyprus, Rhodes, and, above all, both European and Asiatic Greece. The subjects most frequently represented on these vases are borrowed from the Epic cycle, from the mythology, and heroic traditions of Hellas. Whenever they reproduce myths peculiar to Etruria some reminiscence or imitation of the foreigner appears. Some vases of gilt bronze which were found at Volsinii have figures which remind us of the most beautiful coins of Syracuse.

We ought to give the Etruscans credit for having apprenticed themselves to those who, in the domain of art, have been the masters of the whole world, and for having preserved to us some of their master pieces.

The most admirable of the antique vases come from the excavations at Chiusi,<sup>2</sup> and since an inhabitant of Vulci esteemed a Panathenaic vase precious enough to be buried with him, let us put in evidence what Etruria loved as well as what she manufactured.

<sup>1</sup> *Sat.*, vi. 343.

<sup>2</sup> The François Vase at Florence, of which a representation will be found in the *Atlas* of the *Institut Archéolog.* vol. iv. pl. LIV., LV., LVII.



## IV.

## OSCAN AND SABELLIANS.

IN their central parts, eastward of Rome and Latium, the Apennines have their highest peaks, their wildest valleys. There the Gran Sasso d'Italia, the Velino, the Majella, the Sibilla, and the Great Terminillo raise their snow-capped heads above all the Apennine chain, and from their summits afford a view of both the seas which wash the shores of Italy.<sup>1</sup> But their sides are not gently sloped; it seems as if they lacked space to extend themselves. Their lines meet and break each other; the valleys deepen into dark chasms, where the sun never reaches; the passes are narrow gorges; the water-courses torrents. Everywhere there is the image of chaos. 'It is hell!' say the peasants.<sup>2</sup> In all ages this place has been the refuge of brave and intractable populations, and the most ancient traditions place there the abode of the Oscans and Sabellians, the true Italian race.

Long driven back by foreign colonists, and, as it were, lost in the depths of the most sombre forests of the Apennines, these people at last claimed their share of the Italian sun. Whence did they originally come? It is not known; but historic probabilities, strengthened by the affinity of language and religion,<sup>3</sup> point to a common origin. The difference of the countries wherein they definitely settled down—the Sabellians in the mountains; the Oscans in the plain—established between them differences of customs and perpetual hostilities, which obscured their original kinship. Of these two sister nations, the one, profiting by the feebleness of the Siculi, must have descended, under the identical names of Oscans, Opici, Ausoni, and Aurunci, into the plains of

<sup>1</sup> [This wild Alpine country repeats itself twice again as you go southward; once along the boundaries of Apulia, where the Abruzzi, from Potenza down to the Monte Pollino, form a splendid chain, and again in Calabria, where the Sila mountains embrace a large district of inaccessible Alpine country.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> They call one of these valleys *Inferno di S. Columba*.

<sup>3</sup> The Samnites spoke Oscan, the language of the Campanians, and the Atellan farces written in that language were understood at Rome. (Strabo, V. iii. 6.)

Latium and Campania, that ancient *land of the Opici*, which they had never, perhaps, entirely abandoned; the other must have in later times peopled with its colonies the summits of the Apennines and part of the Adriatic coasts: the latter led, in their warlike temper, by the animals sacred to Mars; the former by Janus and Saturn, who taught them agriculture, and of whom they made gods of the sun and the earth—the sun which fertilises, and the earth which produces.

In the time of their power the Siculi had possessed the land of the Opici; but the miseries which the invasion had inflicted on the Pelasgians of the banks of the Po gradually spread over the whole race, and a lively reaction brought the indigenous inhabitants out of their Apennine catacombs, and put them in possession of the plains which the Siculi had occupied. The Casei or Aborigines, that is to say, the oldest inhabitants of the land began a movement which, though several times arrested by the conquests of the Etruscans, Gauls, and Greeks, finally resumed its course with Rome, and ended by substituting the indigenous race for all these foreign nations.

The latter, descending from the high land between Amitemum and Reate, established themselves south of the Tiber, where, by their union with the Umbrians, the Ausonians and the Siculi, who remained in the country, was formed the nation of the *Prisci Latini*,<sup>1</sup> which occupied, between Tibur and the sea (33 miles), and from the Tiber to beyond the Alban Mount (19 miles), thirty villages, all independent.<sup>2</sup>



Alba Longa.<sup>3</sup>

In the first rank stood Alba Longa, which took the title of the Metropolis of Latium,<sup>4</sup> a title which Rome, founded three hundred

<sup>1</sup> Dionys., *Ant. Rom.*, i. 14; Nonius, xii. 3; Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 12; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, iv. 7; Fest s. v.

<sup>2</sup> On the obverse, a helmeted head of Mercury; on the reverse a Pegasus. But this Pegasus is neither the winged horse of the Muses nor that of Aurora, the legends of which are of comparatively recent origin; he bears the thunder and lightning of Jupiter, or rather, he is the lightning itself, traversing the heavens at a bound (Hesiod., *Theog.*, 281; *Apollod.* ii. 3, § 2 and 4, § 2; Ovid, *Metam.*, iv. 785 and vi. 119). This coin, of very clumsy workmanship, is very old, and may be assigned to the third or fourth century of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, v. iii. 2: ὅν ἐνα κατὰ κόμας αὐτονομίσθαι συνέβαινεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κοινῇ φύλῃ τεταγμένα.

<sup>4</sup> "Omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi" (Liv. i. 52).

years later, claimed to have inherited. A religious bond, in the lack of any other, united these nations, and common sacrifices gathered them on the Alban Mount, at Lavinium, the sanctuary of the mysterious Penates and the native gods.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the nation from which Rome sprang was itself only a mixture of different tribes and races. Elsewhere successive races, instead of blending, drive out or overlay each other: one ruling, the other enslaved. With the Oscans and Sabellians there is, on the contrary, a fusion of victors and vanquished. Greek traditions, which were always so intelligent, have faithfully echoed this origin of the Latin people; and it was by inter-marriages and peaceful unions that Evander, Æneas, Tibur and the companions of Ulysses established themselves, just as at a later period inter-marriages unite Rome and the Sabines. By its local traditions, as well as by its own origin, Rome was prepared for that spirit of facile association which gives her a distinctive character among ancient politics, and which was the cause of her greatness.



Coin attributed to the Rutulians.<sup>3</sup>

In the eighth century the prosperity of the Latins was declining. The Etruscans had traversed their country, the Sabines had crossed the Anio, the Æquians and Volscians had invaded the plain and seized several Latin towns.<sup>2</sup> Alba herself, in tradition, seems feeble enough for a handful of men to have caused a revolution there. This weakness was of advantage to the growth of the eternal city.

Ties of relationship and alliance united the Rutuli with the *Prisci Latini*. The Rutulian capital, Ardea,<sup>4</sup> was already enriched

<sup>1</sup> Janus, Saturn, Picus, Faunus and Latinus were among these indigenous gods. Sacrifices were also offered in memory of Evander and of his mother, the prophetess Carmenta. One of the gates of Rome was called the Carmental.

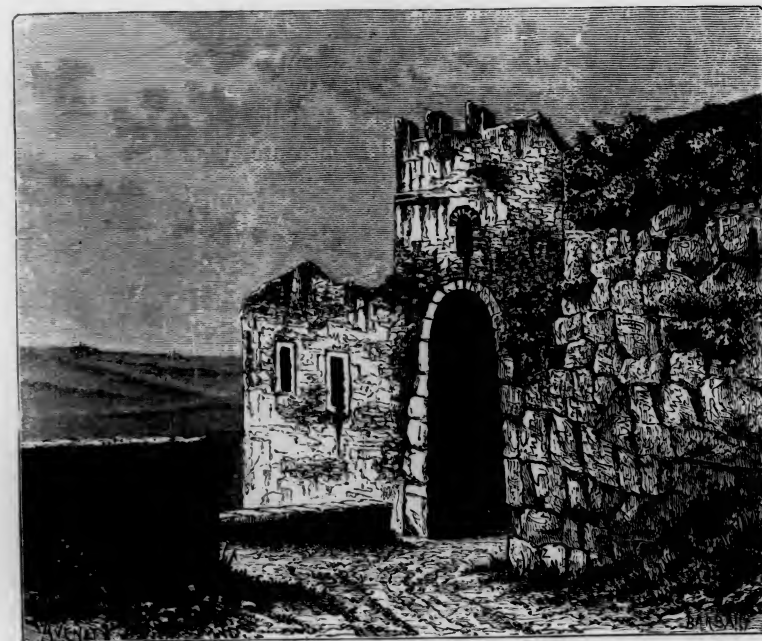
<sup>2</sup> In the first centuries of Rome, Latin towns are assigned in turn to the Æquians, Sabines, Latins and Volscians.

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, a tortoise with two o's, the mark of the sextans; on the reverse, a wheel—*rota*, the root of the word *Rutuli*.

<sup>4</sup> "Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens ut in ea regione atque in ea ætate divitiis præpollens" (Livy, i. 57).

by commerce and surrounded by high walls. Saguntum, in Spain, was said to be its colony.

Around this primitive Latium, which did not extend beyond the Numicius, and, which nourished a stout population of husbandmen,<sup>1</sup> were settled the Æquians, Hernicans, Volscians and Auruncans, all included by the Romans in the general term of Latin



Wall of Alatri.

people; further on, between the Liris and the Silarus, were the Ausonians.

The Æquians, a little nation of shepherds and hunters, insatiable plunderers,<sup>2</sup> had, instead of towns, only fortified villages, situated in inaccessible places. Quartered in the difficult region traversed by the upper Anio, they reached, by way of the moun-

" . . . Et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen;  
Sed fortuna fuit." (Virg., *Æn.*, vii. 412).

Dionys. (*Ant. Rom.*, iv. 64) is still more expressive.

<sup>1</sup> "Fortissimi viri et milites strenuissimi ex agricolis gignuntur" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 5).

<sup>2</sup> "Convectare juvat prædas et vivere rapto" (Virg., *Æn.*, vii. 749.)

tains, as far as Algidus, a volcanic promontory, from which the Roman territory might be seen, and whose forests covered their march. Thence they suddenly poured into the plain, carrying off crops and herds; and before the people could take arms, they had disappeared. Faithful, however, to their plighted word, they had established the fetial right which the Romans had borrowed from them,<sup>1</sup> but which they seem no longer to have recognised at the time when, by their rapid incursions, they every year turned the attention of the people from their quarrels in the Forum. Notwithstanding their proximity to Rome and two centuries and a half of wars, they were the last of the Italians to lay down arms.

Less given to war and plunder, because their country was



Volscian coin.

richer, the Hernicans, notwithstanding the rocks which covered it,<sup>2</sup> formed a confederation, the principal members of which were the cities of Ferentinum, Alatrium and Anagnia.<sup>3</sup>

The imperishable walls of the two first-named towns, the linen books wherein Anagnia recorded her history, her reputation for wealth, the temples that Marcus Aurelius found there at every step, and the circus where the deputies of the whole league assembled, bear witness to their culture, their religious spirit, and their ancient might.<sup>4</sup> Placed between two nations of warlike temper, the Hernicans displayed a pacific spirit, and early associated them-

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i. 32.

<sup>2</sup> "Saxosis in montibus" (Serv. in *Æn.*, vii. 684): He takes them for Sabines.

<sup>3</sup> "Dives Anagnia" (Virg., *Æn.* vii. 684). Strabo (V. iii. 10) calls it illustrious (πάλις ἀξιώλογος).

<sup>4</sup> Ferentinum, on the Via Latina, between Anagnia and Frusino. Alatrium, a town of the same nation, is seven miles from the former.

selves with the fortune of the Latins and Romans against the Æquians and Volseians.

The Volseians, who were more numerous, inhabited the country between the land of the Rutulians and the mountains which separate the upper valleys of the Liris and Sagrus. The Etruscans, who were for some time masters of a part of their country, had there executed great works for carrying off the water, as they had done in the valleys of the Arno, Chiana, and Po, and had brought under cultivation lands which yielded thirty and forty fold. These swamps, famous under the name of the Pontine Marshes, had been at first only a vast lagoon, separated from the sea, like that of Venice, by the long islands which afterwards formed the coast of Astura to Circeii. They were bounded towards the south by the island of Æa, which in later times was united to the continent under the name of the Promontory of Circeii.<sup>2</sup> The superstitious fears which always people deep forests and wave-beaten rocks with strange and threatening powers, placed the abode of Circe, the dread enchantress, on this promontory, as in Celtic tradition the nine virgins of the island of Sein ruled the elements in the stormy seas of Armorica. This legend, which appears to be indigenous around the mountain, may be the remains



Circe, Ulysses, Elpenor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Etruscan mirror, taken from the *Etruskische Spiegel* of Gerhard (vol. iv. pl. CDIII.) was found at Tarquinii in 1863, and represents Ulysses, aided by Elpenor, forcing the enchantress to restore the human form to his companions, whom she had changed into swine. One of them still has a man's leg. The three names in Etruscan characters are:—Cerca for Circe, Uthste for Ulysses, Felparun for Elpenor.

<sup>2</sup> Front., *Epiet.* iv. 4.



of an ancient belief. Is not Circe, whom the Greeks connected with the ill-omened family of the King of Colchis, but who was said to be the daughter of the Sun, doubtless because in the morning, when the plain is still in shadow, her mountain is lighted by the first rays of the rising sun—Circe, who changes forms, and compounds magic draughts of the herbs<sup>1</sup> her promontory still bears<sup>2</sup>—may she not be some Pelasgian divinity, a goddess of medicine, like the Greek Æsculapius, who was also an offspring of the Sun, and who, fallen with the defeat of her nation, was degraded to a dread sorceress by the new comers?

The Volscians of the coast—with the island of Pontia and the stretch of coast which they possessed; with the ports of Antium and Astura, and that of Terracina, which has a circumference of no less than nine miles;<sup>3</sup> with the lessons or example of the Etruscans—could not fail to be skilful sailors; at all events they became formidable pirates. The whole Tyrrhenian Sea, as far as the lighthouse of Messina, was infested by their cruisers, and the injuries they inflicted on the Tarentine commerce nearly resulted in a war between the Romans and Alexander the Molossian king of Epirus. Yet Rome had already conquered Antium and destroyed its fleet.

The Volscians of the interior were no less dreaded in the plains of Latium and Campania, and, after two hundred years of war,<sup>4</sup> Rome only got rid of them by exterminating them. In the time of Pliny,<sup>5</sup> thirty-three villages had already disappeared in the

<sup>1</sup> The *crepis lacera* abounds there (Mic. i. 273); Strabo (V. iii. 6) was also aware that poisonous herbs grew there in great numbers. Cf. Virg. *Æn.* vii. 10, seq. The memory of the dread enchantress still lives there, and not long ago no peasant could have been found who would dare for any money to penetrate into the grotto said to be Circe's. (De Bonstetten, *Voyage sur le théâtre des six derniers livres de l'Énéide*, p. 73.)

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 85 (87); iii. 11 (9) thought, as indeed the appearance of the region proves, that the promontory of Circeii had been once an island, which some were inclined to recognise as the problematic island of Æa of Homer (*Odys.*, x. 135).

<sup>3</sup> De Prony, "Mém sur les marais Pontins." "Anxur . . . oppidum vetere fortuna opulentum." (Livy, iv. 59). Cf. Pliny, *Ibid.* iii. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, vi. 21. "Volsco velut sorte quadam prope in æternum exercendo Romano militi datos."

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 9: "A Circeii palus Pomptina est quem locum xxxiii. urbium fuisse Mucianus ter consul prodidit." In the whole of ancient Latium he mentions fifty-five ruined towns.

Pomptinum, which in the age of Augustus was nothing but a deadly solitude.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond the Volscians, as far as the Liris, in a country where the mountains only leave two narrow roads for the passage from Latium into Campania, dwelt the Aurunci. Heirs of the name of the great Italian race, they appear to have preserved its lofty stature, its fierce and daring aspect.<sup>2</sup> On their coasts, indeed, at Formiæ, the giant Laestrygonæ<sup>3</sup> were said to have lived. But in historic ages this nation remained in obscurity; Livy only speaks of it in describing the pitiless war made by Rome in 314, and the destruction of three of its towns.

Beyond the Liris the Romans considered Campania to begin, a relaxing and enervating country where no dominion has ever lasted more than a few generations, and where the earth itself, in its continual revolutions, seems to share the frailty of human things. The Lucrine lake, once so celebrated, has become a miry swamp, and Avernus, the 'mouth of hell,' has turned into a limpid lake. At Caserta a tomb has been found 90 feet underground; and the lava-streams, which bear upon them Herculeum and Pompeii, themselves hide a layer of arable soil and traces of ancient culture. 'There,' says Pliny, 'in that land of Bacchus and Ceres, where two springtides bloom, the Oscans, Greeks, Umbrians, Etruscans and Campanians contended in luxury and effeminacy;' and Strabo, astonished that so many nations should in turn have ruled and endured slavery there, laid the blame on the mildness of the skies and the fertility of the soil; whence, says Cicero, came all vices.<sup>4</sup>

The Oscans of Campania are in historic times only a population dominated and blending with foreign masters—Greeks established on the coast, Etruscans in the interior, and Samnites come down from the Apennines. Some Ausonian tribes, like the Sidicini of Teanum and the Aurunci of Cales, alone retained their liberty among the mountains which separate the Volturnus from the Liris.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, vi. 12: "Innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis, quæ nunc, vix seminario exiguo militum relicto, servitia Romana ab solitudine vindicant."

<sup>2</sup> Dionys., *Ant. Rom.*, vi. 32, and Livy, ii. 26.

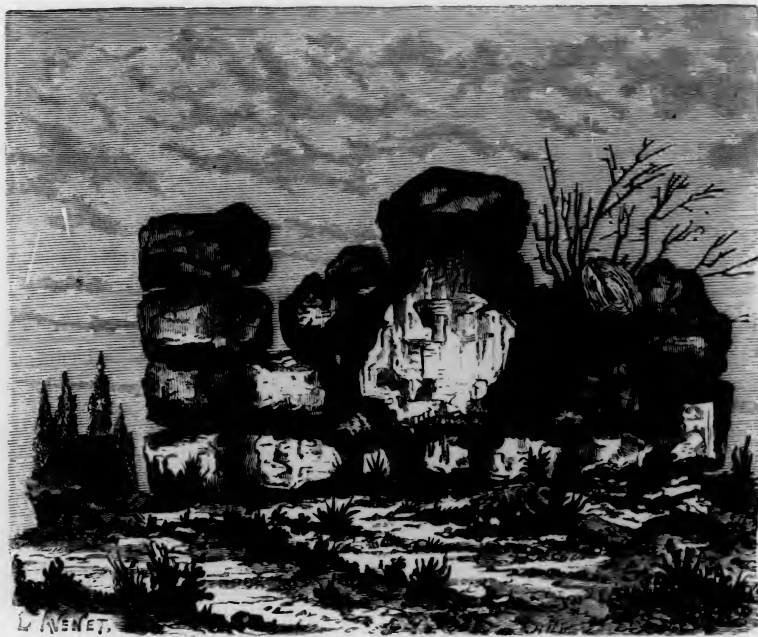
<sup>3</sup> Homer, *Odys.* x. 89, 134.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 9, " . . . summum Liberi Patris cum Cerere certamen." Cf. Florus, I. 16; Strabo, V. iv. 9; Cicero, *de Lege Agrar.* i. 6, 7.



On the other side of the peninsula, in Apulia, the basis of the population was also of Ausonian origin, as is proved by the names of the towns of the interior, and by the use of Oscan spread over a great part of southern Italy.

Originally, the Sabines, with whom almost all the Sabellian peoples are connected,<sup>1</sup> dwelt in the high country of the upper Abruzzi, round about Amiternum, whence issue the Velino, Fronto,



Wall of the town of Aurunci.<sup>2</sup>

and Pescara, and where the late melting of the snow sustains the pasturage when the sun is already scorching the plain. Thence they swept down upon the territory of Reate, out of which they drove the Casci, and arrived by way of Mount Lueretilis at the Tiber. On the north they pressed the Umbrians across the Nera; on the south they occupied a part of the left bank of the Anio,

<sup>1</sup> "Paterque Sabinus" (Virg., *Æn.*, vii. 178).

<sup>2</sup> Taken from the *Ann. du Bull.*, vol. iv. 1839

and in the eighth century they were, after the Etruscans, the most powerful people in the peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

The Sabines, shepherds and husbandmen, like all the Sabellians, lived in villages, and notwithstanding the large population, which brought under culture and peopled the land up to the summits of the most rugged mountains, they had scarce any towns but Amiternum and Reate. Cures, the gathering place of all the nation, was only a large village.

They were the Swiss of Italy: their habits were severe and religious; they were temperate, courageous, and honest; they had the unostentatious but solid virtues of the mountaineer, and they remained in the eyes of Italy a living picture of ancient times.<sup>2</sup> History, which recognises in them one of the principal elements of the Roman population, will not hesitate to refer to them the frugal and laborious life, the austere gravity, the respect for the gods, and the strictly constituted family which are found at Rome in the early centuries, and which were long preserved there.<sup>3</sup> They resemble the ancient Romans, too, in their contempt for mental culture—in all their land not a single Sabine inscription has been found.

When in these arid mountains famine seemed imminent or some war was unsuccessful, they devoted to the gods, by a sacred springtime (*ver sacrum*), everything which was born in March or April. Even children were offered in sacrifice. In later times the gods grew milder, only cattle were immolated or redeemed; and the children, when they reached the age of twenty, were conducted with veiled heads out of the territory, like those Scandinavian hordes, which, at fixed epochs, the law drove from the land in order to prevent famine. Oftentimes the god himself protected these young colonies, *sacrae acies vel Mamertini*, and sent them divine guides. Thus of the animals sacred to Mars, a wood-pecker (*picus*) led the Piceni; a wolf (*hirpus*) the Hirpini; and a wild bull the Samnites.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> "... Severissimorum hominum, Sabinorum" (Cic., in *Vat.*, 15); *pro Lig.* 2. "Disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum," (Livy, i. 18).

<sup>3</sup> Virg., *Georg.*, ii. 532; Servius in *Æn.*, viii. 638: "Sabinorum mores populum Romanum secutum Cato dicit."

<sup>4</sup> Fest s.v. "ver sacrum;" Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 18. During the second Punic war the

"From the Sabines," says Pliny,<sup>1</sup> "the Picentines are descended, by a sacred spring-time." But too many different races occupied this coast for an unmixed people to have resulted therefrom. In their fertile valleys the Picentines remained unaffected by all the Italian wars, and multiplied at leisure. Pliny asserts<sup>2</sup> that when they submitted to Rome, in 268, they were 360,000 in number. Among them were counted the Præutians, who formed a distinct



Coin of Teate, capital of the Marrucini.<sup>3</sup>

nation, settled in the high lands. By a singular chance, it was these poor mountaineers, scarce known to the historians of Rome, who gave their name to the centre of the peninsula, the Abruzzi.

The vast province commonly called by the name of the Sam-



Coin of the Frentani.<sup>5</sup>

num, and which includes all the mountains south of Picenum, and the Sabine land as far as Magna Grecia, was divided between two confederations, formed of what were held to be the bravest nations in Italy.

In the first league the Marsi and Peligni were most renowned for their courage. "Who shall triumph over the Marsi or without the Marsi?"<sup>4</sup> said they. Next to the Etruscan Aruspex there were no diviners more celebrated for their skill in reading signs, especially the flight of birds, than those of the Marsians. Among them we meet again with the *psylli* of Egypt, and the physician-sorcerers of the natives of the New World, who healed

Romans made a similar vow, with the exception of the proscription of children. Livy, xxii. 9. Sabine traditions said, too, that Semo Sancus, also named Dius Fidius, the divine author of the Sabellian race, had substituted rites free from blood for human sacrifices. (Dionysius *Ant. Rom.* i. 38).

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Nat.* iii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, a head of Pallas, above five o's, the sign of the quincunx; on the reverse, this same mark, a crescent, an owl standing on a capital, and the word TIATI.

<sup>4</sup> Appian *Bellum civile* i. 46. "Genus acre virum" (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 167). "Fortissimorum virorum, Marsorum et Pæignorum" (Cic., in *Vatin.* 15).

<sup>5</sup> A head of Mercury with the word FRENTEN in Oscan characters; on the reverse, Pegasus flying. See note 2. page 91.

with the simples gathered in their mountains, and with their magic incantations, *nenie*.<sup>1</sup> One family, which never intermarried with the rest, had the gift of charming vipers, with which the country of the Marsians abounded, and of rendering their bites harmless.<sup>2</sup> In the time of Elagabalus the reputation of the Marsian sorcerers still remained; even to this day the jugglers who go to Rome and Naples to astonish the people by their tricks with serpents, whose poisonous fangs they have extracted, always come from what was once the lake of Celano (*Fucinus*).<sup>3</sup> Now it is St. Dominic of Cullino who bestows this power; three thousand years ago it was a goddess held in great veneration in those same places, the enchantress Angitia, sister of Circe, or perhaps Medea herself, of the gloomy race of Aetes. Names change, but superstition endures, when men remain under the influences of the same places and in the same state of ignorance.

The country of the Marsians and Pelignians, situated in the heart of the Apennines, was the coldest in the peninsula:<sup>4</sup> thus the flocks which in summer left the scorched plains of Apulia, went then as they do now to feed in the cool valleys of the Pelignians, who moreover produced excellent wax and the finest of flax.<sup>5</sup> Their stronghold of Corfinium was chosen during the Social war to serve, under the significant name of *Italica*, as the capital of the Italians who had risen against Rome.

The other great Sabellian league consisted of the Samnite people, who had more brilliant destinies, great riches, a name dreaded as far as Sicily, as far even as Greece, but who paid for all this glory by fearful disasters. Being led, according to their legends, from the country of the Sabines to the mountains of Beneventum by the wild bull whose image is found on the coins of the Social war, the Samnites mingled with the Ausonian tribes, who remained in the Apennines, and spread from hill to hill as far as Apulia.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hor. *Epod.* xvii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,  
Mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat.

(Virg. *Æn.* vii. 754).

<sup>3</sup> Lake Fucinus, the area of which was 37,500 acres, and the depth 58 feet, was drained by Prince Torlonia between Aug. 9, 1862, and the end of June, 1875.

<sup>4</sup> The ancients had a proverbial saying *Peligna frigora*, and *Marsæ nives*, now they say *freddo d'Abruzzo*.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xi. 14; xix. 2.

While the Caudini and Hirpini<sup>1</sup> settled on the slopes of Mount Taburnus, the foot of which reached to a valley rendered famous by them under the name of the Caudine Forks, the Frentani established themselves near the upper sea, and irregular bands of them passed over the Silarus and formed on the further side the nation of the Lucanians, which early separated itself from the

league. This was composed of four nations (*Caraceni, Pentri, Hirpini* and *Caudini*) to whom belongs more particularly the glorious name of Samnites.



Samnite Warrior, after a Painted Vase in the Louvre.

Their country surrounded by the Sangro, Volturno and Calore, is covered with rugged mountains (the Matese), which preserve the snow until May<sup>2</sup> and of which the highest peak, Mount Miletto, rises to 6,500 feet. Thus the flocks found fresh pasturage and abundant springs among these high valleys during the scorching summer. These constituted the wealth of the country. Their produce sold in the Greek towns on the coast; the pay which they often received under the title of auxiliary troops; but, above

all, the booty which they brought back from their raids into Magna Grecia, accumulated great wealth in the hands of these warlike shepherds. In the time of the war against Rome the abundance of bronze in Samnium was so great that the younger Papirius carried off more than two million pounds of it;<sup>3</sup> and his colleague Carvilius had made, with nothing but the armour taken from the Samnite foot-soldiers, a colossal statue of Jupiter, which he placed on the Capitol, and which could be seen from

<sup>1</sup> Festus, s.v. *Hirpinos*; Cf. Strabo V.iv. 12; Serv. in *Æn.* xi. 173.

<sup>2</sup> Keppel-Craven, *Excursion in the Abruzzi*.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, x. 46.

the summit of the Alban Mount.<sup>1</sup> Like all warrior-nations, the Samnites exhibited their luxury in their armour; bright colours shone on their war-dress, gold and silver on their bucklers. Each soldier of the higher classes, arming at his own cost, was anxious to prove his valour by the splendour of his arms. And yet the wealth of the army does not imply the wealth of the people.

Calculating according to the numbers furnished by the historians of Rome, the population of Samnium has been rated at two million souls.<sup>2</sup> This result is an evident exaggeration, like the premises on which it rests. If the Samnites were not able to arm against Rome more than 80,000 foot soldiers and 8,000 cavalry, their population must have amounted at the most to 600,000 inhabitants. But it was sufficient for



Medal of Samnium.<sup>3</sup>

these stout soldiers, sometimes united under the supreme command of an *embradur* (imperator), to spread their raids and conquests all around their mountains. Their principal wealth consisted in their flocks, but for six or seven months the snow covered the pasture in the mountains, so that it was necessary to descend into the plains.<sup>4</sup> Hence came continual wars with neighbouring nations.

Though united in the same league the four Samnite nations each formed under its *meddix tuticus* a distinct and sovereign society, which often neglected the general interest to follow out particular enterprises. These sons of Mars, whose ancestors religion and policy had exiled, remained faithful to their origin. They preferred to the bonds which give strength, the isolation which first gives liberty, but presently promotes slavery.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 7 (18).

<sup>2</sup> Micali, *Storia*, etc. i. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Obverse, helmeted, the head of Mars, with the words *Mutii embradur*, in Oscan characters; reverse, two chiefs taking oath over a pig, which a kneeling soldier holds, and the legend *C.PAAPI* for *Papirius*, in Oscan characters. One C. Papirius Mutilus was *embradur* of the Samnites in the Social War, 90—89 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> We know that the tribute levied on the cattle which passed from the plains to the mountains in summer and back again in winter was the principal revenue of the kingdom of Naples, in later times nearly £800,000 per annum. The kings of Arragon had forced the tenants of the crown in Apulia to let the flocks of the Abruzzi pasture in their fields in winter. In our own days the landlords of Apulia were obliged to keep two-thirds of their land for grazing. See Keppel Craven, *Exc. in the Abr.* 1,267, and Symonds, p. 241.



If the thirteen Sabellian nations had been united, Italy was theirs. But the Lucanians were at enmity with the Samnites, the latter with the Marsic confederation, the Marsians with the Sabines, and the Picentines remained strangers to all the mountaineers' quarrels. Yet Rome, which represented, as no other ancient state had ever done, the opposite principle of political unity, only triumphed after the most painful efforts, and by exterminating this indomitable population.<sup>1</sup> She was, moreover, compelled to undertake the work of destruction twice over. The Samnite and Second Punic Wars had already made many ruins and solitudes; but when the vengeance of Sulla had passed over that desolated land, Florus could say: "In Samnium itself it would be vain to seek for Samnium." The ruin was so complete that only a few monuments of those people are left us, and more than twenty of their towns have disappeared without leaving any trace behind.

On the south-east, Tarentum and the great towns of Apulia stayed the Samnites; but towards the west the Etruscans of Campania were unable to defend that rich territory against them. Tired of their continual expeditions, the Etruscans thought to buy peace by sharing with the Samnites their fields and towns. One night they were surprised and massacred (about 423); Vulturnum took the name of Capua, and that of Campanians distinguished the new masters of the country.<sup>2</sup> The great Greek city, Cumæ, was then taken by assault, and a Campanian colony replaced a

Medal of Terina.<sup>5</sup>

part of the massacred inhabitants, yet without making the Oscan language and Sabellian customs supersede the Greek.<sup>3</sup> These herdsmen, who in their mountains raised fine breeds of horses,<sup>4</sup> became in the Campanian plains the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, and after him all the historians of Rome, have exaggerated this depopulation of Samnium, since according to the census preserved by Polybius, that country could furnish 77,000 soldiers after the first Punic War.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xii. 31: το ἔθνος τῶν Καμπανῶν συνίστη.

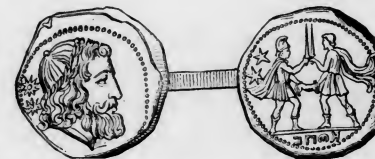
<sup>3</sup> See Livy, xl. 42, where the Cumæans demand the substitution of Latin for Greek in public records.

<sup>4</sup> Especially in those of the Hirpini, whose country still rears an excellent breed.

<sup>5</sup> Silver coin. Obverse, a woman's head; reverse, the nymph Lygea seated.

best horsemen of the peninsula, and the renown which this conquest won for them led the way to more. To the north, east and south they were surrounded by difficult countries and warlike nations, which blocked the road to fresh enterprises; but the sea remained open, and they knew that beyond the gulfs of Pæstum and Terina there was booty to be obtained and adventures to be found in Sicily. Under the ancient and expressive name of *Mamertines*, the Campanian horsemen offered to serve anyone who would pay them. The rivalry between the Greek cities, the ambition of the tyrants of Syracuse, the Carthaginian invasion, and the ceaseless war which desolated the whole island, always provided them with purchasers for their valour. And this trade of mercenaries became so lucrative that all the bravest of the Campanian youth passed over into the island, where the Mamertines were soon numerous enough to lay down the law and take their own way.

But whilst beyond the straits they were become a power against which Carthage, Syracuse, and Pyrrhus strove in vain, their towns on the banks of the Volturnus were being enfeebled by the same migrations which increased the military colony in Sicily. As early as the middle of the fourth century, at Cumæ Nola and Nuceria, the ancient inhabitants became masters again, and if Capua maintained its supremacy

Coin of Capua.<sup>1</sup>

over the neighbouring towns, it was only by losing all its Sabellian character. The effeminacy of the ancient manners reappeared, but stained with more cruelty. In funeral ceremonies there were combats of gladiators in honour of the dead; in the midst of the most sumptuous feasts, games of blood to enliven the guests,<sup>2</sup> and constant murder and treason in public life.

We have seen how the Samnites possessed themselves of the town by the massacre of their entertainers; the first Roman soldiers who were placed there, wished, according to their example, to put the inhabitants to death. During the second Punic war, Capua

<sup>1</sup> Laurel crowned head of Jupiter. Two soldiers joining swords, taking the oath over a pig.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæus, iv. 39; Livy, ix. 40; Silius, xi, 51.



sealed her alliance with the Carthaginians by the blood of all the Romans settled within her walls, and Perolla wished at his father's table to stab Hannibal. When finally, the legions re-entered it, all the senators of Capua celebrated their own funeral rites at a joyous

Coin of Lucania.<sup>1</sup>

feast, and drank poison in the last cup. No history is more bloody, and nowhere was life ever more effeminate.

The Lucanians had a destiny both less sad and less brilliant. Following the chain of the Apennines, this people entered ancient Enotria, the coasts of which were occupied by Greek cities, and where Sybaris ruled from the gulf of Paestum to that of Tarentum. After having slowly increased in the mountains, their population came down upon the cultivated territory of the Greek cities, and towards the middle of the fifth century, Pandosia, with the neighbouring towns, fell into their power. Masters of the western shores, they turned towards those of the

Coin of Thurii.<sup>2</sup>

Gulf of Tarentum, and placed the Greeks, already menaced on the south by the tyrants of Syracuse, between two dangers. Towards 430 B.C., they were already contending against Thurii, and such was their progress in the space of thirty-six years, notwithstanding their small number, which did not exceed 34,000 combatants,<sup>3</sup> that a great defensive league, the first that the Greeks of this coast had made, was formed against them and Dionysius of Syracuse. The penalty of death was pronounced against the chief of the city whose troops should not have assembled at the first news of the approach of the barbarians (394 B.C.<sup>4</sup>) These measures were fruitless: three years afterwards, all the youth of Thurii, desirous of recapturing the city of Laus, were destroyed in a battle, which gave almost the whole

<sup>1</sup> Helmeted head of Mars; reverse Bellona.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Minerva and the bull so frequently found on the coins of southern Italy.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus. xiv, 101-102.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 91.

of Calabria into the hands of the Lucanians.<sup>1</sup> Dionysius the Younger, frightened in his turn, in spite of a treaty concluded with them in 360 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> traced from the gulf of Scylacium to that of Hipponium a line of defence, intended to protect his Italian possessions against them.<sup>3</sup>

This period marked the greatest extension of the Lucanians. Thenceforth they did nothing but give way, enfeebled as they were by the lack of harmony between their different cantons, each of which had its peculiar laws and its chief (*meddix* or *præfatus*). Towards 356 B.C., the Bruttians make their appearance, whose revolt was countenanced by Dionysius, and little by little the frontier of Lucania receded as far as Laus and the Crathis. Shut in on the south by the Bruttians, who were as brave as themselves, they sought compensation at the expense of the Greeks on the shores of the Gulf of Tarentum; but this was only to call down upon them the arms of Archidamos, of Alexander the Molossian, and of the Spartan Cleonymus. Later, their attacks on Thurii brought on the war with Rome, which cost them their independence.

Of all the Sabellian peoples, the Lucanians seem to have remained the most unpolished, and most eager for war and destruction. The civilisation which surrounded them was not powerful enough to penetrate into those rugged mountains, into those deep forests, where they sent their sons to hunt the bear, the wild boar and other game, in order to accustom them early to danger.<sup>4</sup> Not very numerous and often divided, they nevertheless kept the conquered population rigorously enslaved, and extinguished in them even that Greek culture which had such vitality. "Having been barbarized," says Athenæus<sup>5</sup> of the inhabitants of Posidonia, "having lost even their language, they had at least preserved a Greek festival, during which they gathered together to re-awaken the ancient traditions,

<sup>1</sup> From Pandosia to Thurium, and even as far as Rhegium, Scylax, who wrote about 370 B.C., knows nothing but Lucanians all along the coast.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. xvi, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. vi, 1, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Justin. xxiii. 1. [The wild boar and the wolf are still found in these mountains, especially in the wild forests of the Sila.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Justin. xiv. 31. [It is difficult to conceive any real forgetfulness of their Hellenic culture, with the splendid temples before them, and which now, even in their ruin, are among the finest and most suggestive remains which modern Hellenists can study.—Ed.]

to recall the beloved names and their lost country; and then they parted weeping"—a sad and touching custom which attests a hard slavery. At the extremity of Eastern Calabria (the land of Otranto), inscriptions have been found which cannot be assigned to any known dialect.<sup>1</sup> They had been left there by the Iapygians, one of the most ancient nations of the peninsula. They seem to have ruled as far as Apulia; but were early brought under Hellenic influence, and began early to lose their nationality among the Greek colonists.

## V.

## GREEKS AND GAULS.

WE have just spoken of truly Italian races, of those at least who with the exception of the Etruscans, made use of a sister language to the Hellenic, and who gave to Rome its population, its manners, and its laws. There remain two nations to study, the Greeks and the Gauls, who established themselves later in the peninsula. The latter harassed it for a long time by their raids for plunder; the former opened it up to Hellenic civilisation. A few years ago Greek was still spoken in the neighbourhood of Loeri;<sup>2</sup> in the Calabrias, a sort of sacred dance resembles that which is represented on antique vases, and, at Cardeto, the women have so well preserved the type of Hellenic beauty, that it is said of them, "They are Minervas." In the same way it has been thought that from Turin to Bologna, the persistent traces of the Celtic invasion<sup>3</sup> are to be seen in the features and in the comparatively harsh and guttural accent of the Piedmontese, Lombards, and Romagnols.

The history of the Greek colonies in Italy is divided into two epochs. About the one, commencing in the eighth century before

<sup>1</sup> [These Messapian texts are being deciphered by Deecke, and are related to Italic dialects.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> [There are also five villages near Bari, where a Greek patois is still spoken, but Lenormant has lately proved, in his interesting work on *Magna Grecia*, that all these remains of Greek date from the repopulation of these parts of the Byzantine Empire in the 9th-11th centuries, A.D., and not from old classical times.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Doctor Edwards, in his letter to Am. Thierry.

our era, there can be no doubt;<sup>1</sup> the other, ascribed to the fourteenth century, has all historical probabilities against it. It is of course possible that, in the times which followed the Trojan war, after that great disturbance of Greece, Hellenic troops, driven out of the mother country by revolutions, landed on the shores of Italy. But as to what is said of the settlement of Diomedes in Daunia, or among the Veneti, who in the time of Strabo sacrificed a white horse to him every year; of the companions of Nestor at Pisa, of Idomeneus at Salentum—although Gnossus in Crete held his tomb—of Philoctetes at Petelia and Thurii, of Epeus at Metapontum, of Ulysses at Scylacium, of Evander, of Tibur, of Telegonus son of



Ruins of the Temple of Metapontum (Tavola dei Paladini).

Ulysses, in Latium, at Tusculum, Tibur, Præneste, Ardea, etc., these legends, we may say, can only be regarded as poetical traditions invented by rhapsodists in order to give an illustrious origin to these towns.

Nothing was wanting to sanction these glorious genealogies: neither the songs of the poets, nor the blind or interested credulity of the historians, nor even the venerated relics of the heroes. On

<sup>1</sup> [On these 8th century dates, and their invention, Cf. my *History of Greek Literature* vol. i., App. B.—*Ed.*]

the banks of the Numicius, the contemporaries of Augustus used to visit the tomb of Æneas, who had become the Jupiter Indigetes, and every year the consuls and Roman pontiffs offered sacrifices there. Circeii exhibited the cup of Ulysses and the tomb of Elpenor, one of his companions<sup>1</sup>; Lavinium, the undecaying ships of Æneas<sup>2</sup> and his Penates; Thurii, the bow and arrows of Hercules, given by Philoctetes; Macella, the tomb of this hero; Metapontum, the iron tools which Epeus used for making the Trojan horse<sup>3</sup>; Luceria, the armour of Diomedes<sup>4</sup>; Maleventum, the boar's head of Calydon; Cumæ, the tusks of the Erymanthian boar. Thus the inhabitants of a town of Armenia exhibited the remains of Noah's Ark.<sup>5</sup>

No one any longer holds to these fabulous origins except those people of Rome, who still say: *Siamo Romani*, and would willingly say like the Paduans: *Sangue Troiano*. Moreover, even if we considered as authentic the first settlements of the Greek race in Italy, we could not allow them any historical importance; for, left without intercourse with the mother-country, they lost the character of Hellenic cities, and when the Greeks arrived in the eighth century, they found no further trace of these uncertain colonies. To this class of legendary narratives belong the traditions of the Trojan Antenor, founder of Padua, and of Æneas carrying into Latium the Palladium of Troy. The Roman nobles desired to date from the Trojan war, like the French from the Crusaders.

According to Herodotus, the first Greeks established in Japygia were Cretans whom a tempest had cast there. Induced by the fertility of the soil, they had burnt their ships and built Iria in the interior of the country. But the most ancient Grecian colony, of which the establishment is beyond doubt, is that of the Chalcidians, founders of Cumæ. Led by Hippocles and Megasthenes, they ventured, says tradition, across unknown seas, guided in the day time by a dove, and at night by the sound of the mystic bronze.<sup>6</sup> They built Cumæ on a promontory which commands the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, V. iii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, iv. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Justin, xx. 2.

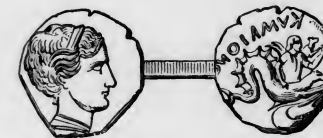
<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo. V. iv. 4. *πασῶν ἔστι πρεσβυτάτη τῶν τε Σικελικῶν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν.* With the

sea and the neighbouring plains, opposite the Isle of Ischia. Its prosperity was so rapid, owing to a position in the middle of the Tyrrhenian coast, facing the best ports and in the most fertile country of Italy, that the colony was able to become in its turn a metropolis,<sup>1</sup> to assist Rome and the Latins in the time of Porsenna, to shake off the yoke of the Etruscans of the North, and to contend on its own account with those of Campania. The battle of the year 474 B.C. resounded as far as Greece, where Pindar celebrated it. But in 420 B.C. the Samnites entered Cumæ. Yet, notwithstanding the estrangement and in spite of the barbarians, Cumæ remained for a long time Greek in language, manners and memories; and every time a danger menaced Greece, she thought in her grief that she saw her gods weeping.<sup>2</sup> These tears repaid the songs of Pindar.<sup>3</sup>

In this volcanic land, near the Phlegrean Fields and the dark Avernus, the Greeks believed themselves to be at the gates of Hades. Cumæ, where, according to some tradition, Ulysses had evoked the shades, became the abode of one of the Sibyls and of the cleverest necromancers of Italy; each year many awe-struck pilgrims visited the holy place, to the great profit of the inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> It was there, too, in this outpost of Greek civilisation, in the midst of these Ionians full of the Homeric spirit, that the legends were elaborated, which brought so many heroes from Greece into Italy.



Coin of Cumæ.<sup>1</sup>

After Cumæ and its direct colonies, the most famous of which is the *New City*, Naples, the other Chalcidian cities were Zanele,

Chalcidians were mingled colonists from Cyme, on the coasts of Asia Minor, where Homer sang. The father of Hesiod was born at Cyme, and Hesiod mentions Latinus as the son of Ulysses and Circe. Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, places this event in 1050. It is a very remote date.

<sup>1</sup> Cumæ founded *Dicearchia* or *Puteoli*, which served as its port, *Parthenope* and *Neapolis*, which eclipsed it. Naples reckoned also amongst its founders Athenians and Eretrians. These were first settled in the island of Ischia, whence they had been driven by a volcanic eruption. (Strab., V. iv. 9.) Avernus and the Lucrine lake abounded in fish: "vectigalia magna præbebant" (Serv. in *Georg.*, ii., 16).

<sup>2</sup> The miracle of the tears of Apollo of Cumæ was renewed at the time of the war of Aristonicus and Antiochus.

<sup>3</sup> [No one would have been less content with such remuneration than Pindar.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> A woman's head, and on the reverse the monster Scylla which defended the entrance of the Strait of Messina. The *Σκύλαϊον* was the rock which bounds Bruttium on the West.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *Tusc.* i. 5.



afterwards called Messina, and Rhegium, both of which guarded the entrance to the Straits of Sicily, but whose military position was too important not to draw upon them numerous calamities. The Mamertines, who took Messina by surprise and massacred all its male population, only did, what some years later, a Roman legion repeated at Rhegium.

The Dorians, who ruled in Sicily, were less numerous in Italy; but they had Tarentum, which rivalled in power and wealth Sybaris and Croton, and which preserved its independence longer than these two towns.<sup>1</sup> Rich offerings, deposited at the temple of Delphi, still bore witness, in the time of Pausanias, to its victories over the Japygians, Messapians and Peucetians. It had also raised



Coin of Ancona.<sup>2</sup>

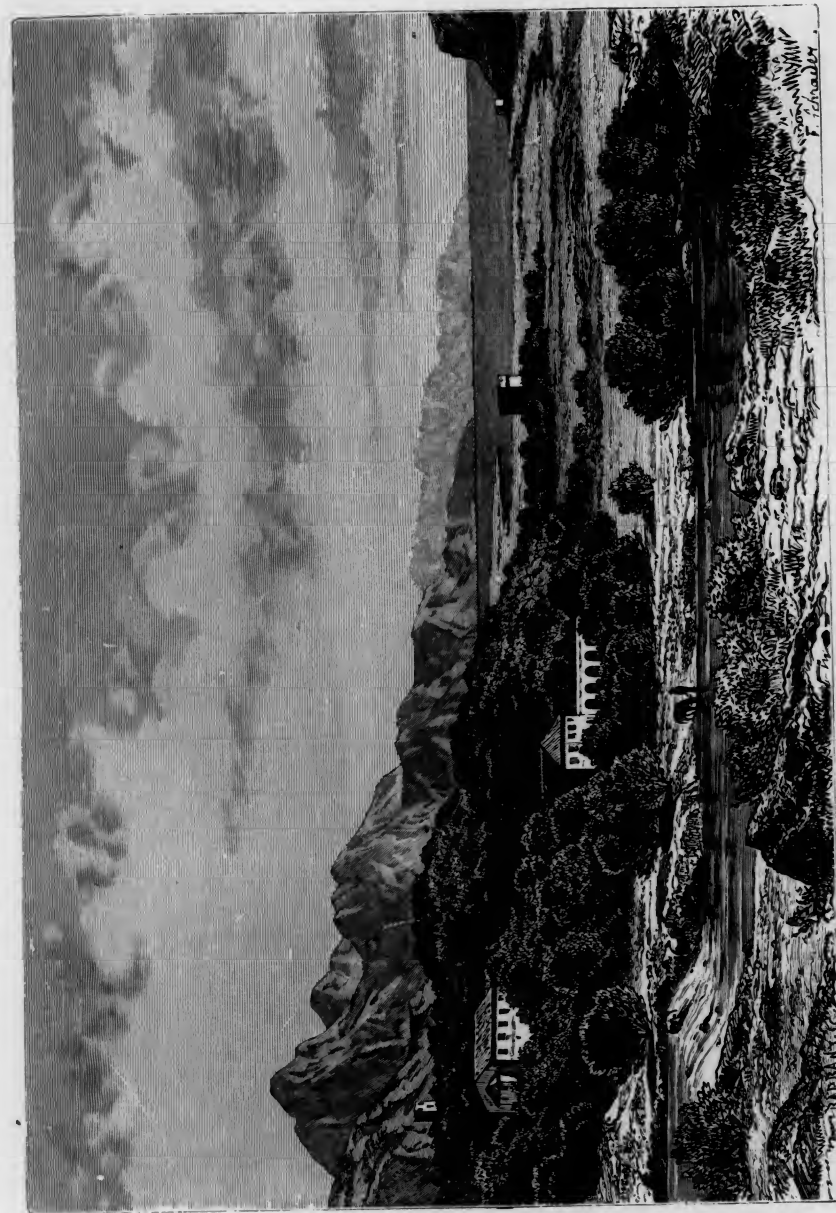
to its gods, as a token of its courage, statues of a colossal height, and all in fighting attitude, but these could not defend it against Rome, and the conqueror who razed its walls left in derision the images of its warlike divinities. Ancona, founded about 380 B.C., in Picenum, by Syracusans, who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius the Elder, was also Dorian.

The most flourishing of the Achaean colonies was at first Sybaris, which had subdued the indigenous population of the countries of wine and oxen (*Enotria* and *Italy*). At the end of a century, about 620 B.C., it possessed a territory covered by twenty-five towns, and could arm three hundred thousand fighting men. But a century later, in 510, it was taken and destroyed by the Crotoniates. All Ionia, which traded with it, lamented its downfall, and the Milesians went into mourning. Its land used to yield a hundredfold:<sup>3</sup> it is now only a deserted and marshy shore.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxvii. 16. Strabo says (vi. iii. 4): ἰσχυσαν δὲ ποτε οἱ Ταραντῖνοι καθ' ὑπερβολήν. The wealth of Tarentum arose from its fisheries, from its manufacture [and dyeing] of the fine wool of the country, and from its harbour, which was the best on the south coast.

<sup>2</sup> Ancona in Greek signifies *elbow*, hence the half bent arm on the reverse. The ancients often rendered a name by a figure which gave the meaning of it. Thus certain coins of Sicily, the island with three promontories, have three legs pointed in different directions and united at the top. The modern Sicilians have kept this emblem, the *triquetra*.

<sup>3</sup> Varro, *de Re rust.*, i. 44. [The site of the town is not yet accurately known, but is somewhere under the Crathis, which was turned over it. The plain is really rich



Plain of Sybaris.



On the western coast of Lucania, Laus, which the Lucanians destroyed after a great victory over the confederate Greeks, and Posidonia, whose imposing ruins<sup>1</sup> have rendered famous the now deserted town of Pæstum, were colonies of Sybaris. Other Achæans, invited by them, had settled at Metapontum, which owed great wealth to its agriculture and to its harbour, now converted into a lagoon.<sup>2</sup> Crotona had as rapid a prosperity as Sybaris, its rival, but one which lasted

longer. Its walls, double as great in extent (100 stadia) indicate a more numerous population, whose renown for pugilistic combats [for cookery and for medicine] would also lead

us to consider the population more energetic. Milo of Crotona is a well-known name. The tyrants of Syracuse took it three times, and it had lost all importance when the Romans attacked it. Locri, of Æolian origin, never attained to so much power. Its downfall, begun by Dionysius the Younger, was completed by Pyrrhus and Hannibal.

The Ionians had only two towns in Magna Grecia: Elea, famous for its school of philosophy, and Thurii, the principal founders of which were the Athenians. Hostile to the Lucanians and to Tarentum, Thurii, like its metropolis, entered early into the alliance of Rome.

It is remarkable that all these towns had a rapid growth, and that a few years sufficed for them to become States, reckoning the number of their fighting men by

in grass and in cattle, but much visited by malaria. Excavations, accompanied by a change in the river's course, would probably bring to light the most interesting remains yet found in Italy.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> The two temples and stoa of Pæstum.

<sup>2</sup> Now Lago di Santa Pelagina. When the water is low, remains of ancient constructions are seen there. It was destroyed by the bands of Spartacus.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Juno Lacinia; on the reverse, Hercules sitting.

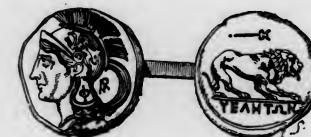
<sup>4</sup> Helmeted Minerva; lion couchant.



Coin of Laus.



Coin of Crotona.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of Elea.<sup>4</sup>

the hundred thousand. It was not only the favourable climate of Magna Grecia, the fertility of the soil, which, in the valleys and plains of the two Calabrias, excelled that of Sicily,<sup>1</sup> nor even the wisdom of their legislators, Charondas, Zaleucus, Parmenides and Pythagoras, that effected this marvel; but the clear-sighted policy which admitted all strangers into the city,<sup>2</sup> and for some centuries converted the Pelasgian populations of the south of Italy into a great Greek nation. Doubtless, distinctions were established, and there were probably in the capitals plebeians and nobles, in the country serfs of the soil, and in the conquered towns subjects; but these differences prevented neither union nor strength. It was by this means, too, by this assimilation of conquered and conquerors that Rome increased. But Rome preserved its discipline for a long time, whereas the towns of Magna Grecia, undermined within by intestine divisions and menaced without by Carthage and Syracuse, by the tyrants of Sicily and the King of Epirus, incessantly harassed by the Italian Gauls and the Samnites, especially by the Lucanians, were, moreover, enfeebled by rivalries which prepared for the Romans an easy conquest.

If Umbria owes its name to a Gallic tribe, our fathers must have crossed the Alps the first time in a large body at a very early epoch.<sup>3</sup> The invasion of the sixth century is more certain

<sup>1</sup> Dolomieu, *Dissertation sur le tremblement de terre de 1783*. [In natural beauty Calabria far surpasses the greater part of Sicily.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, ii. 39; Diod. xii. 9. Sybaris ruled four nations and twenty-five towns (Strab. vi. i. 13). There is, doubtless, a great exaggeration in the figure of 300,000 fighting men, but the number of inhabitants must have been much larger than that of the towns of Greece proper. At certain of its feasts, Sybaris assembled as many as 5,000 cavalry, four times more than Athens ever had (Athen., xii. 17 & 18; Diod., fragm. of bk. viii.; Scymn., 340). It was the same at Crotona. The Pelasgians of Lucania and Bruttium showed the same readiness as those of Greece in allowing themselves to be absorbed by the Hellenes and in adopting their language and manners, and for the same reasons of identity of origin, or at least near relationship. This influence of the Hellenes was so strong, that notwithstanding the later Roman colonies, Calabria, like Sicily, remained for a long time a Greek country. It was only at the commencement of the fourteenth century that the Greek language [re-introduced in the eleventh] began to be lost there. As to the prosperity of these towns, it is connected, more than has been shown, with that of the Greek colonies in general. Masters of all the shores of the great basin of the Mediterranean, the Greeks had in their hands the commerce of the three worlds. Continued intercourse united their towns, and every point of this immense circle profited from the advantages of all the others. The prosperity of Tarentum, Sybaris, Crotona and Syracuse, corresponded with that of Phocæa, Smyrna, Miletus and Cyrene.

<sup>3</sup> Geographical names, dolmens, etc., reveal the presence, in the valley of the Danube from the Black Sea to the Schwartzwald, of numerous Gallic populations which may



Harbour of Metapontum (p. cxv.)

It is said that the Gallic tribes of the north-west, driven back on the Cevennes and the Alps by invaders from beyond the Rhine, accumulated there, and like waves long pent up, overflowed to the number of three hundred thousand across the Alps into the valley of the Po. On the banks of the Ticino, the Biturigan Bellovesus overwhelmed an Etruscan army and established his people, the Insubrians, between this river, the Po and the Adda.<sup>1</sup>

Bellovesus had shown the way; others followed it. In the space of sixty-six years, the Cenomani, under a chief surnamed the whirlwind (*Elitovius*), Ligurians, Boians, Lingones, Anamans

have come thence directly into Italy. In that case the Gauls of the banks of the Loire would only have been the western group of this great nation. Cf. *Revue archéolog.* for January, 1881, p. 50.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v. 34, 35.

Sabassian	Rhaetian	Euganean	Etruscan
A	AA^	^ A	A F
3	*	*	*
E	11	1	E
7 J	11	11	*
‡ ‡	*	*	*
B	≡ B	≡	*
⊗ O	⊙ ◇ ♢	◇ ◇	*
I	I	I	I
*	X	X	K
✓ J	J	J	l
W W	W W	W	W
V V	V	V	V
*	*	*	*
*	○ ◇ ♢	○ ◇	○
^	^	1	1
M	M M X	M X	X
D	D D	D D	D
2 2	2	2	2 2
†	† X	† X	X
V	V	V	V
⊙	*	*	*
8	*	*	*
↓ Y	↓ Y	Y	*

Alphabets of Northern Italy



and Senones,<sup>1</sup> drove the Etruscans from the banks of the Po and the Umbrians from the shores of the Adriatic as far as the river Esino (*Æsis*). Some remains of the Etruscan and Umbrian powers existed, however, in the midst of the Gallic populations and formed small States which were free, but tributary and always exposed, from the fickleness of these barbarians, to sudden attacks. Thus Melpum was surprised by treachery and destroyed on the same day, it is said, as the Romans entered Veii.<sup>2</sup>

As conquerors, the Gauls did not go beyond the limits where the invasions of the Senones had stopped. But this vigorous race, these men eager for tumult, plunder and battle, long troubled the peninsula as they did all the ancient world, until the legions were able to reach them in the middle of their forests and to fix them to the soil. They inhabited unwalled villages, says Polybius, slept on grass or straw, and had no knowledge except of fighting and a little husbandry. Living chiefly on meat, they only valued flocks and gold,—ready wealth which does not impede the warrior, and which he carries everywhere along with him. Under their rule Cisalpine Gaul returned to the barbarism from which the Etruscans had saved it: the forests and marshes spread; the passes of the Alps especially, remained open, and new bands continually descended from them, which claimed their share of the *country of the wine*. Their high stature, their savage shouts, their passionate and menacing gestures, and that parade of courage which, on days of battle, made them strip off all their clothing in order to fight naked, frightened the Italians so much that at their approach the whole population took up arms. When the young and fortunate Alexander threatened them, the Gauls of the Danube replied that they feared nothing but that the sky should fall, and the first Roman army that saw those of Italy fled terrified; yet Rome was compelled to meet them everywhere, at Carthage, in Asia, with Hannibal, at her gates even, and up to the foot of the Capitol!

Italy in this early age has only a twilight of history, the uncertain rays of which with difficulty pierce the darkness in

<sup>1</sup> With the Senones, Strabo unites (V. i. 6) the Gesates, "The two nations," says he, "who took Rome."

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 17 (21).

which the commencement of the nations is concealed. However, by this still doubtful light, we can recognise some facts important to general history and particularly to that of Rome.

Thus, all or nearly all the Italiotes belonged to the Aryan race. They were more connected with the Hellenic tribes than the Germans are with the Celts and Slavs, which are also detached branches of this powerful stem. But if this relationship to the Greeks disposed them to yield to the influence of Hellenic civilisation, they borrowed from their brothers of Hellas neither their language, nor their worship, nor their institutions of early days.

In what concerns Rome we note the following points:

The preponderance, in the eighth century, on both banks of the Tiber, of the Sabines and Etruscans, and consequently their influence on the institutions and manners of the nation which arose beside them and which increased at their expense.

The feebleness of the Latins, which favoured the beginnings of the Eternal City.

The power but insubordinate spirit of the Sabellians.

The political divisions of the Italian nations, sustained by the very division of the soil and the diversity of their origin.

Let us imagine in the midst of these tribes, rendered strangers to one another by long isolation, a small nation which made a necessity of war, a daily habit of the exercise of arms, a virtue of military discipline, and we shall understand that this nation, formed for conquest, must triumph over all these tribes, often related to it in origin, which, when attacked in succession, perceive too late that the downfall of each was the threat and the announcement of the coming downfall of the next.

## VI.

## POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF THE ANCIENT NATIONS OF ITALY.

IN Italy, as in the rest of Europe, the most ancient civilisation seems to retain something of the theocratic forms of Asia, whence it has come, with this difference, however, that an order of priests is not found distinct from the rest of the citizens. The same men were heads of the people, and ministers of the gods; so that, according to the more *human*, and more political spirit of the West, the relations were the reverse of what they had been in the East: the warrior took precedence of the priest; before being pontiff or augur, the noble was a patrician; he did not shut himself up in a sanctuary, but lived before the public gaze; he did not remain tied to unchangeable forms, but modified them, according to the wants of the State; religion, in fact, was for him not only an end, but a means and an instrument all the more formidable, because it was employed by believers, so that statecraft could bring fanaticism to its aid.

Among the Etruscans, the two characters of the priest and warrior appear in equilibrium. Their *lucumos*, alone instructed in the augur's science, alone eligible by hereditary right for public functions, guardians of the mysteries, and masters of everything divine and human, form a military theocracy founded on divine right, and the antiquity of families. Among the Oscan and Sabellian nations, the balance seems disturbed to the advantage of the warrior. The chief is the man revered for the antiquity of his race and the grandeur of his house, powerful by the extent of his domains, and the number of his relatives, slaves, and clients.

Agricultural and shepherd nations, for the very reason that they remain in contact with nature, follow it closely in their institutions; for them, Jews and Arabs, Celts of Scotland and Ireland, or natives of Latium and the Sabine country, the family is the first element of society, and the patriarchal authority of the chief who, like Abraham, fights and sacrifices in turn, is the

earliest government. At Rome, all rights came from the family; the heads of the State were the Fathers, *patres* and *patricii*; property was the *patrimonium*; the country, the common property of the fathers, *res patria*. Yet the right of primogeniture, which is found among so many nations, was unknown on the banks of the Tiber. With the family are connected the servants, devoted for life and death to him who nourishes and protects them, who leads them to battle, and enriches them with spoil, like the German *comites*, the Aquitanian *soldurii*, the members of the Scotch clans, like, in fact, the Italian clients, as regards their patron. Patronage, *patrocinium*,<sup>1</sup> and the patriciate ought then to be raised from the rank of a particular institution, in which historians have long placed them, to that of a law of the very organisation of primitive societies. When there are no institutions, it is very necessary for the nascent State that there should be, between the strong and the feeble, between the rich and the poor, an early association: an association with varying obligations, granting here more, there less, to the liberty of the protected and to the rights of the protector. At Rome, this relation was called clientship; in the middle ages, feudalism.

Like the Etruscan *lucumos*, the Latin and Sabine patricians were the priests of their families and clients; they sacrificed to the domestic penates; they fulfilled the public ceremonies, and held the magistracies; in a word, they had both religious and political authority. But in Latium, religion, because it was more popular, protected their privileges less than in Etruria. So the great men of Rome lost no time in borrowing from the Etruscans their augural knowledge, and in buying, at a great price, the Sibylline books, in order to place by the side of the popular religion, accessible to all, a State religion, reserved for themselves alone.

From this union between statecraft and religion, from this double character of the Italian aristocracy, especially in Etruria,

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius Hal. (ii. 10, 9) expressly regards Roman *patronage* as an old Italian custom. The Javan *tiatias* and Albanian *phars* rest upon the same principle; they are families composed of a head, relatives, and servants, all depending upon him. Clientship existed among the Sabines (Livy, ii. 16; Dion. v. 40, and x. 14); among the Etruscans (Livy, v. 1, ix. 36 and xxiii. 3, Dion. Hal. ix. 5). Cf. Livy, x. 5, the *gens Licinia* at Arrezo; at Capua (Livy, xxiii. 2, 7); among the Samnites, who have their *principes*, *primores*, *nobiles*, *equites*, *milites aurati et argentati*.

it resulted that public and private rights were closely united with religious rights, that religion, as in the East, was the bond of every city, and the principle of all jurisprudence, and that ancient legislations, placed under divine sanction, gained thereby a higher authority. Moreover, as it is the essence of all religions to love mystery, especially of those that are in possession of the heads of the State, the civil laws were wrapped up in secret and mysterious religious forms.<sup>1</sup> "Preserved in a dumb language, and only explaining themselves by holy ceremonies, whereof some rites remained in the *acta legitima*, they were long obeyed with scrupulous piety."<sup>2</sup> The aristocracy, who were its sole depositaries, found therein a power, which for centuries the plebeians dared not dispute.

The greatest strength of this aristocracy was, however, the possession of the soil, even in Etruria, where industry and commerce had created the movable wealth of gold beside the inconvertible wealth of land. To possess land was, as in the middle ages, not only the sign of power but power itself; for vast domains furnished a whole army of servants and dependents. Originally these domains were equal,<sup>3</sup> and the aristocracies, by their number and the equality of their members, were truly democracies. In the Greco-Italian states, generally formed by a few migrations, colonies, or *Sacred Springs*, society existed before property. There were citizens before there were landowners, and when a town rose the soil could be divided geometrically: each citizen received an equal share. The principle of feudal and continental Europe, that political rights flow from possession of property, was inverted by antiquity. At Lacedæmon it was as Dorians, as citizens and founders of the State, that the Spartans received 9,000 shares, and no new right sprang from that concession of property. Before receiving their part of the promised land, the Hebrews were all equal, all members of God's people, and

<sup>1</sup> The passage of Festus about the Etruscan ritual show clearly the sacerdotal character of Etruscan legislation. It is religion rules all things; it was there written, said he, "quo ritu condantur urbes, aræ, ædes sacrentur; qua sanctitate muri, quo jure portæ, quo modo tribus, ceteraque ejusmodi ad bellum ac pacem pertinentia."

<sup>2</sup> Vico, ii. 283.

<sup>3</sup> As at Sparta. The 9000 shares given to the Spartans were inalienable. [But this was probably a modern theory, devised in the time of Agis and Cleomenes, as Grote has conclusively shown in spite of the arguments of recent German critics.—*Ed.*]

after the division they remain as they were before. In Egypt, at Cyrene, in all the Greek Colonies similar divisions took place without implying any political consequence.<sup>1</sup>

With us these agrarian laws would be a supremely iniquitous measure, because property now represents the accumulated fruits of the labour of many generations; in ancient times they only resulted in the increase of the number of citizens, in annulling unjust usurpations, and leading the state back to primitive equality. They were nevertheless violently rejected wherever there arose, as at Rome and in Etruria, a second people, poor and oppressed, which might have become too formidable if to the power of numbers they had joined that of fortune. To avoid these reforms even Religion was called to the aid of civil law, and made to imprint on landed property a sacred character. She it was who divided the land, who by prayers, libations and sacrifices marked the boundaries that no one could remove without incurring the divine wrath.<sup>2</sup> *Numa . . . statuit eum qui terminum exarasset, et ipsum et boves sacros esse.* This religion of property had its God, *Terminus*, the immovable Guardian of land marks, who, in tradition, will not fall back even before the master of heaven and earth. "Ill-luck," said an old prophecy, "to him who displaces *Terminus* in order to increase his domain! His land shall be beaten with storms, his wheat eaten with mildew, his house overthrown, and all his race shall



The God *Terminus*, after a statue in the Louvre.

<sup>1</sup> Joshua xx.; Plut. *Lyc.*; Herod ii. 109; Arist., *Pol.* vii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The land to be marked out was for the *agrimensor*, who was both priest and augur, an enclosure wherein a religious act was to take place. Like the sanctuary of the Gods, it was a *templum*, whose limits were put in connection with the divisions which the augur established in aerial space, when he consulted the omens. An altar was raised at the limit, and the entrails of the victims were placed under the boundary stone, which by this consecration became itself a god; and the property, the *ager auspicatus vel limitatus* could not be usurped. Cicero, in the second *Philippic* (§ 40), denies that any one had the right to lead a new colony into the territory of an ancient one not yet destroyed. "Negavi in eam coloniam, quæ esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolomis, coloniam novam deduci posse."



perish." Never has landed property been more energetically protected, and with it the hereditary power of riches. Thus it was that Roman Society remained deeply aristocratic to its last day.

This consecration of property was especially the work of the Etruscans, whose conquests and influence extended the use of it into a great part of the peninsula, and no divinity, says Varro, was more honoured in all Italy than the God of Limits.<sup>1</sup>

On this double basis of religion and property rose the old aristocracy of Italy, and in late times that of Rome. Uniting these two elements of strength, which each separately confer power, what might not be its duration and ascendancy? As long indeed as the city did not assume the proportions of an Empire, no families arose possessing power by hereditary right. The magistrates were almost always elected annually, like the *lucumos* of Etruria, the *meddix tuticus* of the Campanians,<sup>2</sup> and the *prætor* or dictator of the Latin cities. In grave circumstances a supreme chief was elected, such as the *embradur* (imperator) of the Sabellians, the king whom the twelve Etruscan cities named, each sending him a lictor in token of the power over the whole of the nation<sup>3</sup> which was committed to him, such in short as that dictator of Tusculum, Egerius, who was recognised chief of the Latin confederation in order to undertake the dedication of the common temple of Aricia. In the heroic age, legend tells of kings in Latium; but at the time of the foundation of Rome there were none left save in the little towns of the Sabine territory.<sup>4</sup> Even Alba no longer had aught but dictators; and, in detestation of the royal name, popular stories were already repeated about the cruelties of Mezentius and of those tyrants who, struck by the Divine anger, had been buried with their palaces at the bottom of lake Albano. When the waters fell, it was thought that these guilty dwellings might be seen.<sup>5</sup>

On a hill, on the borders of a lake or on the steep banks of some

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fast.* ii, 639-684.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxiv, 19; Festus s.v. *Tuticus*.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, i. 8.

<sup>4</sup> At a later epoch there were still kings among the Daunians, Peucetians, Messapians and Lucanians. (Strabo. v. and vi. *passim*; Livy, i. 17; Paus. x. 13.) But they were perhaps only simple leaders in war, like the Samnite *embradur*.

<sup>5</sup> Virg. *Æn.* viii. 7 and 481; Dionys. i. 71.

river, but always in a position difficult of access,<sup>1</sup> rose the capital of each state, generally not very extensive, and fortified, especially in Etruria, with all the art of the times. Fæsulæ, Rusellæ, Populonia and Cosa, the walls of which may still be seen, were only three quarters of a league round, Volaterræ a league and-a-half, and Veii, the largest of all the Etruscan cities, less than two-and-a-half leagues. The Latin cities were not nearly so large, yet they, according to the Etruscan ritual followed in Latium, preserved a free space between the nearest buildings and the walls, as well as between the wall and the cultivated fields. This was the *pomerium*, the sacred boundary of the city, within which dwelt none but true citizens, that is to say heads of families, the fathers or patricians with their servants and clients (*gentes patriciæ*). Plebeians and foreigners remained outside the *pomerium*, without the political city.

On a place set apart in the midst of the town the patricians assembled in arms<sup>2</sup> like the Germans and Gauls, to deliberate on their common interest. According to the Etruscan usage<sup>3</sup> they were divided into tribes, curies and centuries, the number of which was determined by a sort of sacred arithmetic. The Eugubine tables show that this division took place in Umbria likewise; but the Oscans and Sabellians, freer from sacerdotal fetters than the Etruscans, do not appear to have recognised that mysterious authority of number which plays so great a part in Rome.

In states subjected to the authority of a powerful aristocracy, there is often found side by side with the docile population another population in revolt, which dwells in the depths of the forests and lives by pillage. These outlaws, the heroes of barbarous times, must have been very numerous in ancient Italy, where, moreover, amid so many rival cities, the military spirit

<sup>1</sup> Many towns of modern Italy are still in the place of the ancient cities. That of Capistrello commands the valley of the Liris, above the point where the escape channel of lake Fucinus, designed by Cæsar and carried out by Claudius, opens.

[This peculiar character of Italian towns is still very striking to the traveller, especially in southern or mountainous Italy. Owing to long injustice and weakness of home governments, and the raids of pirates up to the present century, isolated homesteads are a rare exception, and the population live in villages perched like eagles' nests on the top of the rocks, from which they come down to till the slopes and valleys, and return in the evening.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Quir*, lance; thence *quirites* and *curia*, the place where the *quirites* assembled.

<sup>3</sup> Fest. S.V. *Rituales*; Virg. *Æn.* x. 201.



sustained by continual warfare gave rise to bands of mercenaries who sold their services, like the condottieri of the middle ages, or made war on their own account.<sup>1</sup> We shall see how the Mamertines fared in Sicily. The fortune of a few Tuscan chiefs was no less brilliant,<sup>2</sup> and the Etruscan condottiere Mastarna, the son-in-law and heir of Tarquin the Elder, involuntarily calls to mind that other condottiere, Francesco Sforza, son-in-law and successor of a duke of Milan. Romulus himself, proscribed from the time of his birth, rejected by the patrician caste of Alba, associated in tradition<sup>3</sup> with other condottieri similarly repulsed by the Etruscan aristocracy, appears to have been nothing but one of these warrior chiefs, who knew how to choose with marvellous instinct the admirable position of Rome, and hide his eyrie between the river, the wooded hills, and the marshy plains which extend from their foot to the Tiber.

## VII.

## RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION.

Except in Etruria, ancient Italy had few mysteries or profound dogmas. Its religion was simple; from the necessities of life and from the labours of the field<sup>4</sup> it derived the impressions of admiration or affright which that lovely and changeable nature produced. In this essentially rural religion all services took place in the open air. The first fruits of the field and flock were offered to the God on the altar of sacrifice which stood before the temple, there were pious songs, prayers, religious dances, garlands of flowers and foliage suspended on the sacred walls, and when the faithful were rich enough for such an outlay, a few grains of incense were burnt on the altar, and perfumes in the interior of

<sup>1</sup> Livy (iv. 55.; vi. 6) speaks of the bands who issued from the country of the Volscians, without leave from the national council, and Dionys. (*Ant. Rom.* vii. 3.) of the mercenaries whom the Etruscans took into their pay.

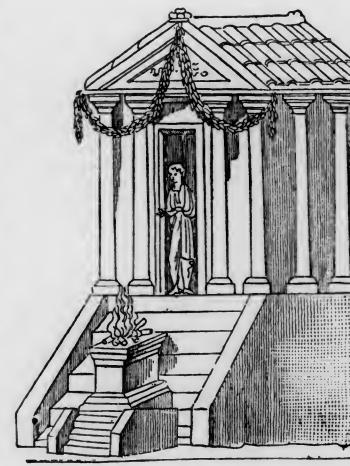
<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann.* iv. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* iii. 37. There is also mention of Oppius of Tusculum, and of a Lævus Cispus of Anagnia, in the time of Tullus Hostilius. (Varro, ap. Fest. *Septimontium.*)

<sup>4</sup> The oldest Roman Almanack (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vol. i. p. 375) mentions none but rural festivals.

the sanctuary, where the actual presence of the god filled the soul with pious awe.

One of the features which distinguished these creeds of central Italy is the moral superiority of their gods: as, for instance, Vesta, the immaculate virgin who protects both the private and public hearth (*focus publicus*),<sup>1</sup> the Penates, the protectors of human life and of the city, Jupiter, arbiter of the physical and moral world, the sustaining father and supreme preserver; the Gods Terminus and Fidelity, who punish fraud and violence; the Bona Dea, who fertilised the earth and rendered unions fruitful, though she herself ever remained a Virgin,<sup>2</sup> and that touching worship of the Manes, *diï manes*, which, restoring life to those who had been loved, showed ancestors watching beyond the tomb over those whom they had left among the living. Three times every



Entrance of a shrine.<sup>3</sup>

year the Manes left the infernal regions, and the son who had imitated the virtues of his fathers could see their revered shades.

The Gods of Greece are so near to man, that they have all his weaknesses, those of the east are so far from him, that they do not really enter into his life at all, notwithstanding their numerous incarnations. The Italian gods, the guardians of

<sup>1</sup> Vesta is the Agni of the *Vêda*. The Pelasgians had brought the worship of this divinity of fire from Asia. There were Vestals at Lavinium (Serv. in *Æn.* iii. 21.), at Tibur (Tivoli) and elsewhere. The temple represented on page 131, was dedicated, according to some, to Vesta, according to others, to the Sibyl Albunea, "*Domus Albunæ resonantis*" (Hor. *Odes* I. vii. 12); others again see in it the temple of Hercules: it is *Adhuc sub judice*. The main point is that the ruin is lovely. To the right of the round temple there is another square one about which the same uncertainty exists.

<sup>2</sup> It is Varro who says so, in Macrobius, *Saturn* I. xii. 27. . . "*nec virum unquam viderit vel a viro visa sit*"; but others related her adventures, and her festivals, at least in the time of Cæsar, were considered as licentious, though all men were rigidly excluded from them.

<sup>3</sup> After a miniature from the Vatican Vergil.

property, conjugal fidelity and justice, the protectors of agriculture, the dispensers of all earthly good, preside over the actions of men without sharing their passions, but also without raising their mind above selfish interests. Art and science feel the loss, morality gains.<sup>1</sup> We shall not find the Roman Olympus either teeming with life, light and beauty, like that of Greece; or profound, mysterious and terrible, like those of Egypt and India. We shall find its gods inglorious and practical,<sup>4</sup> whom during long years, selfish worshippers dared only address with just prayers. Their service will be a means of preservation for a society devoid of enthusiasm, not an element of progress.

These modest divinities could not display the terrible requirements that are found in larger theogonies. They very rarely demanded human blood on their altars;<sup>5</sup> but they accepted a voluntary sacrifice, the redemption of the people by the devotion of a victim—a Curtius, who closes the gulf in the heart of the city by leaping into it<sup>6</sup> and a Decius, who by his death changes defeat into victory.

Another characteristic of the Italian gods is their infinite multitude. Every town has its tutelar divinity. At Narnia it is Visidianus, at Oriculum Valentia, at Casinum Delventius, at Minturnæ Marica, among the Frentani Palina, at Satricum Matuta

Ops, or Wealth.<sup>2</sup>Good Success.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Augustin (*de Civ. Dei*, vii. 4) remarks that Janus was the hero of no questionable adventure. Ovid, however, has compromised him somewhat (*Fast.* vi. 119, seq.), but in the time of Ovid, the sense of the ancient rites was lost.

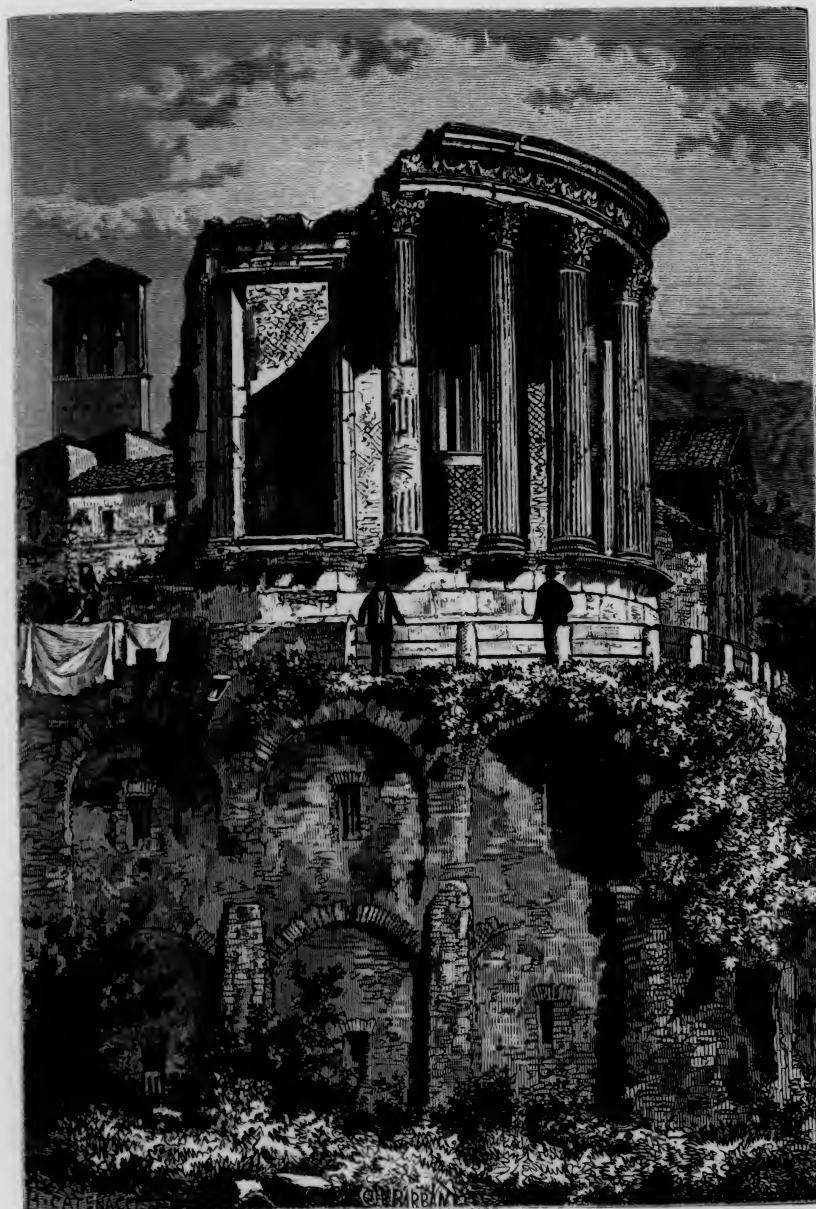
<sup>2</sup> She holds some ears of corn. Gold coin of Pertinax, struck at the close of 192 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Success (*Bonus Eventus*) standing, holding a bowl and ears of corn; at his feet an altar burning. Bronze coin of Antoninus, struck by order of the Senate (S.C.), during his second consulship (*Cos II.*) in 139 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> *Sator*, seed; *Ops*, work in the fields; *Flora*, flower; *Juventas*, youth; *Fides*, faith; *Concordia*, concord; *Fors*, fortune; *Bonus Eventus*, good success. [The reader will notice that among Greek authors Xenophon alone following the homely side of the Socratic religion, exhibits this selfish and vulgar piety—Cf. my *Social Life in Greece*, p. 370.—*Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> See page 3, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> This gulf was but ill closed by Curtius; at least as far as we are concerned; for in modern times alone it has reopened three times, in 1702, 1715, and 1818 A.D. (Wey, *Rome*, p. 36.).



Temple of Vesta, of the Sybil or Hercules, at Tivoli.

Mater; in the Sabine country Nerio, who was identified by the gens *Claudia* with the Roman Bellona, the wife or sister of Mars.<sup>1</sup> To these must be added the numerous *Semones* or *Indigetes*, the nymphs, heroes, and deified virtues: Concordia, Flora, Pomona, Juventas, Pollentia, Rumina, Mena, Numeria, and the swarm of local divinities which Tertullian calls *decuriones deos*, and the gods of the lower world, Larvæ and Lemures, and those of the *indigitamenta*, those books which were both collections of prayers whereof the priests kept the secret, and lists of divine beings whom Tertullian compares to the angels of the Bible; one might add that that they call to mind the saints of the popular beliefs of Roman Catholic countries.

Concord.<sup>2</sup>

Not only each town, but each family, each man, paid honour to special gods and to genii who protected his life and goods (Lares, Penates): there were gods for every act of man's life from the cradle to the grave.<sup>3</sup> Thus at the close of the republic Varro could count as many as thirty thousand gods. With nations in their infancy, imperfect language supplies by the variety of particular names, the absence of the general terms which represent the unity of the species. The Italians possessed so many deities only because their minds were incapable of rising to the conception of one only God,—a defect which lasted a long time with them, and which, with others, lasts even till now.

Youth.<sup>4</sup>

This divine democracy necessarily escaped from the control of the greater gods and their priests. This is the reason why religious

<sup>1</sup> Nerio appears to have denoted strength; the inscription is known *Virtuti Bellone* (Orelli, 4983).

<sup>2</sup> Concord (*Concordia*), seated, leaning with her elbow on a horn of plenty, and holding a patera. Gold coin of the Emperor Ælius Hadrianus, struck in the second year of his tribunitian power, and during his second consulship, consequently in the year 118 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> See in S. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*. vi. 9) the manifold and very humble employments of these gods after Varro, who himself had doubtless described them in the order of "indigitamenta, a conceptione . . . usque ad mortem . . . et dei qui pertinent ad ea quæ sint hominis, sicuti est victus atque vestitus, etc."

<sup>4</sup> Youth (*Juventas*) standing near an altar, in the form of a candelabrum, into which she throws a grain of incense, and holding a patera in her left hand.



toleration was one of the necessities of Roman government, and if the patricians had not held the secret of the augur's science, of the symbolic formulæ and ceremonies, they would not have been



Two women burning incense and perfumes upon two portable altars before an image of Mars.<sup>1</sup>

able to add the ascendancy of religion to that of birth and fortune.

Some gods had more numerous worshippers than others, such as Jupiter, god of air and light; Janus, the Sun, who opened and closed the heavens and the year; Saturn, the protector of rustic

labour, whose hollow statue was filled with the oil of the olives he had caused to grow; Mars, or Maspiter, the symbol of manly strength, also called Mavors, the god who slays; Bellona, the terrible sister of the god of war; Juno *Regina*, queen of heaven, and also the helpful, *Sospita*, in whom woman at all moments of her life found aid, but who favoured only chaste love and inviolate unions.

The worship of these divinities was often the only bond which attached cities of the same origin to one another. Thus the Etruscans assembled at the temple of Voltumna, the Latins at the sacred wood of the goddess Ferentina, at the temple of Jupiter Latialis on the Alban Mount, and in those of Venus, at Lavinium and Laurentum;<sup>2</sup> the Æqui Rutuli and Volsci at the temple of Diana, at Aricia. Similar gatherings took place among the Sabines,

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Marini, *Gli Atti e monum. de' fratelli Arvali*, after a painting found at Rome, which Winckelmann has also reproduced in his *Mon. inédits*, pl. 177.

<sup>2</sup> The worship of Venus at Lavinium and Laurentum only dates from the epoch at which the legend of Æneas took form. There was no goddess bearing the name of Venus at Rome in the time of the kings. (Varro, in *Augurum libri* fragm. of book vi; Macrobius, *Saturn*, I. xii. 8—15.)

Samnites, Lucanians, Ligurians, etc. They were really Amphityonies over which religion presided, and which the Romans abolished when they themselves had made use of the Latin *feriæ* to insure their supremacy in Latium.

In religion, as in politics, the Etruscans were originally distinct from the rest of the Italian nations, from whom they afterwards received gods or to whom they gave them. Their religious doctrines, a distant echo of the Great Asiatic theogonies, proclaimed the existence of a supreme being, Tinia, the soul of the world, who had for counsellors the *dii consentes*—impersonations of the forces of present nature and destined to perish with her; for the Scandavian and Oriental belief in the destruction and renewal of the world is found also in Etruria.



Head of Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

These *dii consentes* could hurl thunder-bolts; but not more than one at a time. Tinia alone, who was identified with Jupiter, manifested his will by three consecutive bolts. Thus he was represented holding a lightning flash with three points. Beside him were seated Thalua or Juno,



Thunderbolt with 12 forks.



Thunderbolt with 8 forks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The famous bust found at Otricoli, which is supposed to be the finest head of Jupiter that antiquity has left us (Winckelmann, *History of Art*, vi. 31 seq.)

<sup>2</sup> Large bronze medals of Antoninus, representing one a thunderbolt, of six or twelve flashes, the other of four or eight, with the words: *To divine Providence*.—[Many of these bronzes are close imitations manufactured in North Italy in the last century.—Ed.]

and Menafru or Minerva, his divine family. Vejovis was the baleful Sun; Summanus, god of night and nocturnal thunders; Sethlaus or Vulcan, the great smith; Nortia, fate or fortune, etc. By an old contract, Nortia lent the inner walls of her temple for the reception of the sacred nail which marked the



Vulcan of Elba.<sup>1</sup>

changeless order of time and the regular return of the years. Higher yet, hidden in the unfathomable depths of heaven, mysterious deities whose names were never uttered, the *dii involuti* (or veiled) played the part of the destiny to which even the gods were subject; they helped to explain the inexplicable mystery of life.

Man has in all ages been desirous of passing in thought over the threshold of death, and of looking into the great unknown beyond. The more uncertain and confused his view the more his mind peopled it with vague phantoms. Believing that death separated two different but not absolutely distinct things, the body which falls lifeless, and the other self, that of dreams, memories, and hopes, which still exists,<sup>2</sup>—this other self was looked upon as formed of a corporeal substance. With the ex-

<sup>1</sup> It is thought that this bronze statuette, found in the Isle of Ilva (Elba), and now in the Museum of Naples, represents the god who must have been the protector of the island whence the smiths of Etruria got their iron.

<sup>2</sup> This was the most ancient belief of Egypt, and it is found everywhere. Although a philosopher had dared to say at the time of the construction of the pyramids: "Of those who have entered the coffin, was there ever any who came out again?" all Egypt thought that there existed a class of beings who were neither the living nor the dead. The dead who had been good during their lives could at will resume terrestrial existence in any place or form which suited them. (Chabas, *Les Maximes du Scribe Ani*, in *Mémoires Égypte*, p. 171.) This in some belief was popular in Greece, where many Sarcophagi and funeral urns show souls in some way deified (Ravaisson, *Mon. de Myrrhine*), and it was still current in the world in the sixteenth century. "There are aerial beings," says Guicciardini (*Ricordi politici, cexi*) who hold converse with man, I know it by experience." It still exists in China. To send gold and silver to the manes of the dead in the other world, *Sacrificial papers* are burnt, which are gilded or silvered, and there are prepared at certain dates, as was done at Rome, repasts in which they are supposed to come and take part. But to prevent them from taking undue advantage thereof, petards are fired to send them back to the place whence they came. For the Esquimaux the whole world is peopled with genii, and every object has its own. In our own days some people pretend even to converse with the spirits. In many points the difference between the barbarian and the civilised man is not so great as is thought. [The Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body implied that the idea of a pure soul existing hereafter without its body was found inconceivable.—Ed.]

ception of Pythagoras and Plato, all the philosophies, all the religions of classic antiquity, even some of the earliest fathers of the Church, admitted the corporeal nature of the soul. Impalpable yet material shades, the genii, were like a sacred humanity which peopled the invisible universe. One of them is seen in an Etruscan painting which represents two old men bewailing the dead whose genius hovers above them under the form of a winged woman.

The Lares were the genii of the family; the Manes, those of the lost dead. Genii dwelt in woods, fountains, mysterious



Demons leading away a soul.<sup>1</sup>

grottoes; the Romans even assign them to everything which has a sort of collective life, to the curia, the legion, and the cohort. Every man and every thing has one of its own.

When the gods issued from the obscurity which enveloped them in ancient days, and the theogonies settled order among the divine race, the genii became the ministers of their beneficent or terrible will. The sombre imagination of the Etruscans delighted in picturing, on vases and mural paintings, infernal genii armed with serpents, hideous monsters, a grimacing Charon, dragging the departed to the lower regions, or armed with a heavy hammer, assisting at human sacrifices to put an end to the victims whom the

<sup>1</sup> Conestabile, *Pittura murale*, pl. xvii.

knife might spare.<sup>1</sup> Something of this gloomy spirit appears to have survived in modern Tuscany. What are the gorgeous and hideous paintings of the Etruscans beside the dreadful pictures of Dante and Buonarrotti?

One essential difference between this religion and the Asiatic cult, was the science of augury. The unknown fills the child with fear, and attracts the man who still dreads it, but who seeks therein, according to the age of world, the marvellous or the scientific element. Now men of that time were in the age of the marvellous, and they demanded from physical phenomena instead of a revelation of the laws of nature, the knowledge of the future.

The Assyrians imagined they could read in the stars those impenetrable secrets; the Etruscans sought them in terrestrial phenomena, in the flight of birds and the entrails of victims. The Greeks and Italians practised the latter two kinds of divination; but the Etruscans formulated their rules and made of them a complicated system. They were especially skilled in interpreting the signs furnished by thunder and lightning.<sup>2</sup> When the echoes of the Apennines repeated the crashes of nocturnal thunder, it was the god Summanus speaking, and his voice must be understood.

This country, then so often affrighted by earthquakes, and where, on account of its frequent storms, lightning still claims so many victims, this land so fertile and ever so menaced, was sure, more than any other, to nourish religious terror. Men had faith in an occult power which manifested its will in a manner outside the natural order of things, and the art of explaining prodigies, of gaining the favour of that dreaded power, became the supreme science.<sup>3</sup> The nobles alone knew it, and in their hands it became a weapon, long unfailling, against popular innovations. In these rituals everything was calculated, for the priest, the better to assure his power, was unwilling that there should be a single indifferent action; and a shameful superstition weighing on the people, tied its tongue, its mind, and even its gestures. But the heavier the yoke,

<sup>1</sup> See the engraving on p. lxxv. Charon and his club passed on to Rome; under the name of Pluto he put an end with his hammer strokes to the wounded in the Games who were not worth the trouble of curing.

<sup>2</sup> This was the "maximum auspiciu." (Serv. in *Æn.* ii. 603.)

<sup>3</sup> This science was afterwards committed to the *libri fulgurales*.



TWO OLD MEN WEeping FOR THE DEAD





the more violent was the revolt ; we shall see how in the last century of the republic the most audacious infidelity succeeded the blindest faith. Men came to believe in naught but chance or fortune ; still later in nothing at all, except perhaps unbridled pleasures, and then the repose of death—nameless sensualities, and after satiety, suicide.

Thus among the Oscans and Sabellians we find a simple worship, with numberless gods ; in Etruria, a religion which would fain account for life and death, for good and evil ; which, showing everywhere the arbitrary intervention of the gods, and in the natural phenomena a manifestation of their capricious will, required a class of men devoted, for the sake of public safety and the private interests of each citizen, to the interpretation and expiration of portents. All this was to find its way into Rome, the Latin or Sabine sacrificer and the Tuscan augur, the popular worship and the sacerdotal religion.

But we do not find those oracles of Greece which were so often the voice of wisdom and patriotism, or these sacred poets of the East whose songs purified the national beliefs. In Italy, religion, which was rather a contract with the gods than a prayer and an act of gratitude, never opened up those large heavens towards which the spirit soars, and the Latin genius was condemned by this shabby creed to an incurable sterility. High abilities were wanting, for invention at least ; and it had neither philosophy, that deadly but inevitable companion of great religions—for it is the search after the ideal in thought—nor art, which is the search after the ideal in sentiment and nature. Whereas the glorious artists of Greece pierced the depths of Olympus with their glance, to obtain thence the image of Zeus or Athene, the Roman veiled his head while accomplishing the sacred rites ; he feared to look upon his gods, and he never held in esteem those who endeavoured to place them before him in marble or in bronze.

We might even claim the religious institutions of Numa for the ancient populations of the peninsula, and look upon the Twelve Tables as a monument of old Italian customs. The laws concerning marriage, the power of the father and husband, and usury, certainly belong to the most remote times, and

the atrocious nature of the punishments recalls the cold cruelty of the heroic age, as some other laws and customs appear to have been taken from a society of still nomadic shepherds.<sup>1</sup> Neither let us forget the fetial right established by the Æqui, the order of battle (*acies*) of the Etruscans, whose infantry drawn up in deep lines resembled a wall of iron (*murum ferreum*); the golden crowns in imitation of oak leaves, as a military reward; the armour of the Samnite soldier, which became that of the legionary, and the simple worship, frugal life, and severe education of the shepherds and husbandmen of Latium and the Sabine country; the luxury and art of Etruria, and in short a mass of customs which would show that Rome already existed in ancient Italy, were it not necessary to add something especially Roman—the idea of the State over-ruling all, and that admirable discipline which of such diverse elements, formed an original society, and the most powerful empire that the world had hitherto known.

## VIII.

## SUMMARY.

THIS is a very deliberate excursion through ancient Italy; but, if we are not mistaken, the circuit will only have the effect of shortening our route. Although we have travelled this long journey illumined only by stray lights, we have been able to catch a glimpse of the very cradle of Rome, of the institutions from which hers were derived, of the nations who after having formed her population, produced her greatest men. In the consular annals we find among the consuls of the years 510 to 460 B.C., Volscians, Auruncans, Siculians, Sabines, Rutulians, Etruscans and Latins. Amongst the great families:

The Julii, Servilii, Tullii, Geganii, Quinctii, Curatii and Clœlii, come from Alba;

The Appii, Postumii, and probably the Valerii, Fabii and

<sup>1</sup> Dornseiffen: "Vestigia vitæ nomadicæ tam in moribus quam in legibus romanis conspicua."

Calpurnii, who called themselves the descendants of Numa, from the Sabine country;

The Furii and Hostilii, from Medullia in Latium;

The Octavii, from Velitræ;

The Cilnii (Mæcenæ was of this family) and the Licinii, from Arezzo;

The Cæcinæ, from Volaterra;

The Vettii, from Clusium;

The Pomponii, Papii and Coponii, from Etruria;

The Coruncanii and Sulpicii, from Camerium;

The Porcii and Mamilii, who claimed descent from Cicee, from Tusculum, &c.

Amongst the great names of Roman literature, only two, those of Cæsar and Lucretius, belong really to Rome; all the others are Italians: Horace is Apulian; Ennius, a Messapian; Plautus, from Umbria; Virgil, from Mantua; Statius, from Elea; Nævius, from Campania; Lucilius, from Suessa-Aurunca; Cicero, like Marius, is a Volscian; Ovid, a Pelignian; Cato, a Tusculan; Sallust, a Sabine; Livy, from Padua; the two Plinys, from Como; Catullus, from Verona; [Martial and Seneca were Spaniards]. Terence was even a Carthaginian. So much for men. Let us proceed to material marks.



Roman in Toga.<sup>1</sup>

Rome received from Etruria: the division into tribes, *curnæ*

<sup>1</sup> Bronze Statuette in the Payne Knight collection at the British Museum; in Mr. Payne Knight's collection it is described as Cicero.



and centuries, the order of battle, the dress of the magistrates, the laticlave, the prætexta, the toga, the apex,<sup>1</sup> the curule chair, the lictors, all the display of the triumphs and public games, the *nundinae*,<sup>2</sup> the sacred character of property, and the science of the augur, that is to say, the State religion. From Latium, the names of dictator and prætor, the feacial right, a simple religion which placed all the works of rural life under the protection of the gods, the worship of Saturn, protector of agriculture, and that of Janus and Djana, the sun and the moon, united in the double Janus; in fact, agricultural customs and even language. From Samnium and the Sabine country, the title of *imperator*, the armour and weapons of the soldiers, severe and religious customs and warrior gods. From all the nations which surrounded them, the patriciate or patronage, the division into *gentes*, clientship, paternal authority, the worship of the lares and fetish gods, such as bread or Ceres, the spear or Mars, the divinities of the rivers, lakes and warm springs. In short, as a faithful representation of this formation of Roman society, Romulus and Tullus are Latins; Numa and Ancus, Sabines; Servius and the two Tarquins, Etruscans.

The following beautiful and expressive legend is found in Plutarch. Romulus, says he, called men from Etruria, who taught him the holy ceremonies and sacred formule. They had a trench dug round the *Comitium*, and each of the citizens of the new city threw into it a handful of earth brought from his native country. Then they mixed the whole, and gave to the ditch, as to the universe, the name of the world (*mundus*).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Laticlave*, a tunic, edged from top to bottom with a broad purple band, woven in the material, the mark of a senator; *prætexta*, a toga bordered with purple and worn by magistrates (or noble children); *apex*, a head-dress of the flamens and the Salii. The apex is seen on a quantity of coins and monuments, the laticlave in very rare paintings.

<sup>2</sup> *Nundinus* (*novena dies*), the ninth day, or market-day.

<sup>3</sup> The *mundus* of Romulus was the world of the manes and the subterranean deities. Every time that a city was founded, a *mundus* was opened, into which were thrown the first-fruits of all the crops with objects of good omen. It was a religious custom, which existed even in Assyria, where, in the foundations of monuments, were placed the idols which should protect them. When we fix coins in the first stone of an edifice, we do something analogous with totally different ideas, and this custom, which only serves to mark the date of the erection of the monument, is, perhaps, a very remote souvenir of a religious usage which has been secularised.

Thus all the Italian nationalities, all the powers, all the civilisations of the ancient world were destined to fall into the bosom of Rome and mingle there.



JANUS AS, COIN FOUND AT VOLTERRA.

# HISTORY OF THE ROMANS.

## FIRST PERIOD.

### ROME UNDER THE KINGS (753-510).

#### FORMATION OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

## CHAPTER I.

### TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE KINGS.<sup>1</sup>

Ὡς ἐν τοῖς παρτίοις ἔμνηται ὑπὸ  
Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ᾄδεται.

DIONYSIUS, *Ant. Rom.* 1, 79.

#### I. ROMULUS (753-716).

ROME, the city of force,<sup>2</sup> warfare and carnage, was pleased to open her terrible history with an idyl, and the city of Nero, endowing her first days with the virtues of the golden age, commenced legendary annals by the reign of Saturn, a time of

<sup>1</sup> We do not wish to discuss the legends of the royal period. The reader who is curious in this kind of ingenuity can consult the first volume of Niebuhr's history, in which all these legends are related, supplemented and refuted, and the history of Schwegler, in which they are again taken up and discussed. Instead of these hypotheses, which, however ingenious and erudite are yet as uncertain as the traditions they combat, we prefer the admirable account of Livy, if not as the truth, at least as a picture. After all, what does it matter whether we have more or less authentic details on the biography of certain persons? There is but one thing of real and serious importance, since it interests men of all times, and that is, to know how this singular city was formed, which became a nation, a world. This problem will occupy us much more than many unanswerable and idle questions, about which so much has been said since the time of Niebuhr, on the other side of the Rhine. [The course here adopted is that of Arnold, who tells the old legends, as legends, without any attempt to sift history from them. Mommsen contemptuously ignores them altogether. Ihne's little book on the earliest epoch of Roman history is the best discussion of the problem in English.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Rome in Greek means *force*, and its secret name was perhaps *Valentia*, from the verb *valere*, which has the same meaning. See p. 6, note 2.

innocence, peace and equality, which humanity, unfortunately, never has known, and never will know.<sup>1</sup>

Saturnus.<sup>4</sup>Saturnus.<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning, said the traditions, there reigned over the aborigines of Latium a stranger king, a son of Apollo, Janus, "The Divine," whose dwelling stood on the *Janiculum*. His people had the simple and pure, but rude and uncultured, manners of primæval man. Saturn, driven out of heaven by Jupiter, obtained from him the possession of the Capitoline Hill;<sup>2</sup> as a payment for their hospitality, the god taught the Latins the art of cultivating corn and wine. This is the commencement of the age of agriculture, which succeeded the pastoral age, in which men lived on the proceeds of the chase and on the acorns which they gathered under the great oaks of the Latin forest. Saturn, "the good sower,"<sup>3</sup> was also the good ploughman, for he was long represented with a sickle, which later ages, perverting the original myth, have transformed into the scythe of time.

Janus was succeeded by his son Picus, who had the gift of oracles, and by Faunus, "the good," who

<sup>1</sup> [This condition of things has at last been found by Nordenskjöld in Arctic Asia, west of Behring's Straits. The Chukches, among whom he passed a winter, have neither creeds, rulers or polity, but live in honesty and kindness an amiable family life, Cf. vol. ii. of the *Expedition of the Vega* (Macmillan 1881).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This hill was called at first the Mount of Saturni. (Varro, *de Ling. lat.*, v. 42; *Æn.* viii. 358).

<sup>3</sup> *Sator* means sower, [but this derivation is more than doubtful.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Taken from the *Monuments of Ancient Art* of Müller Wisler.

<sup>5</sup> The cross placed under the chin indicates that the piece is a silver denarius. Behind there is the sickle of the divine husbandman.

welcomed the Arcadian Evander, son of Mercury and the nymph Carmenta. Evander built a town on the *Palatine*, then covered with woods and meadows, and diffused among the natives the use of the Greek alphabet and more refined manners. Hercules also came into Latium, where he abolished human sacrifices;<sup>1</sup> he married the daughter of Evander, killed the brigand Cacus on the Aventine, in the middle of a thick forest, and pastured the oxen of Geryon in a place where, afterwards, an ox of bronze, set up in his honour in the *Forum boarium*, consecrated the memory of this circumstance. Thus, the gods, the demi-gods and the heroes, sojourned on the banks of the Tiber. This was an omen of the future grandeur of the city of the seven hills, or rather

Æneas carrying Anchises.<sup>3</sup>

legend brought them thither, when Rome, having become powerful, was desirous that immortals should have surrounded her cradle.<sup>2</sup>

Through Saturn, the father of the gods, Rome was connected with

<sup>1</sup> Professor Capellini thinks that he has found traces of cannibalism in the island of Palmaria, many facts lead one to the belief that this practice which still exists in certain islands of Oceania, was universal in the first ages of humanity. Certain Roman customs recalled the memory of it. Every year, says Varro (*de Ling. lat.*, vii. 44), the Vestals threw into the Tiber, from the top of the Sublician Bridge, twenty-four osier figures to replace the human victims that they no longer threw in after the time of Hercules. The *oscille*, small dolls which were placed over the door of the house or hung on the neighbouring trees, also recalled to memory the heads of men which were formerly offered to Saturn as a redemption (Macr., *Sat.*, I. vii. 31, and xi. 48.). At the feast of the Luperci, the priest with a bloody knife touched the foreheads of two young men, and until the time of the empire, at the Latin Feriæ, a criminal was slain whose blood sprinkled the altar of Jupiter. [All this points only to human sacrifices, not to cannibalism.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> On the legend of Hercules and Cacus see the learned memoir of M. Bréal (*Mél. de Myth.*), in which he follows from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Tiber a similar history, that of the contest of Indra and Vitra, of Ormuzd and Ahriman, of Hercules and Cacus, "Vergil," says he (p. 159), "has related this history as a poet of the Vedic times might have done, and the verses which he puts into the mouth of the Salian priests would not be out of place in the most ancient of the hymns of the Aryan race."

<sup>3</sup> Painting on a vase of Nola, at the Munich Museum.



what was greatest in heaven; though Æneas, the son of Venus and ancestor of Romulus, with that which Greek poetry had made the greatest upon earth, the city of Priam. Having escaped from the burning Troy with his father Anchises, his son Ascanius and his wife Creteisa, who carried the sacred objects and the Palladium, he crossed the Hellespont, and after having wandered for a long time on land and sea, he was led by the star of his mother, which guided his ship by day as well as by night, to the shores of Latium.<sup>1</sup> Latinus, king of the country, welcomed the stranger, gave him his daughter Lavinia to wife, and to his companions seven hundred acres of land, seven for each. But in a battle

Æneas.<sup>2</sup>

against the Rutulians, Æneas, conqueror of Turnus, disappeared in the midst of the waters of the Numicius, the sacred water of which was afterwards used in the worship of Vesta. The gods had received the hero. He was worshipped under the name of Jupiter Indigetes. The war, however, continued, and in single combat, Ascanius killed Mezentius, the ally of Turnus. Then, leaving the arid and unhealthy coast where his father had founded Lavinium, he came to build Alba Longa, in the heart of the country, on the Alban mountain, the summit of which commands all Latium, and affords a view of the Tiber, the sea and the storm-beaten crests of the Apennines. Twelve kings of the race of Æneas succeeded him; one of them, Procas, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius. The former, by right of age, ought to have inherited the kingdom, but Amulius took possession of it, killed the son of Numitor, placed his daughter Sylvia among the Vestals, and only allowed his brother a portion of the private domains of their father. Now one day when Sylvia had gone to the fountain of the sacred

<sup>1</sup> Serv. in *Æn.*, i. 382. As early as the sixth century B.C., Stesichorus asserted the arrival of Æneas in Italy. Aristotle, in the fourth, adopted this tradition, and the historian Timæus, in the third, popularised it. We shall see later on, that at the time of the first Punic War, it was accepted at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> P. P. TR. POT. COS. III. SC., that is to say Father of the country, third year of the tribunitian power and third consulate (A.D. 140); a piece struck by order of the senate. It is the reverse of a large bronze of Antonine representing Æneas who is carrying Anchises and holding his son Ascanius by the hand.

wood, to draw the water necessary for the temple, Mars appeared to her and promised divine children to the frightened maiden. Having become a mother, Sylvia was condemned to death according to the rigorous laws of the worship of Vesta, and her twin sons were exposed on the Tiber. The river had then overflowed its banks; the cradle was gently carried by the waters as far as the Palatine hill, where it stopped at the foot of a wild fig-tree.<sup>1</sup> Mars

Rhea Sylvia.<sup>2</sup>Rome and the she-wolf.<sup>3</sup>Faustulus.<sup>4</sup>

did not abandon the two children. A she-wolf, attracted by their cries, or rather, sent by the god whose symbol was the wolf, nourished them with her milk. Afterwards a sparrow-hawk brought them stronger nourishment, while birds sacred to the augurs hovered over their cradle to keep off the insects. Struck by these miracles, Faustulus, a shepherd of the king's flocks, took the two children and gave them to his wife Acca Larentia, who called them Romulus and Remus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *ficus Ruminalis*, religiously preserved through centuries. *Ruma* or *rumis* has the meaning of *mamma* (Varr., *de Re rust.*, II., i., 20), and the Tiber itself was called *Rumon*, that is, the river with fertilising waters. (Serv. in *Æn.*, viii. 63.) Hence came the names of Rome, Romulus, and Remus. (Philargyr. in Verg. *Ecl.*, i., 20.) The bed of the Tiber formerly reached from the Pincio to the Janiculum. Although this river has now a width of only 185 feet, it still frequently overflows into the streets; a rising of 32 feet has been marked on the church of Minerva. That of the 29th of December, 1870, was 18 yards, 2 feet.

<sup>2</sup> The Æmilii pretended that Rhea Sylvia belonged to the Æmilian gens, and they put her image on some of their medals. That which we give is taken from a die of Antoninus, who was fond of recalling on his coins, facts or monuments of the primitive history of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> A didrachme of Campanian make, in silver. Pieces of two drachmæ are rare. The drachme was almost equivalent to a franc.

<sup>4</sup> SEX . POM . FOSTLVS ROMA. Faustulus standing on the left; before him the wolf suckling the twins; in the background the Ruminal fig-tree with three crows. Reverse of a silver coin of the Pompeian family.

<sup>5</sup> Livy. (i., 4), alludes to other accounts, in which Acca Larentia, on account of her loose morals, was given a name for courtesan, *lupa*, the she-wolf. Nothing more would be required for forming the famous legend on this name. It was already popular in 296, a time when the wolf and the twins were officially consecrated on the Palatine, but it was not very ancient, since the coins of Rome bore the impress of the sow before that of the wolf, which does not appear till the *quadrantes* of the fifth century. Acca Larentia was a telluric goddess who personified the earth in which we place the dead, and seeds, whence life springs:

Brought up on the Palatine in huts of straw, like the hardy children of the shepherd, they grew in strength and courage, fearlessly attacking wild beasts and brigands, and asserting their rights by force. The companions of Romulus were called the Quintilii; those of Remus, the Fabii, and already division broke out between them. One day, however, the two brothers had a quarrel with the shepherds of the rich Numitor, whose flocks fed on the Aventine, and Remus, surprised in an ambush, was taken by them to Alba before their master. The prisoner's features, his age, the twin birth, struck Numitor; he caused Romulus to be brought before him, and Faustulus disclosed to the two young men the secret of their birth. Aided by their companions, they killed Amulius, and Alba returned to the sway of its lawful king. In return, Numitor permitted them to build a town on the banks of the river and gave up to them all the country which extended from the Tiber on the road to Alba as far as a place, called *Festī*, about five or six miles distant.<sup>1</sup>

Equal in power and authority, the two brothers soon disputed the honour of choosing the site and the name<sup>2</sup> of the new city. It was left to the gods, whose will they consulted by the Sabellian augury through the flight of birds. Remus, on the Aventine, first saw six vultures; but almost at the same time, twelve appeared to Romulus, on the Palatine; and their companions, won over by this happy omen, pronounced in his favour. So the plebeian hill, already sullied in the most ancient

so her festival was celebrated at the winter solstice. At the sixth hour, at the moment when the year passed away, the Quirinal flamen offered a sacrifice to the manes in honour of the "Mother of the Lares,"—this is the meaning of her name—and the rest of the day was consecrated to Jupiter, the god of light and regenerated life. [The curious analogies in the stories of the birth and education of Cyrus, preserved by Herodotus, show that we probably have before us an old Aryan legend, however late it may appear at Rome.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> This is the *ager romanus*. Under Tiberius expiatory sacrifices were still offered there intended to purify the primitive frontier. The Roman mile, or thousand paces of 5 feet, is equivalent to about 1620 yards.

<sup>2</sup> The profane name was *Roma* (see p. l. n. 2), the sacerdotal name *Flora*; there was a third secret name, possibly *Amor*, an anagram of *Roma*, which it was forbidden to pronounce, under pain of death. (Münter, *De occulto urbis Romæ nomine*.) Others think it *Valentia* or *Angeroma*. (Cf. Maury, memoir on *Servius Tullius*.) Great care was taken to conceal this name, says Pliny, (*Hist. Nat.*, xxviii., 4) because it belonged at the same time to the tutelary deity of the city. As long as it remained unknown, the hostile priests could not induce this god to abandon his people, by promising in their city greater honours, *ampliores cultum*, which, according to the idea of the ancients, was the determining reason of the favour of the gods.

traditions as the abode of the brigand Cacus, remained so by the unlucky omen of Remus. It seems always doomed: at the present day it is a waste where a few monks dwell about deserted churches.<sup>1</sup>

Following Etruscan rites<sup>2</sup> Romulus yoked a bull and a heifer without spot to a plough, and with a bronze ploughshare he traced around the Palatine a furrow which represented the circuit of the walls, the *pomerium*, or sacred enclosure,<sup>3</sup> beyond which began the secular town, the city of strangers and plebeians, devoid of auspices (April 21st. 754<sup>5</sup>).

Already the rampart was rising, when Remus in derision jumped over it, but Celer or Romulus himself, killed him, crying out; "Thus perish everyone who shall cross these walls." Legend placed blood in the foundations of this city which was destined to shed more than any city of the world has done.<sup>6</sup>



Romulus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Maury sees in this legend the opposition of two *oppida* existing on the two rival hills, one of which the Aventine, bore the name of *Remuria*, whence the name of Remus.

<sup>2</sup> Varro, *de Ling. lat.*, v. 32; Plut. *Rom.*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Aulus Gellius, xiii., xiv.: . . . *qui facit finem urbani auspicii*. Under Servius six hills were enclosed in the pomerium; up to the time of Claudius, the Aventine remained outside this enclosure. Fest., s. v. *Posimerium*; Dionys., iv., 13, Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> We give this figure as we give the legendary history of Rome. Neither the one nor the other is authentic. The statues of the seven kings were certainly preserved on the Capitol, but they were conventional images. It is, however, as interesting to know how the Romans represented their great personages, as to know how they conceived the history of their first days. [Nevertheless, these imaginary portraits are only of interest if really ancient, and not the conscious invention of a late and sceptical age. The portraits of these kings look more like Renaissance Fancies, than old Roman work. They are apparently enlarged from heads found on coins with the legend of the names.—*Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> The difficulties of Roman chronology are as inextricable as the legends of its history:

<sup>6</sup> This ancient wall of *Roma quadrata* was found in the excavations undertaken on the site of the Palace of the Cæsars. It is a wall evidently built under the influence of the architectural ideas of Etruria. The same is the case with the wall of Servius.

1st. Until the time of Augustus they reckoned by the consuls and from the expulsion of the kings, but some consulships were omitted; Livy himself, by his own calculations, may be convicted of having omitted several. On account of city troubles, or by the fraud of the pontiff, some were made to last longer, others less than the year. The intercalations of interregnum and dictatorships, the variations of the date of entering on their duties, fixed sometimes on the 31st of December, sometimes (after the second Punic war), on the 19th of March, or on the Ides of May, finally, after the year 153, on the 1st of January, led to such confusion, that, when



The Palatine, the highest of the seven hills of Rome (168 feet), was nearly 2000 yards in circumference, so that access to it was easy.

But, at a little distance, the Capitoline hill (145 feet) descended by steep declivities into the marshes; this position, then, was already strong in itself. Romulus there carried out works of defence, which made it the citadel of Rome.

In order to increase the population of the new city, he opened

Cæsar reformed the calendar, it was necessary to make a year of fifteen months in order to put the civil year in accord with the course of the sun.

2nd. The Roman year is four months behind the Christian year, and three months in advance of the Greek year, so that the year of Rome 300 corresponds to eight months of the year 454 B.C., and four months of the year 453 B.C., and for the Olympiads, to three months of Ol. 81, 3, and nine months of Ol. 81, 4. Consequently, even if this chronology were certain, there must be continual rectifications in reckoning the years before Christ.

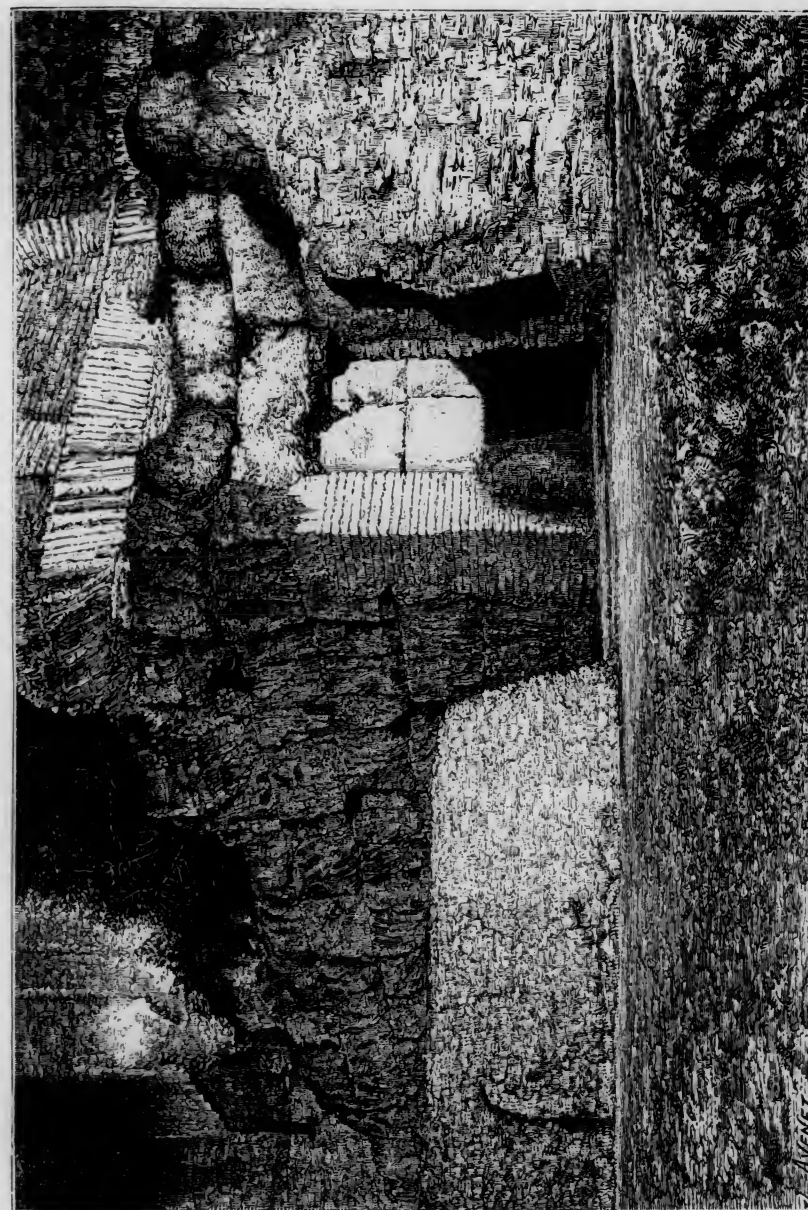
3rd. Livy avows that great confusion still existed concerning the period which followed the expulsion of the kings, *tanti errores implicant temporum* . . . (ii., 21); and there is, in truth, no certainty in Roman chronology until after taking of Rome by the Gauls, because the Greeks knew this event and connected it with their own chronology, in Ol. 98, 1 or 2, or even, according to Varro, Ol. 97, 2. When they began at a rather late date to establish a chronology for Roman history, it was a traditional belief (see Serv. in *Æn.*, i, 268), that Rome had been founded 360 years after the downfall of Troy, and that between its foundation and destruction by the Gauls the same number of years had elapsed. Of this period of 360 years, a third or 120, was allowed for the consuls; the other two thirds, or 240, with four intercalary years, 244, formed the period of the kings. Now 390 B.C., the date of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, plus 364, give 754. But as there was a variation of some years in the same fundamental date, some took 754, others 753, or 752 (Fabius, Ol. 8, 1.; Polybius and Corn. Nep., Ol. 7, 2.; Cato, Ol. 7, 1.; Varro, Ol. 6, 3, and the *Capitoline Annals*, Ol. 6, 4). They went as far as to fix the day (April 21st.), and even the hour when Romulus had traced out the pomerium. The value of such a chronology will be easily appreciated.

[The early Roman, like the Greek chronology, reasoned down from remote mythical dates, not up from known historical facts. The use of 60 year cycles is just as clear in the legends of the birth of Homer. Cf. the criticism in my *Greek Literature*, vol. i. appendix B., and in my essay on the Olympiads in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* ii., p. 164 sq.—Ed.]

4th. As regards the three last kings in particular, Cicero and Livy represented Tarquin the Proud, who died in 495 B.C., as the Son of Tarquin the Elder, who had come to Rome with his wife 135 years before; hence chronological impossibilities of which the legend had never dreamt.

5th. Finally, the 244 years of the royal period give on an average 35 years for each reign. Now Rome was an elective monarchy, in which the throne was only reached at the age of experience and maturity; moreover, of seven kings, two only finished their life and their reign in peace. So Newton, only allowing 17 years as an average for each reign, reduced these 244 years to 119, and placed the founding of Rome about 630 B.C. Niebuhr has remarked that Venice, a republic which also had elective chiefs, reckoned from 805 to 1311, 40 doges; which gives an average of 12½ years for each. We can infer nothing from these calculations, for, in Spain, from 1516 to 1759 (243 years), there were only seven kings, but not elective; as many in France, from 987 to 1223 (236 years), and from 1589 to 1830, 240 years, there would have been, reckoning as the Restoration did, seven kings, two of whom died a violent death, a third finished his life in exile, and a fourth died at the age of ten.

This chronology of the early times of Rome must therefore be suspicious like the history of its first kings. We will follow it, however, in default a better one.



Remains of the Wall of Romulus.



an asylum in the midst of the oaks which grew in the *intermontium*, between the two summits of the Capitoline, and he made it a sacred wood<sup>1</sup>; then he asked those in the neighbouring cities to unite themselves by marriages to his people. Everywhere they refused with contempt. "Open," said they, "an asylum for women, too." He dissembled, but at the festival of the god Consus,<sup>2</sup> he caused all the young girls to be carried off who had come to the games with their fathers. There was no concerted action to punish this outrage. The Cœnates, the first ready, were beaten; Romulus killed their king Aeron, and consecrated his arms, as *spolia opima*, to Jupiter Feretrius. The Crustumini and the Antemnates met with the same fate and lost their lands. But the Sabines from Cures, led by their king Tatius, penetrated as far as the Capitoline Hill, and took possession, through the treachery of Tarpeia, of the citadel, which Romulus had built on one of the peaks; the other summit bore later on the temple of Jupiter. For opening the gates to the Sabines, Tarpeia had asked from them what they carried on the left arm: viz., golden bracelets. But on this arm they also carried their bucklers; on entering, they threw them at her, and she was smothered under their weight. The people long believed that at the end of the gloomy tunnels excavated in the Capitoline, the beautiful Tarpeia lived, seated in the midst of her treasures; but that he who attempted to penetrate to her, must infallibly perish.<sup>4</sup> The Romans were already fleeing, when Romulus, vowing a temple to Jupiter Stator,<sup>5</sup> renewed the combat, which was stayed by the Sabine women throwing

Tarpeia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not only were certain woods sacred, but also certain trees, notably those which had been struck by lightning. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xii. 1, 2) calls trees the first temples of the gods. This worship was, in fact, very ancient, since it commences among the Greeks with the oak of Dodona, and is continued by the laurel of Apollo, the olive of Minerva, the myrtle of Venus, the poplar of Hercules, etc., and it was still in active existence at the time of Apuleius.

<sup>2</sup> This god, whose name it has been attempted to derive from the adjective *conditus*, which signifies hidden, appears to have been a subterranean deity (Hartung, *die Religion der Röm.*, ii. 87.)

<sup>3</sup> TVRPILIANVS III. VIR., that is to say monetary triumvir. Tarpeia crushed by the shields and raising her hands to heaven. Silver coin of the Petronian family.

<sup>4</sup> This is the only ancient legend which still exists amongst the people of Rome, said Niebuhr; but since his time it has been forgotten.

<sup>5</sup> This temple, at first very unpretending, was several times reconstructed. The engraving on p. 13 gives its restored form according to the works of Canina and M. Dutert, the author of a very fine memoir of the Roman Forum.

themselves between their fathers and their husbands. Peace was concluded, and the first basis of the greatness of Rome established by the union of the two armies. The double-headed Janus became the symbol of the new nation.<sup>1</sup>



Roman Bracelet.<sup>2</sup>



Traditional figure of  
Tatius.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of five years, Tatius was killed by the Laurentines, to whom he refused justice for a murder, and the Sabines consented to recognise Romulus as sole king. Victories over the Fidenates and Veientes justified this choice. But one day when he was reviewing his troops near the Capræan marsh, a storm dispersed the assembly; when the people returned, the king had disappeared. A senator, Proculus, swore that he had seen him ascend to heaven on the chariot of Mars, amid thunder and lightning, and he was worshipped under the name of Quirinus. The Senate had sacrificed him to their fears, or the Sabines to their resentment.

## II.—NUMA (715—673)

The two nations could not agree as to the appointment of his successor, and for a year the senators governed by turns as *interreges*. At length it was settled that the Romans should make the selection on condition that they chose a Sabine. A voice named

<sup>1</sup> In memory of this peace, Roman ladies celebrated on the Calends of March (March 1st) the festival of the *matronalia*. In the morning, they ascended in pomp to the temple of Juno, on the Esquiline hill, and placed at the foot of the goddess the flowers with which their heads were crowned (Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 205). In the evening, in order to commemorate the marks of tenderness which the Sabine women had received from their husbands, they remained at home richly adorned, waiting for the gifts of their husbands and relatives. Tibullus chose this day, on which custom allowed presents to be offered to women, to send his books to his beloved Neæra (Tib., *Carm.*, iii. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> In gold and open work, with coins set in; it is reduced to almost half size, which proves that it was worn on the upper part of the arm. The medals are of the third century of our era. (Cf. *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 437).

<sup>3</sup> Visconti's *Iconographie romaine*. (See p. 7, note 4).



Temple of Jupiter Stator (restored).

Numa Pompilius; all proclaimed him king; but he did not accept till he had obtained favourable signs from heaven. "Led by the augur to the summit of the Tarpeian Mount, he seated himself on a stone and turned towards the south. The augur, with his head covered, and holding in his hand the *lituus*, a curved stick without a knot in it, cast his eyes over town and country, praying to the gods meanwhile; then he marked out a space in the heavens, from east to west, declared the region of the south to be the right, that of the north the left, and determined the extreme point of the horizon to which his sight could reach. Then he took the *lituus* in his left hand, laid his right on the head of Numa, and said:—"O Jupiter, O father! If it be good that this Numa Pompilius whose head I hold reign in Rome, show me certain signs in the space that I have marked out." He announced the omens he required, and when they had been manifested, Numa, declared king, descended from the *templum*.<sup>2</sup>



Traditional portrait of Numa Pompilius.<sup>1</sup>

Numa was the most just and wise of men, the disciple of Pythagoras,<sup>3</sup> and the favourite of the gods. Inspired by the Nymph Egeria, whom he went to consult by night in the solitude of the wood of the Camenæ or Muses,<sup>4</sup> he arranged the religious ceremonies, the functions of the four pontiffs, the guardians of worship; of the *flamens*, the ministers of the greater gods; of the augurs, the interpreters of divine will; of the *fetiales* who prevented unjust wars; of the *vestals* chosen by the high priest from the

<sup>1</sup> Visconti's *Iconographie romaine*.

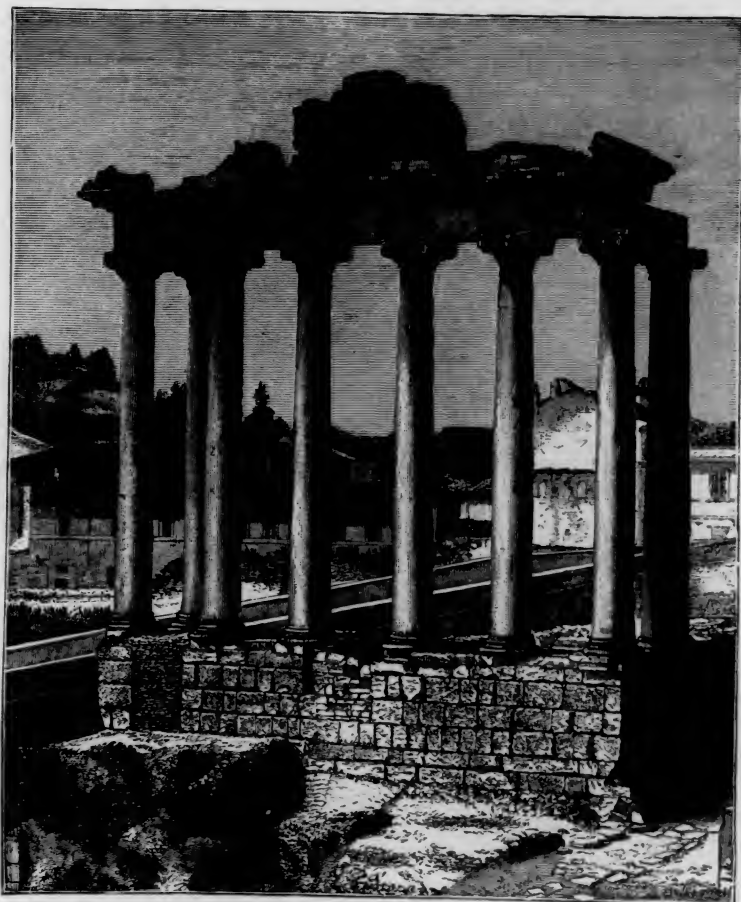
<sup>2</sup> *Templum* was the name given to sacred enclosures, afterwards to religious edifices. I have borrowed these details from Livy (i. 18) who has certainly furnished us with an extract from the ritual, and shown us an augur at his duties. The aruspices were simply diviners who examined the entrails of victims, they had no religious character, and did not form a college. They never arrived at the authority and consideration that the augurs enjoyed.

<sup>3</sup> Tradition says so, but chronology and probability are opposed to the idea. Pythagoras lived a century later [than the traditional date of Numa.]

<sup>4</sup> In proof of this the Romans still show not far from the Capena Gate, the grotto wherein the goddess gave sage counsel to the new king. This grotto was in fact a *nymphæum* consecrated to some water divinity; but Egeria never dwelt there, even according to the legend. The abode assigned to her by the ancients was in the wood of the Camenæ, on the Cælius, where from a dark cave came a fountain that never dried up.



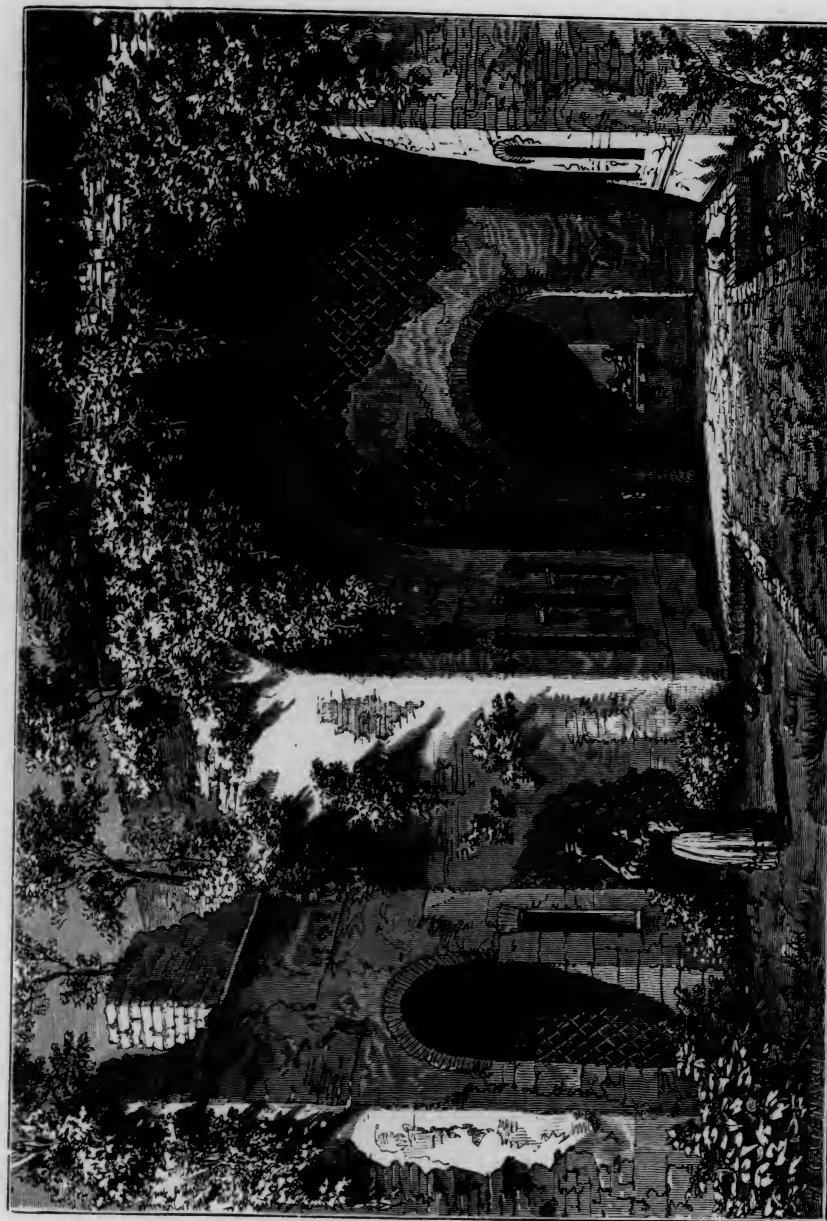
most noble families to keep up the perpetual fire, the Palladium, and the penates; and lastly of the Salii, who guarded the shield that had fallen from heaven (*ancile*), and celebrated the festival of



The eight columns of the Temple of Saturn.<sup>1</sup>

the God of War by songs and armed dances. He forbade bloody sacrifices, the representation of the God by images of wood, bronze, or stone, and paid special honours to Saturn, the father of Italian civilisation, the king of the golden age, of the times of virtue,

<sup>1</sup> Remains of a temple of Saturn, rebuilt by the Emperor Maxentius.



Nymphaeum of Egeria.

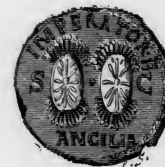
plenty, and equality, whose festival, a day of mad joy and liberty even for the slave, suspended hostilities on the frontiers



Heads of the Dii Penates.<sup>1</sup>



Salian priest.<sup>2</sup>



Ancilia.<sup>3</sup>

and the execution of criminals in the city.<sup>4</sup> In later times the temple of this god was a kind of state sanctuary. The public treasure was preserved there, with the official documents and the ensigns of the legions.

That each might live in peace on his farm, Numa distributed among the people the lands conquered by Romulus, raised a temple to Good Faith on the Capitol, and consecrated the limits of property (festival of the *Terminalia*) by devoting to the gods of the infernal regions those who should remove the boundaries of the fields. He moreover divided the poor into guilds of craftsmen, and built the temple of Janus, the open gates of which announced war, the closing of them peace. It was needful that during war time the god should leave his temple to protect the young warriors of Rome; peace rendered this aid useless. Under Numa "the neighbouring towns seem to have breathed the healthful breath of a soft pure wind that blew from the side where Rome lay," and the temple of Janus always remained closed.<sup>6</sup>



Janus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> DEI PENATES. Coupled heads of the Penates. Silver coin of Antian family.

<sup>2</sup> AVGVST. DIVI F. LVDOS SAE. Salian Priest. Silver coin of the family Sanquinia, commemorative of the secular games.

<sup>3</sup> The *ancilia*: reverse of a bronze of Antoninus.

<sup>4</sup> The Saturnalia legally lasted one day in ancient times, three in last centuries of the republic, and five under the Empire, but seven were often taken. During these feasts, which in certain customs recall our old carnival, official life was suspended, and the tribunals closed. Cf. Macr., *Sat.*, i. *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *Jano Patri*. Janus standing, holding a patera and a sceptre. Aureus, or gold piece of Gallienus.

<sup>6</sup> With the worship of Janus was perhaps connected the vague notion of a supreme god, who was both sun and moon, the beginning and end of all things, the creator of the world, and arbiter of battles. The old deity was successively despoiled of his warlike attributes in favour

Beyond these works of peace, tradition knows nothing of the second king of Rome, and remains silent on the subject of this



Coin of the Marcii.<sup>1</sup>

long reign of forty-three years. He himself had recommended the worship of silence, the goddess *Tucita*. At his death Diana changed Egeria into a fountain, and the spring still flows at the place which was the sacred wood of the Camenæ. Near the tomb of Numa, dug at the foot of the Janiculum, were buried his books, which contained all the prescriptions to be followed to ensure the accomplishment of the rites so as to gain certain favour from the gods. Being recovered at an epoch when Greek idolatry had replaced the old religion, these books were judged dangerous, and were buried by order of the Senate.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—TULLUS HOSTILIUS (673-640).

To the pious and pacific prince, there succeeds the sacrilegious warrior king;—after Numa, Tullus Hostilius. The Sabines, in consequence of the agreement made between the two nations about the election of Numa, chose him among the Romans as the latter, after Tullus, name the Sabine Ancus. Romulus was the son of a god, Numa, the husband of a goddess; with Tullus begins the reign of men. He was grandson of a Latin of

of Mars, an old god of the field, (Cato, *de Re rust.*, 141, and S. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei.* ii., 17), and of his supreme majesty in favour of Jupiter. In the *Fasti* (i. 101, 117 seq.) Ovid makes him say:—

“Me Chaos antiqui, nam sum res prisca, vocabant . . .  
Quidquid ubique vides, cælum, mare, nubila, terras,  
Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.

<sup>1</sup> This coin of the Marcii, who asserted their descent from the fourth King of Rome, himself said to be the grandson of Numa, gives the traditional features of these princes. On the reverse are two arcades, under the first stands victory on a column, under the second the crescent moon and the prow of a vessel, another souvenir of the port of Ostia built by Ancus and of his success over the Latins. We see the custom the Romans had of recalling on their coins the facts of their annals, and the interest that these coins offer from the double point of view of history and art.

<sup>2</sup> The fact is reported by Dionysius, Livy and Cicero. We shall see at the right place what to believe about this pretended discovery of the books of Numa made in the year 181 B.C., which was a pious fraud.

Medullia, who had fought valiantly under Romulus against the Sabines. Tullus loved the poor, distributed lands among them, and went to live among them himself on Mount Cælius, where he established the conquered Albans.

Let us hear Livy relating the ancient legend, although no translation can convey the brilliancy of his narrative. Alba, the mother of Rome, had, by slow degrees, become a stranger to her colony, and mutual incursions brought on a war. Long the two armies remained face to face, without daring to commence the sacrilegious strife. “As there were found in each of the two nations three twin brothers, of nearly the same strength and age, the Horatii and Curiatii, Tullus and the dictator of Alba charged them to fight for their country; the supremacy should belong to the victors. The convention that was made was this. The *fetialis* addressing Tullus, said, “King, dost thou bid me conclude a treaty with the *pater patratus* of the Alban people?” And on an affirmative answer being given, he added: “I demand of thee the sacred herb.” “Take it pure,” replied Tullus. Then the *fetialis* brought the pure herb from the citadel, and addressing Tullus anew: “King, dost thou name me interpreter of thy royal will and that of the Roman people, descended from Quirinus? Dost thou approve of the sacred vessels, and the men who accompany me?” “Yes,” replied the King, without prejudice to my right and that of the Roman people.” The *fetialis* was M. Valerius; he made Sp. Fusius *pater patratus* of the Albans, by touching him on the head and hair with vervain. The *pater patratus* took the oath, and sanctioned the treaty by pronouncing the necessary formulæ. When the conditions had been read, the *fetialis* continued: “Hear, Jupiter, hear, father *patratus* of the Alban people; hear, too, Alban people. The Roman people will never be the first to violate the conditions inscribed on these tablets, which have just been read to you—from the first line to the last without fraud or falsehood. From this day they are clearly understood by all. If it should happen that by public deliberation or unworthy subterfuge the Roman people infringe them first, then, great Jupiter, strike it as I strike this swine, and strike with more severity as thy power is greater.” When the imprecation was ended, he broke the skull of the pig

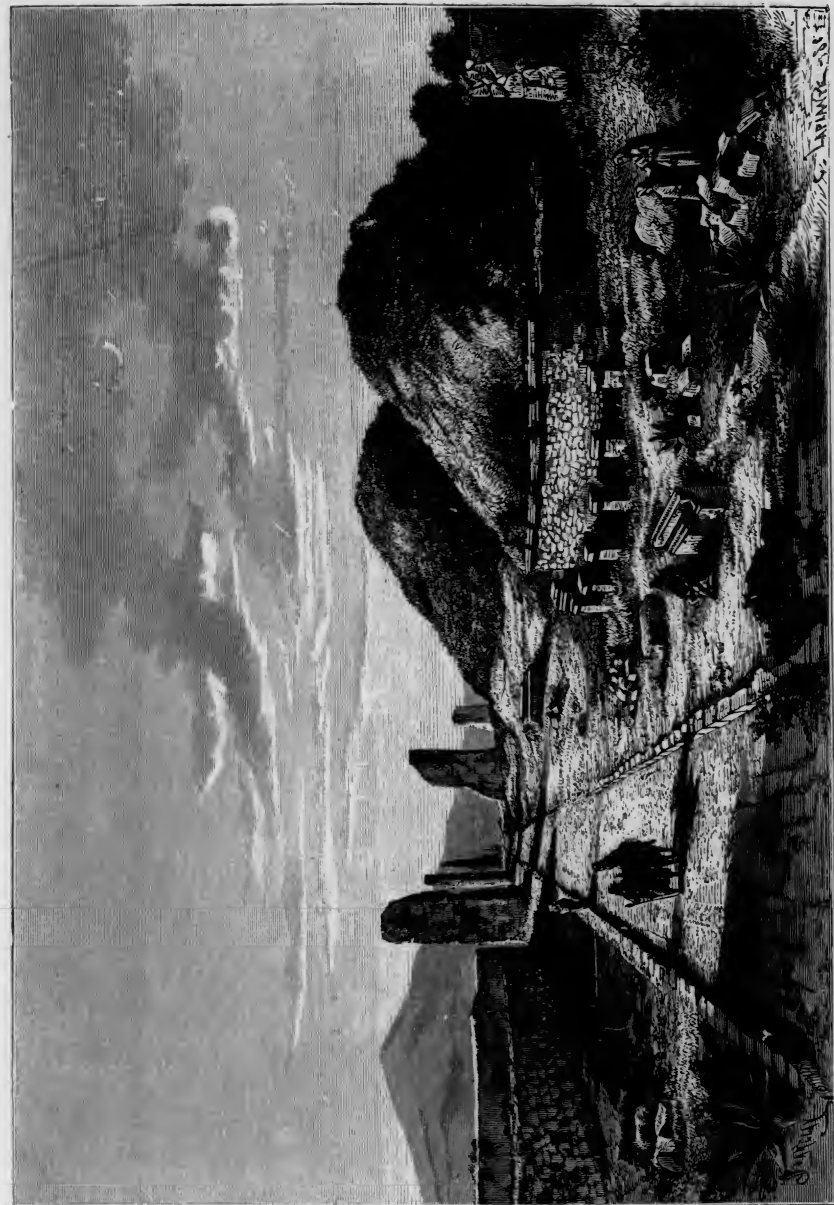


with a stone. The Albans, by the mouth of the Dictator and priests, repeated the same formulæ, and pronounced the same oath.

"When the Treaty was concluded, the three brothers on each side take their arms. The cheers of their fellow citizens animate them, the Gods of their country and even, so it seems to them, their country itself have their eyes fixed upon them. Burning with courage, intoxicated with the sound of so many voices exhorting them, they advance between the two armies, who though exempt from peril were not so from fear, for it was a matter of empire depending on the valour and fortune of so small a number of champions.

"The signal being given, the six champions spring forward sword in hand, and bearing in their hearts the courage of two great nations. Heedless of their own danger they only keep before their eyes triumph or slavery, and the future of their country, whose destiny depends upon their acts. At the first shock, when the clash of arms was heard and the swords were seen flashing, a deep horror seized the spectators. Anxious expectation froze their utterance and suspended their breath. Still the combatants fight on, the blows are no longer uncertain, there are wounds and blood. Of the three Romans two fall dead. The Alban army utters shouts of joy, and the Romans fix looks of despair on the last of the Horatii, whom the Curiatii are already surrounding. But these are all three wounded, and the Roman is unhurt. Not strong enough for his enemies united, yet more than a match for each separately, he takes to flight, sure that each will follow him according to the degree of strength he has left. When he had gone some distance from the scene of combat he turned and saw his adversaries following him at unequal distances, one alone pressing rather close upon him.

Quickly he turns, darts on him with fury, and while the Albans are calling on the Curiatii to help their brother, Horatius, already victorious, hastens to his second combat. Then arose from the midst of the Roman army a cry of unexpected joy; the warrior gathers strength from the voice of his people, and without giving the last Curiatius time to approach, he puts an end to the second. There remained only two, but having neither



Tomb of Horatio.

the same confidence nor the same strength. The one unwounded, proud of a double victory, and advancing with confidence to a third combat; the other exhausted by the blood he had lost and by the distance he had run, hardly able to drag himself along and conquered beforehand by the death of his brothers. There was hardly a struggle. The Roman, transported with joy, cries out: "I have just sacrificed two to the Manes to my brothers; I sacrifice this one that Rome may have rule over the Albans." Curiatius could scarcely support his arms; Horatius plunged his sword into his throat, threw him to the ground, and despoiled him of his arms. The Romans surround the victor and cover him with praises, all the more delighted because they had at first trembled. Each of the two peoples then turned to burying its dead, but with very different feelings. The one had won empire, the other had passed under foreign rule. The tombs of these warriors<sup>1</sup> are still seen at the spot where they each fell; the two Romans together and nearer Alba; the three Albans on the side next Rome, at some distance from one another, according as they had fought.

Then by the terms of the treaty, Mettius asked Tullus what is his will. "That thou hold the Alban youth under arms," answered the King, "and I will employ them against the Veientes if I make war on them." The two armies returned home, and Horatius, loaded with his triple trophy, marched at the head of the legions, when near the Porta Capena he met his sister, who was betrothed to one of the Curiatii. She recognised on her brother's shoulders her lover's tunic, which she herself had woven, and her sobs burst forth; she asks for her husband, she utters his name in a voice choked with tears. Angry at seeing a sister's tears insult his triumph and the joy of Rome, Horatius draws his sword and stabs the girl, overwhelming her with imprecations. "Go with thy mad love," says he, "go and rejoin thy betrothed, thou who forgottest thy dead brothers, and him who remains, and thy country. So perish every Roman woman who shall dare to weep the death of an enemy." This murder caused a profound sensation in the Senate

<sup>1</sup> If this combat ever did take place, the Horatii must have fallen at that spot, and the *tumuli* seen there, which recall the sepulchral buildings of Etruria, perhaps covered their bones. The Romans at least thought so.

and among the people, though the brilliant exploit of the murderer took from the horror of his crime. He is led before the king that justice may be done. Tullus, fearing to become responsible for a sentence, the severity of which would raise in revolt the multitude, calls the people together and says: "I name duumvirs,<sup>1</sup> according to the law, to judge the crime of Horatius." The law was fearfully severe. "Let the duumvirs (it ran) judge the crime; if the judgment is appealed from, let the appeal be pronounced upon; if the sentence is confirmed, let the head of the condemned be covered, let him be hanged on the fatal tree and beaten with rods within or without the circuit of the walls." The duumvirs immediately take their seats; "P. Horatius," says one of them, "I declare that thou hast merited death. Go, licitor, bind his hands." The licitor approaches: already he was passing the cord round him, when by the advice of Tullus, a merciful interpreter of the law, Horatius cries, "I appeal," and the case was referred to the people. Then the elder Horatius was heard, crying that the death of his daughter was just; otherwise he himself, in virtue of his paternal authority, would have been the first to punish his son. And he besought the Romans, who on the preceding day had seen him father of so fine a family, not to deprive him of all his children. Then, embracing his son, and showing the people the spoils of Curiatii, hung up in the place called to this day the Pillar of Horatius: "Romans," said he, "the man whom you saw with admiration so lately marching in the midst of you, triumphant, and bearing illustrious spoils, will you see him tied to the degrading post, beaten with rods and put to death? The Albans themselves could not endure such a spectacle. Go, licitor, bind those hands which have just given us empire. Go, cover with a veil the head of the liberator of Rome; hang him on the fatal tree; strike him within the town, if thou wilt, but in presence of these trophies and spoils, without the town, but in the midst of the tombs of the Curiatii. Into what place can you lead him where the monuments of his glory do not protest against the horror of his punishment?" The citizens, conquered by the tears of the father and the intrepidity of the son, pronounced the absolution of the guilty, and this grace was accorded

<sup>1</sup> *Duumviri perduellionis* (Livy i. 26; Cf. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* i. 328 seq.)

him, rather for their admiration of his courage than for the goodness of his cause. In order, however, that so glaring a crime should not remain without expiation, they obliged the father to redeem his son by paying a fine. After some expiatory sacrifices, whereof the family of the Horatii since preserved the tradition, the old man placed a post across the middle of the street, a kind of yoke, under which he made his son pass with veiled head. This post, preserved and kept in perpetuity by the care of the republic exists to this day. It is called the Sister's Post."<sup>1</sup>

Did this combat, twice consecrated, once by the great historian of Rome, again by the masculine genius of Corneille, ever take place? We may doubt it; but at Rome everyone believed it, and for centuries there existed proofs of it which appeared irrefutable: the Sister's Post, the Cluilian ditch,<sup>2</sup> the tombs of the Horatii, the expiatory sacrifices renewed every year by their house to appease the manes of a beloved victim. All this compels us to admit that there is at least hidden under the ornament of Epic narration, embellished by popular poetry and by the pride of the *gens Horatia*, some actual fact. Legend is often wrong as regards the exploits which it relates; it is nearly always right about the manners and institutions which it reveals; and it is in order to show this portion of truth that we have given this long narration.

Alba had submitted; but in a battle against the Fidenates, whom the Veientes aided, the dictator of the Albans, Mettius Fuffetius, stood aloof with his troops awaiting the issue of the combat. Tullus invoked Pallor and Terror, promising them a temple if they spread fear among the enemy's ranks; then, being victorious, he said to the traitor, "Thy heart is divided between me and my enemies; so shall it be with thy body," and they bound him to two chariots which were driven in opposite directions. Then Alba was destroyed, its population transferred to Rome on Mount Cælius, its patricians admitted to the Senate, and its rich men among the knights.<sup>3</sup> Rome inherited the ancient legends of

<sup>1</sup> Livy, (i. 24—26.)

<sup>2</sup> The *fossa Cluilia* was supposed to be the trench of the camp in which Cluilus, king of Alba, had entrenched himself in the war against Tullus. He must have died there, and have been replaced by the dictator, Mettius Fuffetius.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, i. 30. *Equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit.* Each *turma* consisted of thirty men. Cf. Fest. s.v.



Alba, the family of Julii, whence Cæsar sprang, and its rights as metropolis of several Latin towns. Six centuries later, the Hostilii, who claimed descent from the third King of Rome, had represented on their coins the two dread divinities, whom their ancestor, said they, had invoked.

Terror.<sup>1</sup>Pallor.<sup>1</sup>

Tullus again fought successfully against the Sabines and the Veientes, whose town he besieged. But he neglected the service of the gods, and their anger brought on Rome a contagious disease which attacked the king himself. Like Romulus, he came to a mysterious and tragic end. He thought he had found in Numa's books a means of expiation, and the secret of forcing revelations from Jupiter Elicius.<sup>2</sup> A mistake made in these dread adjurations drew down lightning upon him, and the flame devoured his body and his palace (640 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> "He," says Livy, "who had hitherto considered it unworthy of a king to occupy himself with sacred things, became the prey of every superstition and filled the city with religious practices." An old story, ever new! A more prosaic account says he was slain by Ancus.<sup>4</sup>

#### IV.—ANCUS MARCIUS (640—616.)

The reign of Ancus, who was said to be the grandson of Numa, has not the poetic brilliancy of that of Tullus. After the example of his ancestor he encouraged agriculture, re-established neglected religion, caused the laws regulating ceremonial to be inscribed on tables<sup>5</sup> and exposed in the Forum; but he could not, like Numa, keep the temple of Janus shut, and he was obliged to lay aside the service of the gods in order to take up arms. The Latins had just broken the alliance concluded with Tullus. Four of their towns were taken; their inhabitants settled upon

<sup>1</sup> Silver coin of L. Hostilius Saserna.

<sup>2</sup> The priests of Jupiter Elicius claimed the power of making the thunder fall, and they were thought to be able to do so. (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* ii. 4. and xxviii. 4). They kept this secret so well that the world had to wait for Franklin to discover it again.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, i. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. iii. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, i. 32. Dionys. iii. 36.

the Aventine,<sup>1</sup> and the territory of Rome extended as far as the sea. Ancus found brine-pits, which are still there, and forests, which are gone; he appropriated the revenue of them for the royal treasury.<sup>2</sup> At the mouth of the Tiber there was a favourable site for a port; he there founded Ostia (the mouths), which is now a league from the sea. He built the first bridge over the Tiber (*pons Sublicius*),<sup>3</sup> making it of wood, that it might be easily broken down if the enemy wished to make use of it, and he defended the approach by a fortress over the Janiculum. To protect the dwellings of the new colonists on the left bank of the river, he traced the ditch of the Quirites, and in order to deter from crimes, which had become numerous with the increase of population, he dug in the tufo of the Capitoline the famous Mamertine prison, which may still be seen, and which was led up to by the steps of the *Gemonie* or 'Stair of Sighs.' His reign of twenty-four years, according to Livy, of twenty-three by Cicero's account, finished tranquilly like that of Numa, and the Romans always honoured the memory of the prince, wise and just in peace, brave and victorious in war.<sup>4</sup>



Traditional portrait of Ancus Marcius.

#### V.—TARQUIN THE ELDER (616—578).

IN the reign of Ancus, a stranger had come to settle at Rome.<sup>5</sup> He was said to be the son of the Corinthian Demaratus, a rich merchant of the family of the Bacchiads, who, fleeing from the tyranny of Cypselus, had retreated to Tarquinii. In Etruria, all hope of power was forbidden to the stranger. But Tanaquil<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *de Rep.* ii. 18; Livy, i. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Aurel. Viet, *de Vir. ill.*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> From *sublica*, a pile. Festus, s.v. *Sublicium*.

<sup>4</sup> He is said to have carried on seven wars, against the Latins, Fidenates, Sabines, Veientes and Volscians.

<sup>5</sup> Schwegler (*Röm. Gesch.*, i. 677) makes the Tarquins an ancient Roman *gens*.

<sup>6</sup> Others say his wife was Gaia Cæcilia, the good spinner and beneficent enchantress to whom the young brides paid honour (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 74.).

had read in the future the fortunes of her husband. He came to Rome with his wealth and numerous attendants. On the road the forecasts of his future greatness were renewed. The Romans were not particular in the matter of omens; they admitted all that were told to them, and Livy gravely repeats the nursery tales which tradition transmitted to him. We must repeat them after him, because they show us the mental condition of the nation, which had no imagination except for this kind of things, and because they teach us how the Aruspices analysed a sign. "As Tarquin approached the Janiculum, an eagle slowly descends from the high heavens and carries off his cap; then hovers about the ear with loud screeching, swoops down afresh and replaces it on the traveller's head. At this sight, Tanaquil, versed in the art of augury, embraces her husband with delight. She tells him to consider well the kind of bird, the part of heaven whence it came, and the god who sends it. Another manifest sign was that the prodigy was accomplished on the highest part of the body; the ornament which covered his head was only raised an instant to be replaced on it immediately. The gods, then, promise him the highest fortune." Tarquin accepted the omen, but at the same time helped himself. At Rome he gained by his wisdom the confidence of Ancus, who left to him the guardianship of his sons; and by his worth and his kindness towards them, he won the affection of the people, who proclaimed him king to the exclusion of the sons of the old prince.

The new king embellished Rome, enlarged its territory and undertook the encircling of the town with a wall which was finished by Servius. The Forum, drained and surrounded by porticos, was used for the gatherings and pleasures of the people. The Capitol was begun, and the Circus levelled for the shows and Great Games brought from Etruria. But the most considerable of these works were the subterranean sewers which to the present day support a great part of Rome, notwithstanding earthquakes, and in spite of the weight of edifices a hundred times rebuilt over their vaulting.<sup>1</sup> For such works, which have not the majestic uselessness

<sup>1</sup> In consequence of the raising of the bed of the Tiber, perhaps also of the height of waters at the time when the drawing was taken, only the top of the sewer is seen in our engraving on page 31. This construction astonished the contemporaries of Augustus by its size and the amount



The Cloaca Maxima.

of Egyptian constructions, it was, doubtless, necessary to submit the people to painful drudgery, and the treasury to enormous expense: but Tarquin provided for it out of the plunder taken from the Sabines and Latins in successful wars, which gained for him the lands comprised between the Tiber, the Anio and the Sabine mountains: it was the territory of Collatia. Livy, in relating this conquest, has preserved for us the form made use of in all the capitulations imposed by the Romans: Tarquin, addressing the deputies, asked them: "Are you the deputies sent by the Collatian people, to put yourselves and the people of Collatia in my power?"—"Yes."—"Are the people of Collatia free to dispose of it?"—"Yes."—"Do you submit to me and to the Roman people yourselves, the people of Collatia, the town, the country, the waters, the frontiers, the temples, the moveable property and in short, everything divine and human?"—"Yes."—"Well, I accept in my own name and in that of the Roman people."

Livy does not speak at all of wars undertaken by Tarquin against the Etruscans, but his contemporary, Dionysius of Halicarnassus seems to know all about these struggles, for in his *Roman Archaeology*, this rhetorician, who was anxious to be a historian, lends a willing ear to all the fables which tradition relates; now tradition desired that the Etruscan king, in order to justify his Roman royalty, should defeat his former countrymen. According to Dionysius, the conquered Etruscans sent to Tarquin as a sign of submission, the twelve fasces, the crown, the sceptre surmounted by the royal eagle, the curule chair and the purple robe. Such a victory is more than doubtful, and this gift, if it was ever made, does not indicate the submission of those who made it. We shall see that Rome bestowed nothing else on the allied kings, whose succour and magnificent presents she thus repays at little cost.

Tarquin first celebrated a triumph with a pomp hitherto unknown, his robe covered with flowers of gold, and his chariot drawn by four white horses. From his reign dates the introduction

that it had cost. "Three things," says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, "reveal the magnificence of Rome, the aqueducts, the roads and the drains."—Almost immediately above the mouth of the *Cloaca*, is seen the little rotunda, called the temple of the *Sun*, which is disfigured by the abominable roof with which it has been covered in order to protect its nineteen fluted Corinthian pillars, in Carrara marble, which is probably a construction of the period of the Antonines.



into Rome of Etruscan costume, the royal robe, the martial cloak, the *prætexta*, the *tunica palmata*, the twelve lictors, the curule chair, and ivory seat, the material of which the Etruscans sought in Africa and Asia. He desired to change the constitution; but, in spite of his popularity, he did not succeed in modifying the order of the tribes. The patricians opposed it by making religion speak through the mouth of the augur Attus Navius. The latter had supported his opposition by a miracle. "Augur," said the king, who wished to expose his vain science: "is the thing possible of which I am thinking?" — "Yes," replied Navius, after having observed the heaven. "Cut this pebble then with a razor." The augur took it and cut the stone. To recall this circumstance for ever to the people, they erected the statue of Navius, near an altar whereon the stone and razor were deposited, with his head covered as at the time when the augur awaited the revelations of the Gods. Henceforth no Roman dared to doubt augural science.

Miracle of Navius.<sup>1</sup>

Had Tarquin wished to play a trick upon the priest who opposed his designs, or had the augur been made the accomplice of the king? There is less imposture and more folly in the world than men think. The popular credulity had accepted a legend which had been gradually formed from the severed stone; the college of augurs naturally considered it as authentic and consecrated it by a monument.

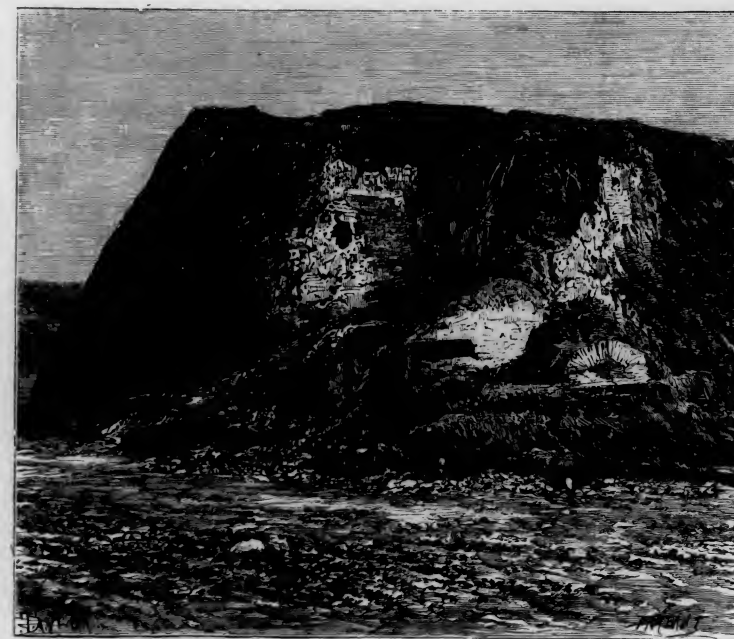
Tarquin had reigned thirty or forty years with great renown in peace and war, when one day two shepherds, suborned by the sons of Ancus, began a quarrel in the neighbourhood of the royal house. Being called before the king, one of them took advantage of the moment when the prince was listening to the other to cleave his head with the blow of an axe. Tanaquil immediately closed the doors of the palace and declared to the people that the king, only wounded, appointed his son Servius

<sup>1</sup> The augur Navius on his knees is cutting a stone; Tarquin is standing before him; behind the king another stone. Bronze of Antonine.

to reign in his stead. For several days she concealed his death, and when it was known, Servius became king without being accepted by the assembly of the *curiæ*, but with the consent of the senate (578 B.C.).

#### VI.—SERVIUS TULLIUS (578-534).

His origin was surrounded with mystery. Some said he was the son of a female slave<sup>1</sup> or of the prince of Corniculum, who was killed in a war against the Romans; others related how a



Agger or Rampart of Servius.

genius had appeared in the flame of the hearth to Oerisia, a servant of Queen Tanaquil, and that at the same instant she had

<sup>1</sup> Independently of the *Saturnalia*, slaves were granted a day of liberty on the Ides of the month of August, in memory of the servile birth of Servius Tullius (Plut., *Quæst.*, *Rom.*, 100; Festus, s. v. *Servorum*). This festival proves that we ought carefully to examine the customs which, though themselves often sprung from a legend, would appear to give to the latter the character of a historic fact. This observation applies to many Roman usages.

conceived. After his birth the gods continued their favours to him, and he grew up in the king's palace in the midst of prodigies and manifest signs of his future greatness. We shall see later on what history and archæology make of these traditions which concealed a totally different fate.

Having become king, Servius made great changes in the city, and in its laws. He gave Rome the dimensions which it

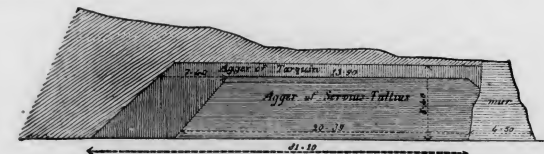


Fragment of the Wall of Servius Tullius.

had under the republic, by uniting the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Quirinal to the city, by a wall and a mighty bank of earth (*agger*), with a ditch in front, 100 Roman feet wide, and 30 deep.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a little less than 100 feet one way and 30 the other. The Roman foot is equivalent to 11.6 inches.—This wall was not continuous. It did not exist by the side of the Tiber, which appeared a sufficient defence in itself, since the fortress of the Janiculum defended its approaches, and certain sides of the Capitol were steep enough to appear inaccessible. "There exist between the Esquiline and Colline gates considerable remains of the great *agger* of Servius which Tarquin the Proud enlarged. In the section represented in the engraving there is shown a wall now visible of a height of 26 feet. Built in regular courses, this wall has a foundation of blocks averaging 10 feet in length. In order the better to resist the pressure of the earth

Rome was then the size of Athens, two leagues and a half in circumference. He divided it into four quarters or city tribes, the



Section of the *agger* or rampart of Servius Tullius.

Palatine, the Suburan, the Colline and the Esquiline, each quarter having its tribune, who drew up the lists for conscriptions and military service. At the birth of each boy a piece of silver had to be deposited in the treasury of *Juno Lucina*, the protectress of women in travail. The territory was divided into twenty-six cantons, also called tribes, and all the people, patricians and plebeians, according to the census—that is to say, according to their fortune—into five classes, and a hundred and eighty-three centuries, the last of which was formed by the Proletariate. The last-named were excluded from military service; Servius was unwilling to entrust arms to citizens who, possessing nothing, could not take an interest in public affairs, nor give the State a guarantee of their fidelity.<sup>2</sup>



Juno Lucina.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Servius concluded with the thirty Latin towns a treaty, the text of which Dionysius claims to have seen preserved in the temple of Diana on the Aventine.<sup>3</sup> In order to draw closer the bonds of this alliance, a temple, in which was seen the first statue erected at Rome, had been built at the common expense.

Some Sabine tribes also came to sacrifice. These leagues, which had their centre in the sanctuary of a divinity, were common

which forms the rampart, the wall is flanked at intervals of 17 feet by buttresses 7 feet square. The ditch runs along this wall. . . . In the time of Augustus the *agger* was converted by Mæcenus into a walk." *Dict. des Ant.* p. 140 sq.

<sup>1</sup> IVNONI LVCINÆ s.c. Juno seated, holds in one hand the flower which precedes the fruit, and with the other a child in swaddling clothes. The reverse of a large bronze of Lucilla, wife of the Emperor Lucius Verus.

<sup>2</sup> See below, Chap. iv.

<sup>3</sup> iv., 26. But if Dionysius saw this treaty, he could not understand it; for Polybius found it very difficult to read a document which was not so old by two centuries.

among the Italiote nations, and recall the Amphictyonies of Greece.

We must keep them in mind, for we shall find these religious confederations under the empire; and we shall have to reproach the emperors with not having known how to utilise, in the interest of provincial liberties, an institution which might have saved the provinces and themselves.

But let us return to the legend. Livy relates how the ruse of one of the Roman priests, attached to the temple of Diana, gave Rome its hegemony over Latium. "A heifer of extraordinary beauty was born at the house of a Sabine mountaineer. The divines announced that he who should sacrifice it to the Diana of the Aventine would secure the empire to his country. The Sabine led his heifer to the temple and was going to perform the sacrifice, when the priest, versed in prophecy, stopped him: 'What art thou about to do? Offer a sacrifice to Diana without having purified thyself! It is sacrilege! The Tiber flows at the foot of this hill; run and make ceremonial ablutions there.' The peasant went down to the river. When he returned, the priest had sacrificed the victim." And Livy adds: "This pious knavery was very agreeable to the king, and to the people." Moreover, the immense horns of the pre-destined heifer were preserved for ages in the vestibule of the temple. Popular imagination loves to make the greatest results proceed from the smallest trifles, and some historians do likewise. If the Latins had already accepted the supremacy of Rome, it was because her arms had established it.

Tradition also spoke of a war of Servius against Veii, Tarquinii and the inhabitants of Cære. The latter had united their arms with those of the Etruscans, notwithstanding their Pelasgian origin, which connected them with Rome (whose allies they became later on) and with Greece, which gave them so many of the vases now found in their tombs.<sup>1</sup> This war must have resulted for the Romans in an increase of territory; but the distribution of these lands which Servius made to the poor augmented still more the hatred of the patricians, whose power he had, by his laws, con-

<sup>1</sup> Two small black vases, found in these tombs, and very insignificant in form, have acquired a great importance, because it is believed that the inscriptions on them were Pelasgian.

siderably limited. Thus they favoured the conspiracy which was formed against the popular king.

The two daughters of Servius had married the two sons of Tarquin the Elder, Lucius and Aruns. But the ambitious Tullia



Vase of Cære (see p. 33).

had been united to Aruns, the more gentle of the two brothers, and her sister to Lucius, who merited, by his pride and cruelty, the surname of Superbus. Tullia and Lucius were not slow in understanding each other and in conferring about their criminal

<sup>1</sup> Corinthian vase found at Cære in 1856. It represents: on the lower band horsemen galloping, and on the upper band "Hercules (HEPAKAEΣ) taking part in the banquet which the king of Eechalia offers him. The young Iole (ΕΙΟΛΑ) is standing between the table of the god and that of her brother Iphitus (ΕΙΦΙΤΟΣ). The two other couches bear Eurytius (ΕΥΡΥΤΙΟΣ), and his three sons, Didaon (ΔΙΔΑΙΕΩΝ), Clytius (ΚΛΥΤΙΟΣ), and Toxus (ΤΟΞΟΣ). All these names are in ancient Corinthian characters and traced alternately from right to left and from left to right, so as to form, if they were arranged in a column, a *boustrophedon* text (like the turn of an ox ploughing)." (De Longpérier, *Musée Nap.* iii. pl. lxxi.) [For the benefit of readers not versed in palæography, it should be noted that the old Corinthian E and H were written like the B of other inscriptions; the I has a zigzag form; the Σ is turned over as in almost all older Greek writing.—Ed.]



hopes. Tullia got rid of her husband and of her sister by poison in order to marry Lucius. Overwhelmed with grief, Servius wished to abdicate and establish consular government. This was the pretext which Lucius made to the patricians for overthrowing the king. One day, when the people were in the fields for harvest, he appeared in the senate clothed with the insignia of royalty, threw the old prince headlong from the top of the stone steps which led to the senate house, and caused him to be put to death by his confederates; Tullia, hastening to hail her husband as king, drove her chariot over the bleeding body of her father. The street retained the name of *via Scelerata*,<sup>1</sup> but the people did not forget the man who had intended to establish plebeian liberties, and on the nones they celebrated the birth of the good king Servius (534).

#### VII.—TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS (534-510).

The king was succeeded by the tyrant. Surrounded by a guard of mercenaries and seconded by a party of the senators whom he had gained over, Tarquin governed without the aid of laws: depriving some of their goods, banishing others, and punishing with death all those of whom he was afraid. In order to strengthen his power, he allied himself with strangers and gave his daughter to Octavius Mamilius, dictator of Tusculum. Rome had its voice in the Latin *feriæ* in which the heads of forty-seven towns, assembled in the temple of Jupiter Latiaris,<sup>2</sup> on the summit of the Alban mount, which so majestically commands all Latium, offered a common sacrifice and celebrated their alliance by festivals. Tarquin changed this relationship of equality into an actual dominion, by what means we do not know, but certainly by now-forgotten struggles. Legend substituted the tragic adventure of Herdonius of Aricia for these tales of battle. "Tarquin," says Livy, "proposed one day to the chiefs of Latium to assemble at the wood of the goddess Ferentina, in order to deliberate on their common interests. They arrived at sunrise, but Tarquin kept them waiting.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i, 41-48, Dionys. iv, 33-40, and Ovid (*Fast.*, vi, 599) speak of a combat between the two parties; *Hinc cruor, hinc cædes*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The ruins of the temple, which still existed in the eighteenth century, were destroyed by the last of the Stuarts, [the Duke of Albany.]

'What insolence!' cried Herdonius of Aricia at last. 'Is all the Latin nation to be thus mocked?' And he was persuading each of them to return to his home. At this moment the king appeared. He had been chosen, said he, as mediator between a father and son; this was the cause of the delay, for which he apologised, and proposed to postpone the deliberation to the morrow. 'It was very easy,' replied Herdonius, 'to put an end to this difference. Two words were sufficient: that the son should obey or be punished.' Tarquin, hurt by these outspoken words, caused arms to be concealed during the night in the house of Herdonius, and, on the morrow, accused him of wishing to usurp the empire over all Latium by the massacre of the chiefs. The assembly condemned the alleged traitor to be drowned in the water of Ferentina, under a hurdle loaded with stones; and Tarquin, being rid of this citizen who had so little respect for kings, had the treaty renewed, but introduced into it a clause that the Latins, instead of fighting under their national chiefs, should be, in all expeditions, united with the legions and officered by Roman centurions.<sup>1</sup> This narrative is only the feeble echo of a violent rivalry between Rome and the town of which Herdonius was chief, Aricia, a powerful city, against which the empire of Porsenna was presently shattered.

Having become the actual leader of the Latin confederation, to which there also belonged the Hernici and the Volscian towns of Ecetra and Antium, Tarquin laid siege to and took the rich city of Suessa Pometia, which, doubtless, refused to enter into the league. He was at first less fortunate against Gabii. A check which he endured in an assault compelled him even to give up a regular siege. But his son Sextus presented himself to the Gabians: "Tarquin," said he, "is as cruel to his family as to his people; he wishes to depopulate his house as he has done the senate. I, Sextus, have only escaped by flight from my father's sword." He was received, his counsels were followed, and successful inroads into the *ager Romanus* increased the confidence which was placed in him. Soon no one had more credit in the city. Then he

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i, 50-52. The spring called *aqua Ferentina*, which was, perhaps, a natural outlet of the Alban lake, burst forth in a sacred wood, in which, until the year 340 B.C., the Latins held their assemblies. Festus, s.v. *Prætor*. It is now the Marrana del Pantano which flows in a deep valley near Marino.

despatched to Rome a secret emissary, commissioned to ask the old king what Sextus ought to do in order to give the city into his hands. Tarquin, without speaking a word, passed into his garden, and, walking up and down, cut down with a stick the poppies which were highest; then he sent back the messenger, quite surprised at such a strange answer.

The Roman logographers took this story from Herodotus [who tells it about Periander, tyrant of Corinth]; but the submission of Gabii to Tarquin is none the less certain. Dionysius of Halicarnassus saw the treaty concluded between the king and this city: it was preserved on a wooden shield in the temple of Jupiter Fidius, a place singularly chosen for a monument of treason, if the narrative of Livy was as true as it is celebrated.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of the  
gens Antistia.<sup>1</sup>

On the lands taken from the Volscians Tarquin founded two colonies: the one enclosed behind the walls of the Pelasgian Signia, the other on the promontory of Circe. They were composed of Roman and Latin citizens, who had to furnish their contingent to the army of the league. This was the first example of those military colonies, which, multiplied by the senate at all points of Italy, extended there the laws and language of Latium. At the same time they were permanent garrisons, advanced outposts, which would stop an enemy far from the capital and whence valiant soldiers could be drawn at need.

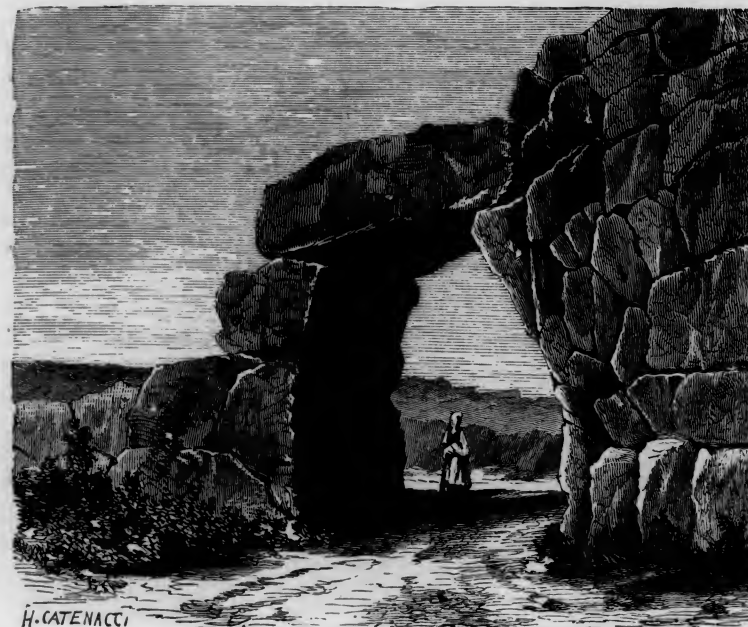
Like his father, Tarquin loved pomp and magnificence. He hired skilful Etruscan workmen, and, with the spoil obtained from the Volscians, he finished the sewers and the Capitol, that favourite residence of the god who holds the thunder, and whence "he so often shook his black shield and summoned the storm clouds to him."<sup>3</sup> In digging up the soil for laying the foundations of this new sanctuary of Rome, they had found a human head which seemed freshly cut off. "It is a sign," said the augurs, "that this temple will be the head of the world." The Sibylline books were shut up

<sup>1</sup> It bears the words FOEDVS CVM GABINIS, or treaty with the Gabians, and represents two persons offering a pig in sacrifice in order to consecrate the convention.

<sup>2</sup> Hor., *Ep.*, ii., i., 25, and Fest., s.v. *Clypeus*. Gabii had obtained the isopolity with Rome. . . . σὺν τοῖς τῇν Ῥωμαίων ἰσπολιτίαν ἅπασι χαρίζεσθαι (Dionys. of Hal., *Ant. rom.*, iv., 58.)

<sup>3</sup> Vergil., *Æn.*, viii., 353.

in a stone coffer under the Capitol. A prophetess, the Sibyl of Cumæ, had come, disguised as an old woman, to offer to sell the king nine books. On his refusal, she burnt three of them and returned to ask the same sum for the six others. A second refusal made her burn three more. Tarquin, astonished, bought those which



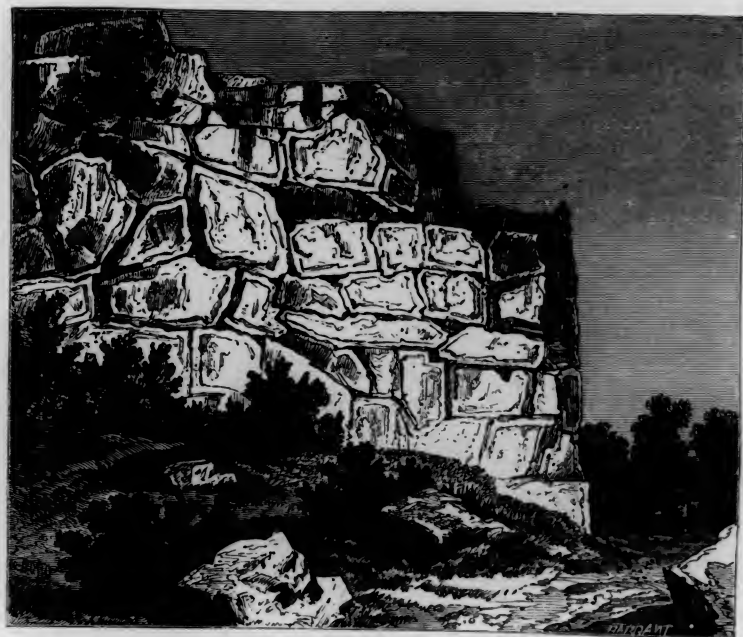
Gate of Signia.<sup>1</sup>

remained, and entrusted them to the keeping of two patricians. In times of great danger these books were opened at random, as it seems, and the first passage which was presented to the eyes served as an answer.<sup>2</sup> In the middle ages, too, they cast lots on the Gospels.

<sup>1</sup> We give a variety of these views for the reasons given above.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. iv., 62; Cic., *Divin.*, ii., 54; Tac., *Ann.*, vi., 12. Justin (i. 6) attributes this story to Tarquin the Elder. Athens appears to have had similar books. Cf. the discourse of Deinarchus against Demosthenes: ἐν αἷς τὰ τῆς πόλεως σωτηρία κέῖται. Many other towns had some: χρησμοὶ σιβυλλιακοί. The Dorians said σίος for θεός and βόλλα for βουλή. Σιβελλή, whence Sibyl, signifies then, the counsel of God. The most ancient that we now have were drawn up about the middle of the second century before our era, by Jews from Egypt. [The habit of opening the Bible at random for advice in difficult

These menacing signs, however, frightened the royal family. In order to know the means of appeasing the gods, Tarquin sent his two sons to consult the oracle of Delphi, the reputation of which had penetrated as far as Italy. Brutus, a nephew of the king, who feigned madness<sup>1</sup> in order to escape his suspi-



Wall of Circei.<sup>2</sup> (See p. 42.)

cious fears, accompanied them. When the god had replied, the young men asked which of them would replace the king on the throne: "He," said the Pythia, "who embraces his mother first." Brutus understood the concealed meaning of the oracle: he fell down and kissed the earth, our common mother.

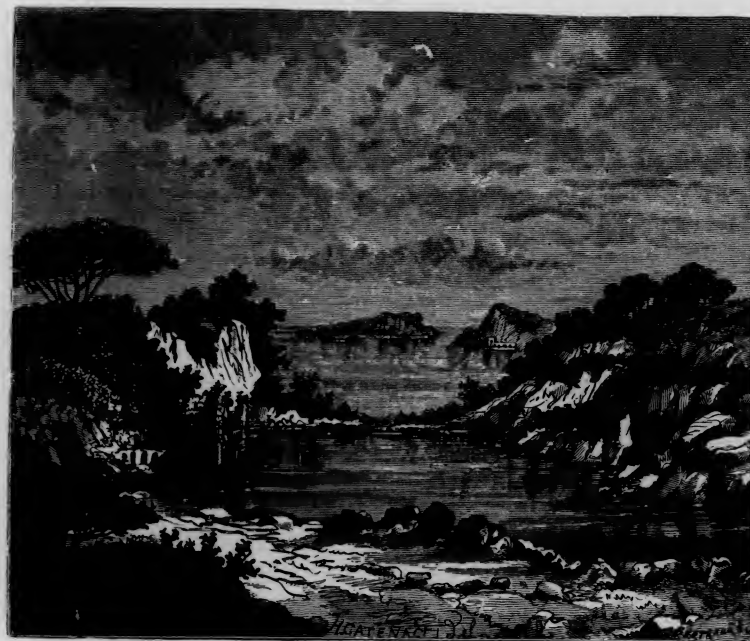
circumstances is not yet extinct among ultra-Protestants in this kingdom, and there are men still living, who have "cut for premium" in Trinity College, Dublin, when two equal competitors used to open the Bible at random, and priority of the second letter in the second line on the left hand page determined the victor.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> He was made, however, tribune of the Celeres, who was, next to the king, the first magistrate of the State. His name, which in the ancient Latin signifies the grave and strong man (*Fest. s. v. Brutum*), but which also had the meaning of idiot, gave rise to the legend of his madness.

<sup>2</sup> See Dodwell, *Pelasgic remains*, pl. 104.

The journey to Delphi was then for the Romans a very great journey, and the king had no motive for sending such an embassy.

But the Greeks wished that this homage should be rendered



The Cave of the Sibyl of Cumæ.<sup>1</sup>

to their favourite oracle, and, in order to complete the picture of the tyranny of Tarquin, they took a pleasure in showing the nephew of the king, constrained to conceal his deep mind under the appearance of madness, as he had concealed a golden ingot in his travelling staff in order to offer it to the god.

In a play of Attius, represented in the time of Cæsar, the poet related that Tarquin, troubled by a dream, had called his diviners about him. "I saw in a vision," said he, "in the midst of a flock, two magnificent rams. I sacrificed one, but the other,

<sup>1</sup> Taken from an engraving of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The mountain, seen to the right, is the hill on which Cumæ had been built. The summit bore its Acropolis, and grottoes had been excavated in it. One of these grottoes, the entrance of which is seen, is supposed to have been the cave where the Sibyl gave her oracles. (See Virgil, *Æn.*, vi, 41).



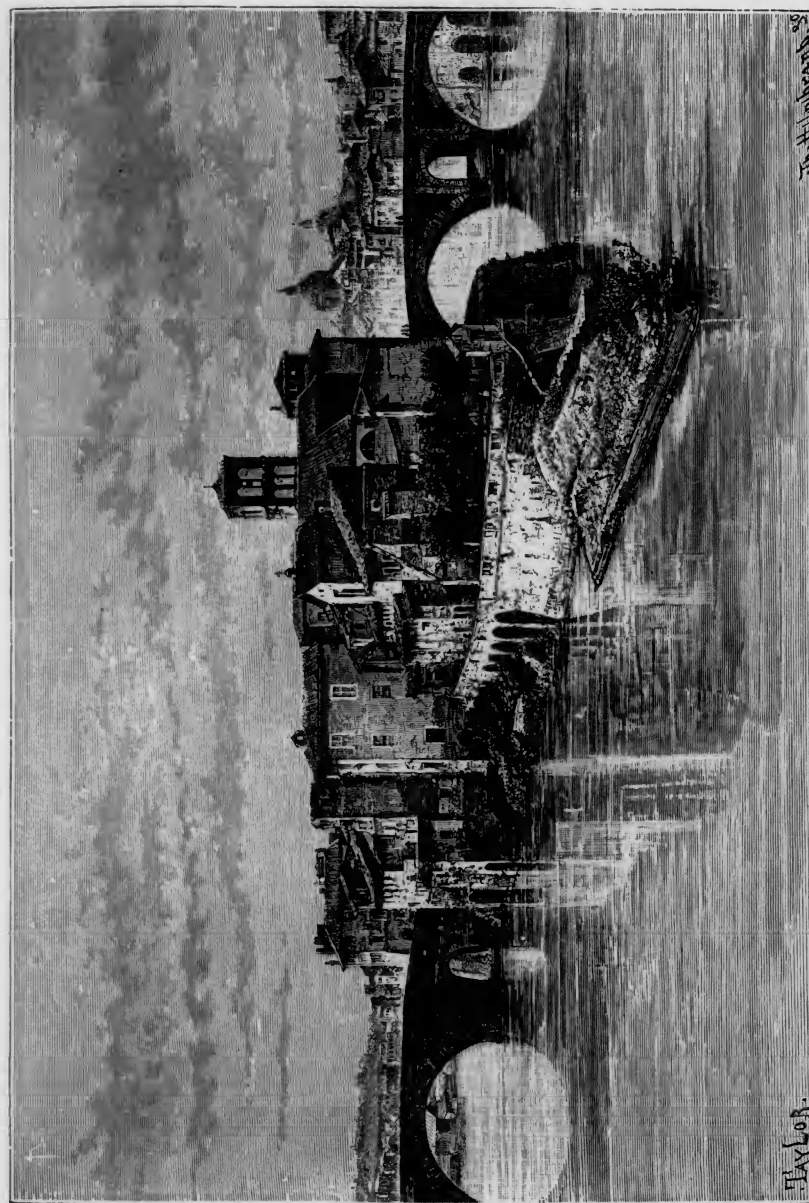
dashing upon me, threw me to the ground, and severely wounded me with his horns. At this moment I perceived in the heavens a wonderful prodigy: the sun changed his course, and his flaming orb moved towards the right."—"O, king!" replied the augurs, "the thoughts which occupy us in the day-time are reproduced in our visions; there is no need, then, to be troubled. However, take care that he, whom thou dost not count higher than a beast, have not in him a great soul, full of wisdom. The prodigy which thou hast seen announces a revolution near at hand. May it be a happy one for the people! But the majestic star took its course from left to right; it is a sure omen. Rome will attain to the pinnacle of glory." Was it the Greek fiction that the friend of Caesar's murderer took up in his *Brutus*, or did he recall a tradition preserved in the house of the founder of the republic? Around great events there always gather a cycle of stories of adventure from which poetry and legendary history can draw.

When the embassy returned to Greece, Tarquin besieged Ardea, which was the capital of the Rutuli, and had been that of Turnus, the rival of Æneas.<sup>2</sup> It was a powerful city in which the Etruscans had long ruled; Pliny there saw pictures which were thought more ancient than Rome,<sup>3</sup> and, although its decay commenced as early as the third century, some statues have been found there, which, in spite of their mutilations, suggest the inspiration of Greek art. What remains of its walls and citadel is more imposing than any of the ruins found in Etruria. The operations commenced against it by Tarquin were protracted and wearisome, so that the young princes sought to drive away by feasts and games the ennui of the siege, when one day there arose between them that fatal dispute concerning the merits of their wives. "Let us take horse," said Tarquinius Collatinus; "they do not expect us, and we will judge them according to the occupations in which we surprise them." At Collatia they found the king's daughters-in-law engaged in the delights of a sumptuous feast. Lucretia, on the contrary, in the retirement of her house, was spinning among her

<sup>1</sup> This passage is all that remains of the *Brutus* and even of any Roman tragedy of the class called *prætextata* or national.

<sup>2</sup> In the treaty concluded with Carthage, in the first year of the republic, Ardea is called the subject of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 6.



The Insula Tiberina (present state.)

women far into the night. She was proclaimed the best. But her discretion and her beauty excited criminal passion in the heart of Sextus. Some time afterwards he returned one night to Collatia, entered the room of Lucretia, urged her to yield to his desires, and combined threats with promises. If she resists, he will kill her, place beside her the dead body of a murdered slave, and go and tell Collatinus and all Rome that he has punished the culprits. Lucretia is overcome by this infamous perfidy, which exposes her to dishonour; but no sooner was the outrage accomplished than she sends a swift messenger to her father and her husband to come to her, each with a trusty friend. Brutus accompanies Collatinus. They found her plunged in deep grief. She informs them of the outrage and her desire not to survive it, but demands of them the punishment of the criminal. In vain they try to shake her resolution; they urge that she is not guilty, since her heart is innocent; it is the intention which constitutes the crime.<sup>1</sup> But she says: "It is for you to decide the fate of Sextus; for myself, I absolve myself of the crime, but I do not exempt myself from the penalty; no woman, to survive her shame, shall ever invoke the example of Lucretia." And she stabs herself with a dagger, which she had concealed under her dress.

Brutus drew the weapon from the wound, and, holding it up, cried, "Ye gods! I call you to witness. By this blood, so pure before the outrage of this king's son, I swear to pursue with fire and sword, with all the means in my power, Tarquin, his infamous family and his cursed race, I swear no longer to suffer a king in Rome." He hands the weapon to Collatinus, Lucretius, and Valerius, who repeat the same oath, and together they repair to Rome. They show the bleeding body of the victim and incite to vengeance the senate, whom Tarquin had decimated, and the people, whom he had oppressed with forced labour on his buildings. A *senatus-consultum*, confirmed by the curiæ, proclaimed the dethronement of the king, his exile and that of all

<sup>1</sup> [The Greeks and Romans, who were familiar with these misfortunes in the case of the noblest captives, taken in war, and were accustomed to receive them back into their homes, felt the justice of this excuse far more thoroughly than we should do, among whom the stain is indelible.—*Ed.*]

his kin. Then Brutus hastened to the camp before Ardea, which he moved to insurrection; while Tarquin, having returned to Rome in all haste, found its gates shut, and was reduced to take refuge with his sons Titus and Aruns in the Etruscan town of Cære. The third, Sextus, having retreated to Gabii, was killed there by the relatives of his victims.<sup>1</sup>

This same year, Athens was delivered from the tyranny of the Pisistratidæ.

As a reward for their aid, the people claimed the restoration



Brutus (bust in the Capitol).

of the laws of the good king Servius, and the establishment of consular government; the senate consented to it and the *comitia centuriata* proclaimed as consuls Junius Brutus and Tarquinius

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i., 57-60.

Collatinus, and afterwards Valerius, when Collatinus, having incurred suspicion on account of his name, was exiled to Lavinium. Many others fared as he did, for "the people, intoxicated with their new liberty, exacted reprisals," says Cicero, "and a great number of innocent people were exiled, or despoiled of their goods."<sup>1</sup>

Cære only offered a refuge to Tarquin. But Tarquinius and



The Grinder.<sup>2</sup>

Veiï sent to Rome to demand the restoration of the king, or at least the restitution of the goods of his house and of those who had followed him.<sup>3</sup> During the negotiations, the deputies planned a conspiracy with some young patricians who preferred the brilliant service of a prince to the reign of law, order and liberty; the slave Vindicius discovered the plot; the culprits were seized, and amongst them the sons and some relatives of

<sup>1</sup> *De Rep.*, i., 40.

<sup>2</sup> This beautiful statue is supposed to represent the slave listening to the conspiracy of the sons of Brutus, or to that of Brutus and Cassius, against Cæsar.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys., v., 4-6, and Plut., *Popl.*, 3.



Brutus, who ordered and calmly looked on at their execution. Twenty days were granted to the refugees to return to the city.<sup>1</sup> In order to gain the people over to the cause of the revolution, they were allowed the pillage of Tarquin's goods, and each ple-



Coin of the gens Horatia.<sup>2</sup>

beian received seven acres of the royal lands; the fields which extended between the city and the river were consecrated to Mars, and the sheaves of wheat, which they bore, seized and thrown into the Tiber, were stopped on the shallows which became afterwards the island of Æsculapius.<sup>3</sup>

An army of Veientes and Tarquinians, however, marched on Rome. the legions went out to meet them, and in a single combat Brutus and Aruns fell mortally wounded. Night separated the combatants without decided victory. But, at midnight,



Horatius Cocles.<sup>4</sup>

a great voice, as it were, was heard proceeding from the Arsian wood, and pronouncing these words: "Rome has lost one warrior less than the Etruscan army." The latter fled away in a panic. Valerius re-entered Rome in triumph and pronounced

the funeral panegyric of Brutus; the matrons honoured by a year's mourning the avenger of outraged modesty, and the people placed his statue, sword in hand, on the Capitol, near those of the kings, which were still protected by a superstitious fear.

<sup>1</sup> Dionys., v., 13.

<sup>2</sup> A coin bearing the name of Cocles and struck at an uncertain date by some member of the gens Horatia. In front, a head of Pallas, on the reverse, the Dioscuri.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys., *ibid.*, and Plin., xviii., 4. This *insula Tiberina* (di San Bartolomeo) was afterwards joined to the left bank of the river by the *pons Fabricius* (Ponte Quattro Capi, on account of the figures of *Janus quadrifons* placed at its extremities), and to the right bank by the *pons Cestius*, which bears the modern name of the island. In memory of a miracle, which we shall have to relate later on, they gave to the *insula Tiberina*, by solid constructions, the form of the keel of a ship floating on the water, and its extremity represented a prow, the remains of which are still seen. To this island, very subject before these works to the inundations of the Tiber, they carried the slaves, old, sick or infirm, and there abandoned them. Æsculapius afterwards had his first temple there. Notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the god "healer," the desperate who wished to quit life, without caring about their burial, generally chose the *pons Fabricius* in order to pass into eternity through the Tiber (Hor. *Sat.*, II., iii., 36).

<sup>4</sup> Bronze medallion of Antonine. Cocles crosses the Tiber swimming; an enemy is trying to pierce him with his javelin, and a Roman finishes breaking down the bridge.



Remains found at Ardea.

Devotion to public affairs, piety towards the gods, and heroic exploits distinguished this nascent liberty: it was Valerius who, being suspected on account of his stone house built on the Velian, above the Forum, had it demolished in one night, and earned, by his popular laws, the surname of Poplicola: it was Horatius, to whom the death of his son was announced, during the dedication of the Capitol, and who would hear nothing of this domestic calamity, because he was praying to the gods for Rome; and, lastly, when Tarquin armed Porsenna against his ancient people, it was Horatius Cocles who defended the *pons Sublicius* alone against an army; Mucius Scævola, who, standing before the wondering Porsenna, put his hand into a brazier in order to punish it for making a mistake in killing, instead of the king, one of his officers; it was Clœlia, who, having been given as a hostage to the Etruscan prince, escaped from his camp and crossed the Tiber by swimming.<sup>1</sup> Then comes the war-song of the battle of Lake Regillus,<sup>2</sup> the last effort of Tarquin, who, abandoned by Porsenna, had again stirred up Latium to revolt. All the chiefs met there in single combat, and perished or were wounded. The gods even, as in Homeric times, took part in this last strife. During the action, two young warriors of high stature, mounted on white horses, fought at the head of the legions, and were the first to cross the enemy's entrenchments; when the dictator, Aulus Postumius, wished to give them the siege crown, the collars of gold and rich presents promised to those who should first have entered the enemies camp, they had disappeared; but, on the same evening, two heroes were seen at Rome, covered with blood and dust, who washed their arms at the fountain of Juturna,<sup>3</sup> and announced the victory to the people; they were the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. In order that their presence in the midst of the Roman army might not be doubted, for centuries the gigantic

<sup>1</sup> Between the Etruscan and Latin wars, tradition places a war against the Sabines, which must have lasted four years, from 505 to 501, and during which the Sabine Attus Clausus (Appius Claudius), a rich citizen of Regillus, who had been adverse to the hostilities, had emigrated to Rome, where he was received into the senate, and his family took a place amongst the new Patrician *gentes*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Pietro thinks he has found Lake Regillus in a dried up marsh, *il Pantano*, 15 or 16 miles on the way to Palestrina, south of the hill occupied by the village *la Colonna*.

<sup>3</sup> This fountain never dries, but at present it flows underground. It was this which fed what was called Lake Curtius. The Temple of Castor was close by.

impression of the foot of a horse was shown in the rock on the field of battle, and Rome, which took pride in representing itself as the object of the constant solicitude of the gods, consecrated



The three columns of the temple of Castor.<sup>1</sup>

this legend by raising a temple to the divine sons of Zeus and Leda, which became one of the most celebrated in the city.

The victory was a bloody one. On the side of the Romans, three Valerii, Herminius, the companion of Cocles, Æbutius, the master of the horse, were left on the field of battle, or quitted it wounded. On the side of the Latins, Oct. Mamilius, the dictator

<sup>1</sup> The temple of Castor and Pollux, in which the senate often assembled, in *æde Castoris, celeberrimo clarissimoque monumento* (Cic., in *Verr.*, II. i., 49) begun by Postumius and finished by his son, was rebuilt on the same spot under Augustus and Tiberius. The three magnificent columns which remain of it date from this latter epoch.

of Alba, and Titus, the last son of Tarquin, fell. The old king



The Dioscuri watering their horses at the fountain of Juturna.<sup>1</sup>



Aulus Postumius the conqueror of the Latins.<sup>2</sup>

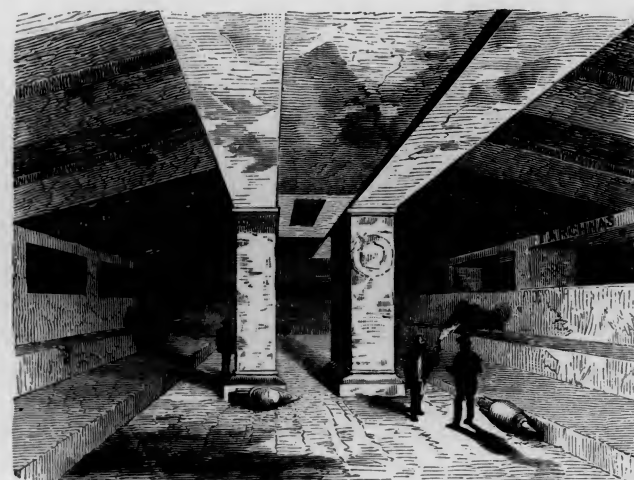


Coin commemorative of the battle of lake Regillus.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of the gens Mamilia.<sup>4</sup>

himself, struck with a blow of a lance, only survived all his



Supposed tomb of the Tarquins.<sup>5</sup>

race and his hopes, to finish his miserable old age at the court of the tyrant of Cumæ, Aristodemus (496 B.C.)

<sup>1</sup> Silver coin of the Albini, descendants of Postumius.

<sup>2</sup> It was a descendant of A. Postumius who had this silver medal struck. The portrait is certainly no true likeness, but all the patricians kept the images of their ancestors in the atrium of their house, and the coin may have been fairly accurate. Besides we ought to do for figured Roman antiquity what we have done for its history; I mean that we cannot ignore the way in which the Romans represented their ancestors, any more than omit the legends which were all, great and small, considered as historic truth.

<sup>3</sup> The descendants of the dictator caused a coin to be struck in remembrance of his victory, representing the head of Diana on the obverse; on the reverse three knights trampling a hostile soldier under the feet of their horses.

<sup>4</sup> This gens claimed to be descended from Ulysses, and put the likeness of this prince on their coins.

<sup>5</sup> The sepulchral cave of the Tarquins has, perhaps, been found in our days at Cære. Their Etruscan name, Tarchnas, is inscribed thirty-five times on the walls of this tomb, a fact which,



The Tarquins are dead; the founders of the republic have one after the other disappeared; the time of heroes and legends is past; that of the people and of history begins.

however, is not sufficient for us to be able to affirm that this sepulchral chamber is that of the Tarquins of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Large bronze of Antonine; the wolf on the left, the Tiber on the right.



Rome seated upon the Seven Hills.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

### CONSTITUTION OF ROME DURING THE REGAL PERIOD.

#### PRIMITIVE ORGANISATION.

##### I.—SOURCES OF ROMAN HISTORY.

THE influence which Greek exercised over Latin literature, extended to the history of Rome: we have already seen some proofs of it and we shall see many more. The use of writing, however, was not so rare in ancient Italy as has been asserted. If we reject, as we are bound, the discovery of the books of Numa, it is nevertheless true that the treaty with Carthage in 509 B.C., the original of which Polybius read, the treaty with Gabii,<sup>2</sup> that of Spurius Cassius with the Latins, which Cicero<sup>3</sup>



Coin commemorative of the treaty with the Gabii.<sup>1</sup>

saw, the royal laws collected after the departure of the Gauls,<sup>4</sup> show that writing was employed, during the regal period, at least for public acts and to preserve the memory of important events.

All around Rome, the nations had also monuments of their national life. At the time of Varro there still existed Etruscan histories written about the middle of the fourth century before our era. Cumæ had its historians,<sup>5</sup> and each city its annals engraved on sheets of lead, tables of brass, planks of oak, or written on linen, as at Anagnia and Præneste. There is no doubt that the nation of the Volscians, so long powerful,

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Antistius Vetus. On the obverse, head of Augustus with the indication of his 8th *tribunitia potestas*; on the reverse, two fetials sacrificing a pig on a burning altar, and the words: FOED (us) CVM GABINIS, Treaty with the Gabini. <sup>2</sup> Dionys. iv., 58. <sup>3</sup> *Pro. C. Balbo*, 23. Cf. Dionys. iv., 26. <sup>4</sup> Livy, vi., 1. <sup>5</sup> Festus. s. v. *Romam*.

possessed written monuments, as well as the Hernici and the Latins; Dionysius makes mention of their war-songs, Silius of those of the Sabines, and Vergil, who was as erudite as the learned Varro in the affairs of ancient Italy, speaks of the national songs of the *prisci Latini*.

Inscriptions on bronze and on stone, memorials, names attached to monuments and places, as the Sister's Post, the *via Scelerata*, and oral traditions which lived in families, might aid researches into their primitive history. But the most ancient of Roman annalists lived at the time when Rome, the mistress of Italy, entered into relations with Greece; they were dazzled by the brilliancy of Hellenic literature, and misunderstanding the importance of native documents which were extremely meagre, they became the pupils of those whom they had just subdued. There was, then, as it were, a double conquest made, in different directions. The Greeks became subjects of Rome, the Romans the disciples of Greece, and the Etruscan education of young patricians was replaced by Greek education, the journey to Cære by the journey to Athens.<sup>2</sup> Even

A A A	A A	A
B B	B	B
C C	C	C
D	D	D
E E I	E I	E
F F I'	F I'	F
	G	G
H	H	H
I	I	I
K F	K	K
L	L L	L
M M	M M M	M
N N	N N	N
O O O	O	O
P P	P P	P
Q Q	Q	Q
R R	R	R
S S	S	S
T	T	T
V	V	V
X	X	X

Early Roman (Latin) Alphabets.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [These alphabets are taken (by F. Lenormant) from the *Priscæ Latinitatis Mon. Epigrapha* and represent the writing of the latter 5th, the 6th, and the 7th (Augustan) centuries A.U.C.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ix., 36: *Habeo auctores vulgo tum (in the fifth century of Rome) Romanos pueros sicut nunc Grecis, ita Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos.*

long before the Romans thought of Athens, the influence of Greece had made itself felt in the centre of Italy, among the Etruscans and even in Rome. The Sibylline books were written in Greek, and the ambassador from Rome to the Tarentines spoke to them in that language.

By a singular freak it was from the Greeks that the Romans learnt their history: I mean that history which the Greeks made for them. The epic character, which the influence of Homer and Hesiod had given to the narrative prose of the Hellenes, passed into the writings of the annalists of Rome. Two of her first historians, Ennius and Nævius, were epic poets; Dionysius said of their works: "They resemble those of the Greek annalists," and he added concerning Cato, C. Sempronius, etc.: "They followed Greek story." Tacitus and Strabo reproached them with the same thing.<sup>1</sup> Thus the nations of western Europe forgot in the middle ages their true origin for the pedantic reminiscences of ancient literature: the Franks said they were descended from a son of Hector; the Bretons, from Brutus, and Reims had been founded by Remus.

On the origin of Rome and of Romulus, there are in Plutarch no less than twelve different traditions, almost all of which bear the stamp of Greek imagination, and the one which he preferred as being the most widespread was only the story of a Greek, Diocles of Peparethos, followed by a soldier from the second Punic war, Fabius Pictor, the oldest of Roman annalists and the first ambassador from Rome into Greece.

The organization, however, being altogether religious, and as the priests were at every moment interfering in public affairs, the pontiffs were concerned in keeping up the memory of events, as accurately as possible. Thus the Romans had the *Annals of the Pontiffs*,<sup>2</sup> or *Annales Maximi*, the *Fasti Magistratum*, the *Fasti Triumphales*, the rolls of the censors, etc. But these annals were so laconic that they opened a wide field to interpretations and fables. Moreover, being written down from day to day, in order to preserve

Strabo, III. vi., 19: *Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφαίς μνησθῆναι μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας.* Dionys. i. 11: *Ἑλληνικῶν τε μύθῳ χρησάμενοι.* [This agrees with Mommsen's view of the antiquity of writing in Italy, a theory strongly corroborated by the recent discovery of the old Phœnician alphabet with its *samech* and *tsadde* on vases at Cære and elsewhere.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de Orat.* ii., 12, and Fest., s.v. *Maximus* and Servius *ad Æn.* i., 373.

the memory of treaties, the names of magistrates and of important events, they only went back to the period when established Roman society felt the simple need of rendering an account to itself of its acts and of its engagements with its neighbours. Beyond, there is nothing but mythological darkness, and this was the open field in which the imagination of the Greeks was exercised. They laid hold of this period and filled it up to suit their interests. Now, in their own history they had preserved hardly any great record of ancient times, except that of the contest against Troy. With this event they connected the first history of Italy. It was towards Italy that they led the Trojan chiefs, escaped from the sack of the city, or the Greek heroes driven away from their homes by tempest, and each Italian town of any importance had as founder a hero of one of the two races. Let us note that the Greeks also found an advantage in this double manner of connecting Italy and Rome with their history, by their own colonies, and by the Trojan settlements, by Evander and Æneas, by Ulysses and Antenor. To go back to Troy, was, for the Greeks, to go back to an epoch of glory and power, and, moreover, in ennobling through these legends the beginnings of Rome and of the Latins, the Greeks avenged themselves indirectly in exhibiting this city and nation formed by fugitives escaped from the victorious sword of the Hellenes. It was not derogatory for Rome to accept this origin. Troy was the greatest name of antiquity, the most powerful state of the ancient world; her reputation was immense, and at the same time it could not wound their pride, for Troy was long since destroyed. Moreover, she was the enemy of Greece. Rome would not so willingly have allowed it to be said that she sprang from Macedonia, Sparta, or Athens, which were of recent celebrity. We are not jealous of the glorious dead; to be their heirs is a new title to fame.

From the time of the first Punic war, the belief in the Trojan descent of the Romans was current, as is seen in the inscription of Duilius, in which the Egestans, who were considered as a Trojan colony, are called *cognati populi Romani*. After Cynoscephalæ, one of the first cares of Flamininus, who was anxious not to pass for a barbarian, was to set up at Delphi an inscription which called the Romans the race of Æneas. When

the Julian house had seized the empire, this belief became an article of political faith, and, following the example of the Romans, the Italians eagerly laid claim to this origin; Trojan genealogies were bought, just as, in the last century, our fathers bought marquisates; and, in the time of Dionysius,<sup>1</sup> fifty Roman families, the *Trojugenæ*, claimed descent from the companions of Æneas. Moreover, even if Æneas should truly have settled in Latium, as he came there, according to the most ancient tradition, with only a single vessel and a small number of Trojans, this fact would be of importance only to the vanity of certain families, of none to the civilisation of the country.

## II.—PROBABLE ORIGIN OF ROME.

All great nations have surrounded their cradle with marvellous tales. In Egypt the reign of gods and demi-gods preceded that of man. In Persia, Dschemschid opens the bosom of the earth with a golden sickle and drives away the Djinns. At Troy, Apollo and Neptune built the walls of the city of Priam with their own hands. Rome desired to have a no less noble origin; her obscure birth was hidden under brilliant fictions, and the head of a band of adventurers became the son of the god Mars, a grandson of the King of Alba, a descendant of Æneas. If this is objected to in the name of historic truth, Livy replies by right of victory. "Such," says he, with a proud majesty of style, "such is the glory of the Roman people in war, that when they choose to proclaim the god Mars as their father, as the father of their founder, other nations must suffer it with the same resignation as they suffer our sway." From this strange idea of the rights of the historian, it followed that facts were to

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Rom.*, i. 85.

<sup>2</sup> In his preface. Cicero (*de Rep.* ii. 2) also says: *Concedamus famæ hominum*, and further on: *Ut a fabulis ad facta veniamus*. "We must not blame," says he, "those who recognising a divine genius in the benefactors of the nation, wished to attribute to them a divine origin." These are singular rules of criticism. Let us add, in order to show the difficulties which render the work of moderns so arduous, that we have lost the most ancient historians of Rome, Diocles of Peparethos, Fabius Pictor, the *Annales* of Ennius, the *Origines* of Cato, the history of Cassius Hemina; and let us add that Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, who had these works before them, rarely agree.



the great annalist of Rome like the subjects which in school are proposed for recitations and essays, and which savour far more of rhetoric than of the battle-field or the Forum. It is a veil covered with charming embroidery, which must be respectfully raised in order to find the fragments of truth hidden behind it.

Of these traditions the least improbable is the rape of the Sabine women, a practice very common in the heroic age. This violence agrees well with the history of the place of refuge: according as the outlaws of the Palatine Hill carried off women, unions were arranged. Abduction was, moreover, the primitive form of marriage, and the recollection of it was preserved in the nuptial ceremonies until the last days of Pagan Rome.<sup>2</sup> But the fact of the rape of the



Rape of the Sabine Women.<sup>1</sup>

Sabines cannot be reconciled with the legend that Rome was an Alban colony, for according to this it would have had the *conubium* or right of marriage with its mother city, and no one would have dared to reject the alliance of the dominant race. Moreover, the violent character of ancient Rome has been exaggerated, by making it a sort of entrenched camp from which pillage and warfare ever issued. This was one consequence of the idea that the town had been founded by a troop of bandits. The severity of the first Roman institutions, the patriciate, and the political and religious privileges of the nobility, do not agree with this tradition of a mob collected at random, and long given up to all kinds of disorder.

We do not wish to reject the idea of the existence of Romulus; though the hymns still sung in the time of Augustus, which preserved the poetic history of the first King of Rome, appear to us nothing but a legend, such as all ancient nations have had, and the counterpart of which it would be easy to find in other national traditions. Thus Semiramis, like Romulus, is the child of a goddess; like him, and like Cyrus, who was exposed in a

<sup>1</sup> L. TITVRI. Silver coin of one Sabinus Titurius.

<sup>2</sup> The bride was carried as it were by force from her father's house, and it was customary to lift her over the threshold of her husband's house. The latter practice still exists in a few villages in England, where it may have been introduced by the Romans; but it is usual in China (Dennis, *The Folk-lore of China*), and with the Esquimaux, which weakens the proof that might be thence adduced in favour of the legend of the Sabines.

forest and suckled by a bitch,<sup>1</sup> she is abandoned in the desert, fed by doves, and picked up by a shepherd of the king. Her history, too, is bloody. As Romulus kills his brother, she causes the death of her husband, and after a long reign she disappears; but some saw her ascend to heaven, and her people paid her divine honours. Nearer Rome, in Latium itself, Cæculus, son of Vulcan, and founder of Præneste, is abandoned after his birth, and brought up by wild beasts. In order to people his city, which remained empty, he called together the neighbouring nations to solemn games, and when they came together from all parts, flames surrounded the assembly. In the Sabine country, Medius Fidius or Sancus, who became the national god of the Sabines, was also born of a virgin who was surprised by Mars Enyalius in a temple of Reate, and like Romulus, he had founded a town, Cures, which in tradition is the second metropolis of Rome. These legends, which are found as far as the banks of the Ganges, in the story of Chandragupta, were, with many others, the common inheritance of the Aryan race.

We may regard Romulus, who may be connected with the royal house of Alba,<sup>2</sup> to have been only one of those warlike chiefs such as both ancient and modern Italy have produced, and who became the king of a people to whom the position of Rome,<sup>3</sup> fortunate circumstances, and the ability of its aristocracy, gave the empire of the world.

Numerous testimonies<sup>4</sup> prove that, long before Romulus traced a furrow round the Palatine, that hill was inhabited. There was, therefore, a Latin city there, the town on the Tiber, *Ruma*, having the manners and laws of Latium and of the Sabine country, the patriciate, paternal authority, patronage, clientship,

<sup>1</sup> Paris by a she bear, Telephus by a hind, etc. This kind of legend was extremely widespread in ancient times, and sprang up again in the middle ages: Geneviève of Brabant, etc.

<sup>2</sup> In the legend, he is the grandson and sole heir of Numitor. He does not, however, succeed him, and the family of Sylvius is replaced on the throne of Alba by a new family, by Cluilius, king or dictator. Rome is called a colony of Alba, and yet there is no alliance between the two towns, and the modern city does not defend its colony against the Sabines, etc., etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Place Rome at another point of Italy," says Cicero (*de Rep.* ii. 5), "and her rule becomes almost impossible."

<sup>4</sup> *Roma ante Romulum fuit et ab ea sibi Romulum nomen adquisivisse Marianus Lupercaliorum poeta ostendit* (Philargyr., *ad Virg. Ecl.* i. 20). None but towns founded in entirety and on a precise day by a colony have a certain date. The others have been at first hamlets, villages and burghs. With London or Paris, when did the hamlet begin?

a senate, and perhaps a king, in short, a truly political and religious organisation already ancient, and which Romulus, himself a Latin, only adopted. He may have come to establish himself victoriously there with his band,<sup>1</sup> the *Celsi Ramnenses*, giving the ancient town a new appearance and more warlike manners. On this ground he may have passed for its founder, and his companions for the heads of patrician houses. Is not the nobility of England,



Ancient substructions of the Palatine.<sup>2</sup>

so powerful and so proud, [in great part] descended from the adventurers who followed William of Normandy?

In spite of Niebuhr's disdain, sometimes so harshly expressed, for those who seek historic facts in these ancient legends, we may allow the abduction of certain Sabine women by the *Celsi Ramnenses*,<sup>3</sup> and the occupation, effected by a convention, of the

<sup>1</sup> Festus (s.v. *Ver sacrum* and *Mamertini*) attributes the origin of Rome to a sacred spring time. There is always the idea of an occupation of the Palatine by an armed troop.

<sup>2</sup> Atlas of the *Bull. archéol.* vol. v. pl. 39.

<sup>3</sup> In the most ancient of the Roman historians, Fabius, the number of the Sabine women

Capitoline and Quirinal by the Sabines of Cures.<sup>1</sup> The two towns remained separate, but the people met in the plain between the three hills. Circumstances, which legend explains to suit itself, led to the union, under a single chief, of the two *burghs* established on the Palatine and Capitol. In whatever manner this alliance was produced history must yield to the Sabines a considerable and probably preponderant part in the formation of the Roman people.

But if we cannot pierce this veil of poetry which hides the real facts, let us study the institutions which ancient manners and circumstances produced. This we can do, for these customs lasted into the historic age, and as Cuvier from a few broken bones reconstructed extinct creatures, we may reconstruct, with the help of ancient remains, that society of which legends give us only interesting but deceptive pictures.

### III.—PATRICIANS AND CLIENTS.

Rome had no single legislator as the Greek cities had. Its constitution was the work of time, circumstances and many men. Hence arise numberless uncertainties. The most ancient traditions show the people divided into three *tribus*, the *Ramnenses*,<sup>2</sup> or companions of Romulus, the *Titienses*, or Sabines of Tatius, and the *Luceres*, whose origin is referred to an Etruscan chief, Lucumo,<sup>3</sup> who may have come with a numerous band to aid Romulus in building his city and in gaining his first victories. But the political inferiority of this last tribe, which at first had neither Senators nor Vestals, would imply a conquered population, perhaps the ancient inhabi-

carried off is only thirty. Valerius Antias counts as many as five hundred and twenty-seven, and Juba six hundred and three.

<sup>1</sup> The lance (*quir*) was the national weapon of the Sabines, and the symbol of their principal divinity, hence the names of *Cures*, *Quirites*, *Quirinal* and *Quirinus*, and perhaps of *Curia*. The two tribes together were called *Populus Romanus Quirites*, omitting according to the use of the old Latin tongue, the conjunction *et*. This became afterwards *Populus Romanus Quiritium*.

<sup>2</sup> *Celsi Ramnenses*, (for *Romanenses*), or as Dionys. says, (ix. 44), *καθαρωτάτη φυλή*.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 8, Fest. s. v. *Lucerenses*, from Lucerus, king of Ardea; according to others from *lucus*, the wood of refuge. In that case the Luceres would be those who had taken refuge.

tants of the town may have remained until the time of Tarquin under the yoke of conquest.

The tribe was divided into ten *CURLÆ*, each *curiæ* into ten *DECURLÆ*; and these divisions, which were also territorial and military,<sup>1</sup> had their chiefs—tribunes, *curiones* and *decuriones*.

In each tribe were included a certain number of political families, or *GENTES*, which were not composed of men only of the same blood, but also of men connected by mutual obligations, by the worship of a hero venerated as a common ancestor (*sacra gentilitia*) or by the right of inheriting one from another in the absence of a will or of natural heirs,<sup>2</sup> a right which reminds us that, in the beginning, property had been common. Thus, they were enabled to reduce to a small figure the number of these political families, 200 at first, afterwards 300, and to allow only 3,000 citizens to the city of Romulus; but we must admit that these figures, like the English words *hundred*, *tithing*, were not a strictly exact arithmetical expression. Moreover by these 3,000 citizens of original Rome the patricians alone are understood.



Coin of the *gens* Fabia.

Now to these heads of the *gentes* were attached numerous clients. In tradition the *gens* Appia numbers 5,000, the *gens* Fabia 4,000, and Coriolanus could form a complete army of his tribe. Let us accept 300 as the number of patrician houses, allowing for each house an average of 100 clients, and we shall have a population of more than 30,000. Even were these numbers purely imaginary, the *gens* would none the less be the basis of the primitive organization of Rome, as it has been among many nations. However far we trace back the course of history, we find in the family, natural or fictitious, the primordial elements of society. The Greek *γένη*, the Scottish clans, the Irish septs, answer to the Roman *gentes*; and the same organisation

<sup>1</sup> Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 35.), speaks of a threefold division of territory for the three tribes: Dionys. (ii. 7), of a division into thirty allotments for the thirty *curiæ*.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *gens*, *genus* is sometimes found, which clearly explains the word *gens*. Thus *Cilnium genus* (Livy x. 3-5). Cf. Aulus Gellius, xv. 27, Pollux, viii. 9, Harpocration, s. v. *Γεννῖται*. Paul Diac. (p. 94), also says *Gentilis dicitur et ex eodem genere ortus et is qui simili nomine appellatur*. *Client* or *cluens*, from *clueo*, means he who hears and who obeys.

is met in Friesland, among the Ditmarses, the Albanians, Slavs, etc.

In Algeria the Arab *douar* and the Kabyl *dechera* resemble the Roman *gens*, the *sheikh* or *amin* represents the *pater-familias*, and the chiefs of the *douars* and *decheras*, like the *patres* at the *curia*, discuss at their *jemâa* the interests of the families they represent. Studied more closely, history shows that customs long looked upon as peculiar to certain peoples and certain epochs have been general institutions and represent the stages humanity has travelled.

Thus the *gens* united all its members by a bond of relationship, real or fictitious. The *curia* was this same family enlarged, and the tribe was a similar one, only more complete. Each *curia* had its days of feasts and sacrifices, its priests and tutelary gods. Religion united still more closely those whom ties of blood or social position already connected. The whole Roman state rested on this basis of family and had the same strict discipline.

The members of a *gens* were divided, we said, into two classes; those who belonged to it by right of blood, and those who had become associated with it by certain engagements.

The former, the *patroni* or *PATRICIANS*,<sup>1</sup> were the sovereign people, to whom everything belonged, and who had the two great outward signs which marked the nobility of the middle ages, family names and armorial bearings, I mean the *jus imaginum*, speaking devices which were far more proud and imposing than all the feudal coats of arms, since it seemed as though the ancestors themselves, clad in their insignia of office, guarded the entrances of patrician houses. In funeral ceremonies, individuals recalling in features<sup>2</sup> and form the persons whom it was desired to represent, assumed the costume and 'honours' that these latter had worn, thus surrounding the dead patrician with a living escort of his ancestors. In later times they had another form of *escutcheons*, the representation upon coins of the objects that their name recalled. Thus Aquilius Florus, a

<sup>1</sup> *Patricios Cincius ait, in libro de Comitibus, eos appellari solitos qui nunc ingenui vocentur.* (Fest. s. v. *Patricios*).

<sup>2</sup> [Rather they wore the wax masks taken from the images in the Atrium. *Ed.*]



flower; Quinctius Mus, a mouse; Voconius Vitulus, a calf; Pomponius Musa, the nine muses on nine different coins, etc.;

Flower.<sup>1</sup>Calf.<sup>2</sup>Muses.<sup>3</sup>Rat.<sup>4</sup>Pickaxe.<sup>5</sup>Mallet.<sup>6</sup>Collar.<sup>7</sup>Bull.<sup>8</sup>Women changed into trees.<sup>9</sup>

a custom infinitely more modest, which ended by being merely a play of wit, but which had at first served to recal heroic acts, as for instance the collar of the Manlii, and doubtless the hammer of the Publicii and the axe of the Valerii.

The second class of the members of the *gens* comprised strangers domiciled in the town, the prisoners brought to Rome, the ancient inhabitants of the land, the poor, freed slaves, in short, all who preferred dependence on the great and strong, with their protection, to isolation and an insecure liberty. These were the CLIENTS, or we might say vassals.

<sup>1</sup> Coin of *L. Aquilius Florus III Vir* (monetary triumvir), representing on the reverse a large full-blown flower; an *aureus* of Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> *Q. Voconius Vitulus*. Vitulus means a calf; reverse of a denarius of Caesar's time.

<sup>3</sup> *Pomponius Musa*. Laurel crowned head of Muse; behind, a buskin; on the reverse, Thalia standing, holding a comic mask. Denarius of the Pomponian family.

<sup>4</sup> *Ti. Q. Tiberius Quinctius Mus*, an unknown member of the family Quinctia. Silver coin representing a rat, in Latin *mus*, beneath some horses which the rider is restraining; on the exergue, D. S. S., that is *de senatus sententia*, struck by order of the senate.

<sup>5</sup> *Acisculus*, hammer in a crown of laurel. The *acisculum* was a tool *quo utuntur lapicide ad excavandos lapides* (Forcellini s. v.). Reverse of a silver coin of the Valerian family.

<sup>6</sup> Head of Pallas, above, a mallet, *malleolus*; on the reverse *C. Mall.* (Caius Malleolus). Naked man with his foot on some armour; in front, an anchor; behind, the prow of a vessel. Denarius of the Publician family.

<sup>7</sup> *L. Torquat III vir*. Tripod enclosed in a collar, *torques*; denarius of the Manlii.

<sup>8</sup> *L. Thorius Balbus*, denarius of the Thorian family. Taurus means a bull.

<sup>9</sup> *P. Accoleius Lariscolus*. Bust of Clymene, the mother of Phaëton; on the reverse, the three sisters of Phaëton changed into larches (*larice*).

The patrician, or PATRON, for the words are synonymous, gave a small farm to his client, or, in default of land, a *sportula*, that is to say a certain amount of provisions;<sup>1</sup> he must watch over all his interests, follow his suits, aid him in law courts, do for him, in a word, what the father does for his children, the patron for his freedmen. The law allowed the client no appeal from his patron; but religion consigned the patron to the gods, if he did any wrong to him whose necessary protector he was.<sup>2</sup> The client, on his part, took the family name of his patron, *nomen gentilicium*, and when he died received shelter in his tomb;<sup>3</sup> he helped him to pay his ransom, his fines, his law expenses, his daughter's dowry, and even the expenses necessary to fulfil his functions and maintain the dignity of his rank. It was forbidden them to summon one another into a court of justice, to bear witness or to vote against one another, and it would have been a crime, on the part of the client, to maintain a suit against his patron. Clientship was then a considerable diminution of the liberty of the client, and for him a semi-slavery. Such was, in fact, the strength of this bond in ancient times, that if the patron was exiled or quitted his country, his clients followed him into foreign lands. But, in 390 B.C., Camillus set out alone; the bond had slackened, some years later it was on the point of breaking, when Manlius thought that his words would be obeyed, if he proposed to the clients to take arms against their patrons.<sup>4</sup> At this period some of them were already on the road to fortune, a century later we shall see them advancing to power; the Marcelli, for instance, had been in the clientship of the *gens Claudia*. The *gens* then loses its social and religious character, but considerable traces of it exist up to the time of Constantine. With the conquests of the republic, patronage extends to whole towns and nations; so that in the civil wars the strength of the chiefs was thereby greatly increased. Under the empire it was the precious

<sup>1</sup> *Agrorum partes attribuebant tenuioribus* (Fest. s. v. *patres*), probably on the same conditions that the State imposed upon farmers of the domain. See Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 7. Dionys ii. 10: *ἐγγεῖσθαι τὰ ἱκία*. . . . This is the principal passage on clientship. The nomination to a curule magistracy in later times broke the bond of clientship.

<sup>2</sup> Serv., ad *Æn.* vi. 609.

<sup>3</sup> *Jus sepulcrī* (Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 22).

<sup>4</sup> Livy vi. 18.

bond between the senators of Rome and the provincial cities, between the rich and poor; it freed the society of this age from the necessity of having those charitable institutions which Christianity multiplied when clientship had disappeared.

#### IV.—SENATE AND KING; PLEBEIANS.

The members of the *gentes*, of absolutely free condition (*ingenui*), or the comrades in arms (*comites*), that is to say the patricians mustered at the *Comitium*,<sup>1</sup> divided into thirty curiæ, the *COMITIA CURIATA*, and there, by the majority of votes, but without discussion, they made laws, decided on peace or war, heard appeals and appointed to public or religious offices. Here, also, they approved or rejected wills which modified the property of the citizens and adoptions which changed their civil condition.

The chiefs of these *gentes* or elders (*seniores*, whence *SENATORS*), to the number of at first a hundred, two hundred after the union with the Sabines, and three hundred after the admission of the *gentes minores* under Tarquin, were the guardians of the national customs.<sup>2</sup> By refusing permission to present a bill to the assembly of curiæ, they rendered the latter powerless, and, as the council of the supreme magistrate, they assisted him with their advice in his government as well as in the propositions which he made to the people.

Chosen for life by the *comitia curiata*, the KING fulfilled the triple functions of generalissimo, high priest and supreme judge. Every nine days, according to Etruscan custom, he dispensed justice, or appointed judges to dispense it in his name. During war and outside the walls his authority was absolute, for discipline, as well as for the division of booty and conquered land, of which

<sup>1</sup> The *Comitium* was the part of the Forum nearest the Capitol. At first distinct from the Forum, or public place, it was confounded with it when the two nations became one. The *Comitium* was crowned by a platform, on which was an altar sacred to Vulcan, the *Vulcanal*; the kings, and afterwards the consuls and prætors, dispensed justice there.

<sup>2</sup> Usually they sat in the curia Hostilia, built opposite the *Comitium*, at the foot of the Capitol (Livy. i. 30); later on they met in one of the temples of the city, and always in a place consecrated by auspices. They deliberated with open doors. This semi-publicity of the sittings was better ensured when the tribunes of the people had been admitted to seats on benches at the doors of the curia.

he himself kept a part; so that he possessed, under the name of State property, considerable domains. Strangers, that is plebeians, were subject to him at all times, and in all places. He convoked the senate and the sovereign assembly, he named senators, watched over the maintenance of laws and customs, and took the census. Six centuries later we find these rights reappearing in the prerogatives of the emperors. But appeal might be made to the people, that is to say, to the *comitia curiata* or patrician assembly, from the king's judgments, which was not allowed from the sentence of the emperors, a difference which suffices to mark the limited power of the one and the absolute authority of the other.<sup>1</sup> There was another all-powerful restraint which does not exist under the empire, the augurs and priests, being appointed for life, had nothing to fear from the king, and they could arrest his proceedings by making the gods intervene.

He had for his guard, it is said, three hundred KNIGHTS, or *celeres*. But these knights, chosen from among the richest citizens, were probably only a military division of the tribes, in time of war they formed the cavalry of the legions.<sup>2</sup> Their chief, the *tribune of the celeres*, was, after the king, the first magistrate of the city; as under the republic the *magister equitum*, the dictator's lieutenant, is the second person in the State. When the king quitted Rome, a senator whom he had chosen from among the ten first of the assembly, governed the town under the name of guardian.<sup>3</sup> In case of a vacancy in the royal power, the senate named an *interrex* every five days. Finally, the *quæstors* charged with the institution of criminal proceedings watched over the distribution of public charges, *munia*, and the levy of certain taxes and dues;<sup>4</sup> and the *duumviri perduellionis*

<sup>1</sup> Ἰσχυρὸν καὶ θεοῦ ἡγεμονίαν ἔχον (Dionys. ii. 14). [The Emperors monopolised the right of appeal under the *tribunicia potestas*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Niebuhr's school include all the patricians in the three centuries of knights, without reflecting that in Italy, especially at Rome, all the military forces consisted of infantry, and that in a Roman army there were never more than a small number of cavalry, as the nature of the country required.

<sup>3</sup> *Custos urbis*. The appellation of *præfectus urbi* is more modern. See Joan. Lyd., *de Magist.* i. 34, 38; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 22) places the institution of the financial *quæstorship* as far back as the kings, but it is not mentioned before 509.

judged such cases of high treason as the king did not reserve for his own decision.

By the side of this people of patrician houses,<sup>1</sup> which alone forms the State, makes laws, furnishes the senate with members, and the republic with kings and priests, which possesses everything — religion, the auspices by which it holds communication with the gods, political and private rights, lands, and, in the multitude of its clients, a devoted army — below this sovereign class are found men who are neither clients nor vassals, nor members of the *gentes*, who may not enter the patrician houses by legal marriage, who have neither the paternal authority<sup>2</sup> nor the right of testamentary disposition or of adoption, who do not interpose in any affair of public interest, and remain outside the political as they dwell outside the actual city, beyond the pomerium, on the hills which surround the Palatine. These men are the PLEBEIANS. Ancient inhabitants of the seven hills, or captives carried to Rome,



Mercury found at Palestrina.<sup>3</sup> (See p. 75.)

<sup>1</sup> The three tribes, τὰς τρεῖς φυλὰς τὰς γενικάς (Dionys. vi. 14).

<sup>2</sup> *Patria potestas* is derived from patrician marriage, by *confarreatio* and the plebeians cannot contract such. Wills and adoptions to be valid must be accepted by the curiae, and they cannot enter these.

<sup>3</sup> *Mus. Pio Clem.*, pl. 6.

foreigners attracted to the place of refuge, clients who have lost their patrons, they are, as Appius afterwards says of them, without auspices, without families,<sup>1</sup> and without ancestors. But they are free, they hold property,<sup>2</sup> they practice crafts, and already pay honour to Mercury, the plebeian god of commerce, who in time will enrich some among them;<sup>3</sup> they settle their disputes by judges chosen from their midst, they receive no order but from the king, and they fight in the ranks of the Roman army to defend the fields they cultivate, and the walls beneath whose shelter they have built their huts. Soon we shall find them become, by the laws of Servius, citizens of Rome.

In antiquity, as in the middle ages, victory assigned to the conqueror the person and lands of the conquered. Romulus having become in some way or other, by conquest or voluntary cession, master of the *Ager Romanus*, was then enabled to divide it equally among the families of the victors. This primitive division, attested by all writers, established among the citizens an equality of fortune, the restoration of which was several times attempted by the agrarian laws. Each *gens* received, perhaps, an allotment of twenty *jugera*, on the condition of supplying ten fighting men or one horse-soldier for the army; the legion was then formed of three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. I fear this explanation may seem like an idea copied from the organisation of the feudal armies, as clientship recalled to our minds vassalage. The same system, however, is found in Greece. Sparta also had three tribes (φύλαί) and thirty curiae (ἑκαταί) to each of which were given three hundred lots of lands, and the members of which formed the army and the sovereign people. At Rome itself the possession of the soil entailed, like that of a fief, the obligation of military service; and the landless citizen, *ararius*, was no more admitted into the legions than the Frank without a

<sup>1</sup> That is to say they do not form *gentes*, and they have not the *jus imaginum*.

<sup>2</sup> Either those which they had reserved on the territory of conquered cities, or the assignments of the kings. Two words express this separation of the two people; the plebeians had neither the *connubium*, or marriage right, with the patricians, nor the *commercium*, or right of buying and selling.

<sup>3</sup> At least Livy says (ii. 27) that a little before the establishment of the tribuneship, the dedication of a temple to Mercury took place at Rome, and that a college of merchants was established under the patronage of the god.



domain or the Lombard without a war-horse<sup>1</sup> into the king's host. Under different aspects many ages of the world are alike. In nature a small number of essential elements produces an infinite variety of creatures; just so in the political world the most diverse social forms often hide similar principles. Still it need not be concluded from this that humanity surges to and fro like the waves of the ocean, in continual ebb and flow; in that eternal evolution of beings and empires, principles do not remain immutable; they are modified and developed. The world seems to roll in the same circle, but this circle is a spiral which at times returns on itself, and always ends on a higher level.

What we have now been relating was, according to tradition, the work of the first king, that is to say, of ancient times; for popular imagination, which sees only gods in the phenomena of nature, sees only men in the great phases of history, and attributes to heroes, whose names it invents or receives, the work of many generations. For the Romans, it was Romulus who had divided the people into tribes and curiæ, who had created the knights and the senate, established patronage and paternal and conjugal power, and forbidden nocturnal sacrifices, the murder of prisoners, and the exposure of children, unless they were deformed.<sup>2</sup> It was he again who, by offering an asylum and by setting the great example of inviting conquered people to the city, had prevented Rome remaining, like Sparta and Athens, a city with only a few citizens, or, to adopt the expression of Machiavelli, an immense tree without roots, ready to fall at the least wind.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Luitpr. Leg. v.*, cap. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Dionys. ii.* 15.

<sup>3</sup> "Sparta and Athens were exceedingly warlike. They had the best of laws; yet they never increased as much as Rome, which seemed to be less well administered, and governed by less perfect laws. This difference can only come from the reasons explained above (the introduction into Rome of the conquered populations, or the concession of the citizenship). Rome, anxious to increase its population, could put 280,000 men under arms; Sparta and Athens were never able to exceed the number of 20,000 each. All our institutions are imitations of Nature, and it is neither possible nor natural that a slight and feeble trunk should support heavy branches . . . "The tree loaded with branches thicker than the trunk grows weary of supporting them, and breaks in the least wind." (Machiavelli.)

### CHAPTER III.

#### RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

##### I.—THE PUBLIC GODS.

JUST as those civil institutions which had belonged to central Italy, whence the Romans sprang, were attributed to Romulus, so Numa has been looked upon as the author of the religious customs brought from Latium and the Sabine country. We know their gods. The most honoured were first Janus, the great national divinity, whose name stands at the head of all solemn invocations—the god with two faces, for he it is who opens and shuts, and begins and ends;<sup>1</sup> Jovis or Jupiter, the god of light, who is called father and preserver of all things; Saturn, who protects the grain sown in the earth; Minerva, who warns the husbandman in time of the works to be undertaken;<sup>2</sup> Mars, the symbol of life renewed in the spring time, and of manly force, against which no obstacle can stand;<sup>3</sup> Quirinus, the Sabine god, who, later on, being confounded with Romulus, descends to the rank of a demi-god; Vesta, whose altar marked the centre of domestic life in the house and of political life in the city; Vulcan, another god of fire, of the fire which devours and de-



MARS.

<sup>1</sup> According to *Dionys. (fr. 18)*, Janus is represented with two faces, because he knows the past and the future. This interpretation is relatively modern. In fact Janus must have been a solar deity, a symbol of the eternal revolution of things.

<sup>2</sup> Minerva, or rather Menerva, is a name belonging to the same family of words as *mens monere, meminisse*; hence the transformation of this agricultural deity into the goddess of science and art, and the confounding of her with the Greek Athene. (*Bréal, Mél. de mythol.* p. 35).

<sup>3</sup> Coins sometimes represent him by the figure of a young man with a helmet on his head, sometimes mounted on a chariot, brandishing a lance and bearing spoils. With the legend of Mars is connected the much less clear one of *Anna Perenna*, whose festival, as Ovid describes it, recalls certain features of the popular fêtes of modern Rome.

stroys, of the fire which conquers iron and constrains the hardest metals to bend to the wants of men. He early had an altar, the *Vulcanal*, below the *Comitium*. It was there, according to tradition, that Romulus and Tatius met to conclude peace.

Diana and Jovino were the feminine forms of Janus and Jovis; the one, goddess of the night and of gloomy woods; the



Juno nursing Hercules (statue in the Vatican).

other, Juno, of the day and of life, queen of heaven, *mater regina* and *Juno Sospita*, protector of matrons who preserved their conjugal fidelity. Her sanctuary at Lanuvium was famous; the priests there kept a serpent, to which every year a virgin offered a sacred cake—a dreadful ordeal. If he refused it, the maiden had not kept her virgin purity. Diana, who was afterwards joined with the Hellenic Artemis, was also a kind of Lucina, whom women called to their aid in childbirth. Men paid her honour, as the goddess of mysterious forests, and as Latium was covered therewith, she was one of the great divinities of the Latins.

We have seen how Servius raised a temple to her on the

<sup>1</sup> We need hardly observe that the Ancient Romans long had, as representations of their gods, nothing but the trunks of trees roughly hewn into shape, or coarse symbols, and that consequently the busts and statues here given are of a period when Greek art reigned at Rome, and when the town was encumbered with statues taken by the proconsuls from the cities of Hellas and Asia Minor.



Imp. Frederick.

AMPHORA OF CERVETRI (CERE) REPRESENTING A DOMESTIC SCENE

stroke of the fire which conquers iron and constrains the hardest metals to bend to the wants of men. He early had an altar, the *Vestal*, below the *Comitium*. It was there, according to tradition, that Romulus and Titus met to conclude peace.

Diana and Jovine were the feminine forms of Janus and Jovis, the one goddess of the night and of gloomy woods; the



*Diana seated (statue in the Vatican)*

other, Juno, of the day and of life, queen of heaven, *mater regina* and *Juno Sospita*, protector of matrons who preserved their conjugal fidelity. Her sanctuary at Lanuvium was famous; the priests there kept a serpent, to which every year a virgin offered a sacred robe—a dreadful ordeal. If she refused it, the priestess had not kept her virgin purity. Diana, who was afterwards joined with the Hellenic Artemis, was also a kind of Lucina, whom women called to their aid in childbirth. Men paid her honour, as the goddess of mysterious forests, and as Latium was covered therewith, she was one of the great divinities of the Latins.

We have seen how Servius raised a temple to her on the *Palatine*. We must also observe that the ancient Romans long had, as representations of their gods, nothing but the masks of oxen, rams, lions, and dogs, or some symbols, and that consequently the *Jovis* and *Minerva* here given are of a period when Greek art reigned at Rome, and when the Latin was assimilated with characteristics by the *grecians* from the time of *Pyrrhus* and *Antioch*.



*Imp. Frattelli,*

AMPHORA OF CERVETRI (CÆRE) REPRESENTING A SACRIFICE



Aventine, when he wished to unite the destinies of Rome to those of the Latin cities.

At a period of refined philosophy Plutarch explained that the worship of Fortune complemented that of Destiny; that the goddess of the swift wings ruled over accidental events, whereas the "Son of Necessity"<sup>1</sup> watched over the maintenance of the unchangeable laws of the universe, and the execution of the sovereign decrees pronounced by the supreme God; it was the opposition of the contingent and the necessary, of the domain wherein human liberty can be exercised, and that wherein divine providence rules. The Romans did not philosophise so deeply; but they had a confused idea that everything in life did not obey inevitable laws, and according to their custom they had created a divinity corresponding to this feeling—*Fortuna*, an old Italian deity, whom Servius was supposed to have introduced into Rome, and who had certainly come there in an isolated way. She was held in great honour at Præneste and at Antium,<sup>2</sup> and in time she counts more worshippers than the great gods of the Capitol<sup>3</sup>. The common people and slaves held a yearly festival, on the 24th of June, in honour of her who could bestow liberty and riches,



Fortuna (statue in the Vatican).

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*de Fato*), says that in Plato's *Republic* Destiny is the word of the Virgin Lachesis, daughter of 'Aváγην, Necessity.

<sup>2</sup> The *sortes* of Præneste, so famous throughout Italy, were little sticks, which were drawn by a child, as the numbers of a lottery are still drawn at Rome.

<sup>3</sup> According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* ii. 5) Fortune was the great divinity of his time.

and in their prayers they joined the name of Servius with that of the good goddess who from an adventurer had made him a king. "When she entered Rome," says Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> "she folded her wings as a sign that she wished to remain there," and in fact she is still there. The Roman of the present day believes as firmly in chance as the Roman of bygone ages.

Innumerable were her titles, and consequently her temples; for as every epithet bestowed on her expressed a special kind of



Tetrastyle Temple of Fortuna (virilis).<sup>2</sup>

favour expected from her, there seemed to be as many goddesses of fortune as there were motives for making supplication to Chance. The Romans thus divided the deity according to the functions which they meant it to fulfil; and all their gods had several different phases, as though this people were incapable of contemplating a divine being in its grandeur and serenity.

Women even desired to have their goddess of Fortune, *Fortuna muliebris*, to whom the matrons whose tears overcame Coriolanus erected a temple. They consecrated another to *Fortuna virilis*,

<sup>1</sup> *De Fort. Rom.*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> A tetrastyle temple of the last days of the Republic, the base of which is still surrounded by the ancient pavement of the Palatine way. It is situated near the Temple of the Sun (p. 31) and a house made entirely of the ancient ruins. See Wey, *Rome*, p. 162.

which had at first a very moral function, that of preserving to wives the affection of their husbands, but which ends by being only the goddess of every kind of feminine coquetry. This temple still exists, and with good reason, since the goddess has not ceased to reign.

The gods of the lower world, Tellus, Terra-Mater, Ceres, Dis-Pater, etc., caused the seed to germinate in the bosom of the silent earth, and kept guard over the dead. Those of the sea, so numerous among the Greeks, who passed half their lives upon the waters, could not possess much credit with a people who had no fleet. But in the middle region dwelt the deities of the earth, *Medioxumi*,<sup>1</sup> gods of the field and forests, of the harvest and vintage, of the springs and rivers, gods more popular and more honoured than the great gods who lived far away. There Bona Dea reigned, or Maia, the earth which produces all things necessary to life, and who



Faun of Praxiteles.<sup>2</sup>

was therefore called the Great Mother, *Mater Magna*<sup>2</sup>; Saturn, "the Good Sower," Faunus, Sylvanus, and Pales, gods of the woods and meadows, who protected the farm, the poultry yard, and the garden established in some forest clearing, and who drove away the wolf and fatal diseases.

<sup>1</sup> Plautus, *Cistellaria* II. i. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.* I. xii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient copy of the Faun of Praxiteles, in the Capitoline Museum.

In ancient times Italy was, as it still is, the country of large pastures, and the Roman Campagna still keeps its fierce shepherds, whose sports only Vergil was willing to depict. Their great festival, the *Palilia*, was celebrated on the day of the foundation of Rome, April 21st, and the royal hill of Romulus bore the name of their divinity.<sup>1</sup> Rumina, the foster mother, watched over the suckling of young cattle: hence the name of the Ruminal fig-tree, beneath the shade of which the wolf had suckled the twins. Rubigo preserved the wheat from mildew, Vertumnus and Pomona caused the fruit to ripen in the orchard. The goddess of flowers, of joy, and of all the charms of nature, Feronia, appears less prodigal of useful favours, yet she was held in so great honour that Hannibal found a rich treasure to carry off from her temple at the foot of Mt. Soracte. Later on Flora and Venus enter into severe competition with her.



To the Great Mothers.

Feronia.<sup>2</sup>

The Tiber.

Liber, the genius who has the modest duty of ensuring abundance on the tables of his worshippers, also inherits the rich legend of the Theban Dionysos and the Bacchus of India; just as Hercules, the guardian of the enclosure, becomes the glorious son of Jupiter and Alcmena [Heracles], when the flood of Greek poetry has fertilised the soil of Italian mythology.<sup>3</sup>

Above the naiades, nymphs and all the genii of the water, rose Father Tiberinus, the mighty river that refused to be fettered with a stone bridge, and long permitted above his

<sup>1</sup> Palatine, from Pales, a word which is itself derived from the root *pā*, which formed the verbs signifying "to pasture" in Greek, Latin and French.

<sup>2</sup> This coin was struck in the time of Augustus by the monetary tribune Petronius Turpilianus, who has not bestowed beauty on the goddess Feronia. But Roman artists, even in the time when they were most under the influence of Greek art, did not seek their goddesses in heaven; they took them from the Roman Campagna. The Minerva of the magnificent chest of Præneste, called the Ficorini, looks like a *contadina*.

<sup>3</sup> The first mention of the worship of Heracles, or Hercules, at Rome is made by Livy (v. 13), in connection with the *lectisternium* of the year 418 B.C.

waves nought but the *Pons Sublicius*, built of wood, without a single piece of iron. Moreover, in order to avert the anger of the gods, the pontiffs had undertaken the construction of it themselves, and they directed all repairs, which were only executed amid religious ceremonies. In the distant ages the Tiber had exacted human victims: he was now content with twenty-four mannikins of osier, which the vestals yearly (on the 13th of May) cast from the top of the Sublician bridge into his stream.

To all these gods the name of father was given, which would have made a friend of Horace smile, but which in ancient Latium was the most august title for men and gods. Eros, who plays so high a part in the *Theogony* of Hesiod as the harmonious arranger of the elements of chaos, and excites sweet feelings in men and gods, has no place in the Roman religion of the early ages. These gods are united in pairs, Saturn and Lua, Quirinus and Hora, Mars and Nerio; but the son of Aphrodite is not yet among them. These loveless and childless couples represent in their severity the Latino-Sabine family, which granted no place at the hearth but to the matron and her rough husband.

The innumerable gods of the *Indigitamenta*, that is, whose names were written on the registers of the pontiffs, formed a class apart. They had the singular character of presiding over every action of life, even the very lowest, from birth to death, —over all the needs of mankind, food, clothing, lodging; over all his works, etc., but in such wise that each of them supplied only one of these needs. They are only known by the epithet which designates their duty.<sup>1</sup> The need satisfied or the act accomplished, no further prayer is addressed to them, and they seem as if they no longer existed. Some busy themselves about conception or pregnancy; others about child-birth; some watch over the suckling of the child; some make it utter its first cry, and so on for the whole of life. Strange illusion of man, to adore the conceptions

<sup>1</sup> See, in S. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* vi. 9 and 10), all the employments of these gods, the enumeration of which he concludes with these eloquent words: *omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam quam longo ævo superstitio congestit*. Cf. Maury, *Religions de l'antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 1236. [The same sort of feeling is seen in those curious early Latin hymns, chiefly of Celtic origin, which are called *Lorice*, and consist in invocations to protect every spot in the body, even the most minute and ignoble. There are several specimens in Mone's *Hymni Lat. Med. Ævi*.—Ed.]



of his own mind! But this people, possessed of such terrible energy, who knew nought of dreamy contemplations or mystic orders, these men of action and perseverance, could do nothing alone. Whether it was a question of private or public interest, the Roman must have a god at hand. There was another remarkable characteristic; the Greeks held their political assemblies in the theatre, the senate of Rome deliberated in temples.

## II.—THE DOMESTIC GODS.

Some of these divinities, who may be called official, and who had temples, priests, and a public worship with the homage of the crowd, were moreover honoured in a special manner among the *gentes*, *sacra gentilitia*. Each of the great families had its tutelar deity, as the corporations of the middle ages selected a patron in heaven, and this worship united closely all the members of the *gens*. To renounce this was to perish; the *gens* did not survive the abandonment of its ancient altar. Livy tells how the Potitii, having given over to the State the worship of Hercules, which was peculiar to their clan, all died within the year.<sup>1</sup>

Each household, however poor, had also its domestic gods, modest and humble, some even invisible, as the Genii and the Manes; others the Penates and Lares, represented by shapeless earthenware figures roughly moulded and baked in the oven, but as highly honoured as the holy pictures of the Russian peasant. They are scarce distinguishable from the latter, for they all represented, in a manner more or less clear, the idea of supernatural protectors, who from the invisible world continued to watch over the house where they had dwelt. Our [Catholic] guardian angels and tutelar saints are echoes of these ancient Penates and good Genii.



Domestic Altar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ix. 29.

<sup>2</sup> The domestic altars were sometimes very small, like the Penates themselves. The one we give is only reduced to a quarter of its real size.

Let us first dispose of the numberless crowd of Genii. That strange doctrine is well known which makes men, and even gods, of a double nature, and gives each in his life-time two existences, one of which continues after death.<sup>1</sup> The Genii pre-



The Lares.<sup>2</sup>

sided over all the phenomena of physical and moral life. Nothing took place without them, and the favour or enmity reached the individual, the family, the city, even the whole nation.

<sup>1</sup> See p. cxxxvi.—*Sub terra censebant reliquam vitam agi mortuorum* (Cic. *Tusc.* i. 16).

<sup>2</sup> Lares taken from the Campana Museum, and comparatively modern. These statuettes, so full of pretentious affectation, were certainly not honoured with the same strong faith accorded to the shapeless fetishes of ancient days. The Penates, who ensured joy and abundance to the house, were in late days represented in a joyous attitude, holding in one hand a drinking horn and in the other a dish.

The Penates, or gods of the interior, whom Vergil calls paternal gods,<sup>1</sup> were the spirits of the house, in which they provided abundance, *penus*. With the Lares or Lords, the spirits of ancestors, were connected all endearing and sweet memories. The Lares shared the joys and griefs of the family, and were associated with its good or evil fortune. In every festival they took part, on all happy occasions they were crowned with flowers or foliage, and the young man, when he took the *toga virilis*, consecrated to them the *bullā* which he had worn. No meal was eaten without a portion being set apart for them, a kind of communion with the gods which in grave circumstances was performed by the whole city, when she invited all her guardian deities to the solemn feast of the *lectisternium*.

At an epoch already sceptical Plautus introduces on the stage a family Lar, who explains to the spectators the plot of one of his plays. "I am the Lar of this house. For many a year I have had the keeping of it, and I watch over it from father to son. The grandfather of the present holder confided a treasure to me with many supplications, and secretly hid it under the hearth, asking me to preserve it. He was a miser, and he departed without speaking to his son about it. When he was dead, I carefully observed his son to see if I should receive more honour from him than from his father. I soon found that he diminished still more the expenses which concerned me. I punished him for it, and he never knew of the secret hoard. His son resembles him, but his daughter never misses a day in offering me incense, wine and prayers; so I will lead her to discover the treasure."<sup>2</sup>

Take away the disrespectful handling of the poet, who makes the familiar Lar a piece of theatrical machinery, and you will find the god whose worship was the consolation and hope of many a generation.

With the worship of the Lares was associated that of the domestic fire, and it may be said that the two corner-stones which

<sup>1</sup> Macrobius (*Sat.* III, iv. 6 and 8) calls the Penates the peculiar gods of the Romans: *dis Romanorum propriis*. . . . *per quos penitus spiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus.*  
<sup>2</sup> Prologue of the *Aulularia*.

upheld Roman society were the hearthstone and the tombstone. The family was formed around the one, and, in spite of the sad separation, it continued around the other. He who had no Penates wandered about in life as he who had no tomb wandered in death; and the hearth is a sacred place. On the kalends, the ides, the nones, on all feast days, a crown of flowers is hung there,<sup>2</sup> and on entering the house the father salutes, first of all, the Lares of the hearth<sup>3</sup>.

Great Vesta reigns over the public hearth, "a living flame that neither gives nor receives

any germ of life,"<sup>4</sup> consequently an eternal virgin, who can have none but virgins for companions. Each house also possesses a domestic Vesta. The hearth is her altar, and the fire which burns there is a god; the god who sustains life in the house, as the sun does in nature, who bakes the bread, makes the tools, and aids in all kinds of work; but the god who purifies, too; who is never soiled; who receives sacrifices and bears to the other deities the prayers of mortals, when the flame, quickened by oil, incense and the fat of victims, blazes up and darts towards heaven.

"O Hearth," says an Orphic hymn, "thou who art ever young and beauteous, make us always happy! Thou who dost nourish, receive in good part our offerings, and give us in return happiness and health." With less of religious fervour, but with



1. Bulla.<sup>1</sup>



2. Young Roman wearing the Bulla.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No. 1 represents the golden *bullā*, without ornamentation, except on the clapper-ring. No. 2 shows a statue from the Louvre, representing a young Roman clad in the *prætexta*, and wearing the *bullā*. The poor wore leather ones, but all had them, for the *bullā* was supposed to possess the power of averting evil.

<sup>2</sup> Cato, *de Re rust.*, 143.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>4</sup> . . . *Vivam flammam* . . . *quæ semina nulla remittit nec capit.*  
(Ovid, *Fast.*, vi. 291-94).

an emotion which gives an idea of this eternal worship of the hearth, Cicero says, later on: "Here is my religion, here my race and the traces of my fathers. I find in this place an indefinable charm, which penetrates my heart and enthrals my senses." And we of modern times still say similar things when we return to our paternal hearth.

## II.—THE MANES.

The souls of the dead, or *Lemures*, were of two kinds, those of the wicked, the *Larvæ*, and those of the good, the *Manes*.

The *Manes*, 'the pure beings,' were the dead purified by funeral ceremonies, and become the protectors of those whom they had left behind them in life. At Rome, as everywhere, the dead was not thought to be altogether dead. He had his place of abode like the living; *his* hearth was in the tomb. There he began a second life, sad but calm, if the funeral rites had been accomplished; fretful and unhappy when funeral honours had not been paid him. Separated from his mortal remains, the human being did not quit the earth to ascend into ethereal spheres, or to descend into the lower regions. Invisible, but ever present, he remained near those he had loved, inspiring them with wise thoughts, protecting their abode and their fortune, on the condition, however, that the living should render to the dead the worship due to ancestors. Originally these rites were cruel, at least on the day of the funeral ceremonies, for it was thought that the *Manes* loved blood. On the tomb of a king or hero they immolated his wife, his slaves, his war-horse or captives; and from this custom came the combats of gladiators, which were at first, as was the Spanish *auto-da-fé*, an act of devotion. But on anniversaries the *Manes* were satisfied if the relations came to deck the tomb with wreaths of foliage, as we place flowers thereon, and to deposit cakes of honey and meal, to make libations of wine, milk,<sup>1</sup> and the blood of some unpretending victim. They were present in invisible form at these pious ceremonies,

<sup>1</sup> Ovid, *Fast.*, ii. 537. seq.



Unp. Fragments  
FUNERAL IMAGE



an emotion which gives an idea of this eternal worship of the house. Cicero says, later on: "Here is my religion, here my rites and the traces of my fathers. I find in this place an indefinable charm, which penetrates my heart and enthral my senses." And we of modern times still say similar things when we return to our paternal hearth.

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Imp. Frattini

FUNERAL IMAGE

and took their part of the offerings.<sup>1</sup> A great number of bas-reliefs and paintings represent the dead engaged in their 'Elysian repasts.' Lucian, who laughs at everything, ridicules this appetite of the dead;<sup>2</sup> and, in fact, in his time, nay even long before him, there were miserable wretches, the *bustirapi*,<sup>3</sup> who played the part of the dead, by carrying away in the night the food deposited on the tombs. But pious people believed that the benevolence of the Manes was secured by these offerings, and that to forget them was to expose oneself to their anger. Wandering then in the silent night, they came to terrify the living, or to cast disease on the flock, barrenness on the land.<sup>4</sup> Thus even at a time when the credit of Jupiter had fallen very low Cicero wrote, "Render to the Manes what is due to them, and hold them for divine beings, for our ancestors would that those who had quitted this life should be of the number of the gods?"<sup>5</sup> We make the sign of the cross on passing near a tomb. The Roman said to the dead, 'Sleep in peace,' or else, 'Be propitious to us,' and he saluted with the same gesture of adoration that he used in worshipping the gods. Even when a family was obliged to sell the field in which its funeral vault was placed, the law reserved a right of passage that they might go to perform the sacred rites there.<sup>7</sup> On the return of



Adoration before a tomb.<sup>6</sup> (See p. 90).

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi 13. The custom of the funeral feast on the day of the obsequies is preserved in our provinces. In my childhood it still existed, even in Paris; but it is no longer more than an act of politeness towards the guests, and none of the religious idea which the ancients attached to it now remains.

<sup>2</sup> *De Luctu*, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Plautus, *Pseud.* 1., iii., 127.

<sup>4</sup> . . . Tacitæ . . . tempore noctis  
Perque rias urbis, Latiosque ululasse per agros  
Deformes animas

(Ovid, *Fast.*, ii., 552.)

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *de Leg.*, ii., 9 and 22 . . . *Majores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in deorum numero esse voluissent.* We must call to mind this belief, so persistent among the Romans, when we see the emperors declared *divi*.

<sup>6</sup> Taken from a painted vase, on which Orestes is represented approaching the tomb of Agamemnon.

<sup>7</sup> Dig. xviii. 1, 6. These rites of the tomb are found as far as the extreme east. Among the Annamites, children inherit the property of their father in equal portions, except the eldest,

the *Feralia*, the last day of the festival of the dead, there was celebrated in each house the *Caristiae*, a feast in which all the relatives took part. Then they recalled the glorious memories of the family; together they worshipped the Lares, the protectors of the paternal roof, and they separated with mutual wishes for prosperity. 'At this fraternal banquet,' says Ovid, 'Concord always came to take a seat.'<sup>1</sup>

This religion of death is at once the most ancient and the most touching; it established a bond between the past generations



Gesture of adoration.<sup>2</sup>



Gesture of adoration.<sup>3</sup>

and those which survived them. The soul of the ancestors was the soul of the family, and there was in this firm belief a great principle of social conservatism.

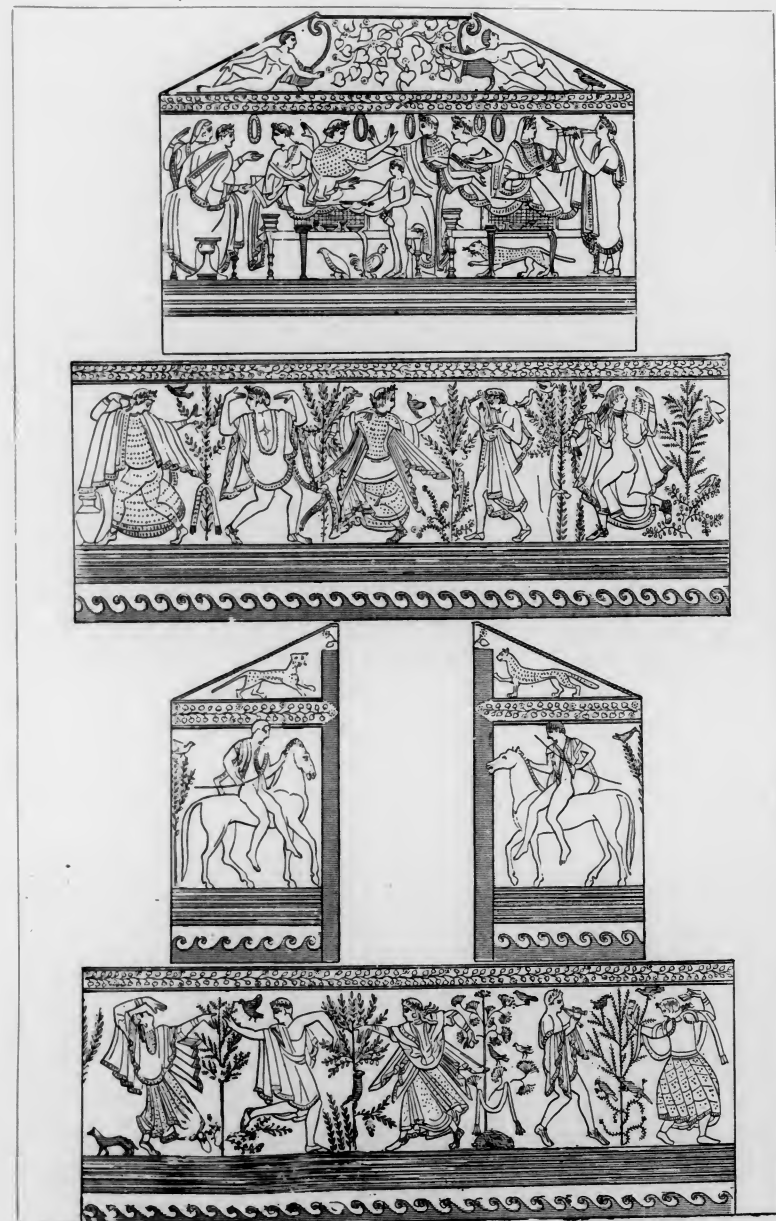
But let us take notice that this festival of the dead differed essentially from ours, which is a beautiful idea of universal charity continued beyond the tomb; a prayer offered by all for all. Among the Romans the worship of the dead was essentially domestic; near relatives alone were entitled to make the offerings, and no stranger had the right to be present at the funeral repast, the pious representation of the banquets of the Elysian life, which

who holds an extra portion in order to keep up the tombs of his ancestors. (Ch. Lemire, *Cochinchine franc.*, 1877.

<sup>1</sup> *Concordia fertur . . . . . adesce* (*Fast.* ii. 631.)

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief from the Louvre.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from a painting on a Greek vase. A young Greek woman and young man saluting a Hermes. To put the right hand up to the mouth is still a mode of salutation in the East and sometimes even with us.



An Elysian Repast. (See note i., p. 93.)



were the only joy the Roman and Greek could imagine for their dead.<sup>1</sup> The man, then, who died without leaving a family behind him lacked those honours which were necessary to the repose and consolation of the dead. In order to avoid this misfortune, the childless Roman, in default of a natural family, created for himself a legal family, and to religious belief must be attributed the importance of that civil custom of adoption, as frequent at Rome as it is rare with us. The funeral colleges under the Empire are another means of providing oneself with relatives who may accomplish the rites necessary to this second life in the tomb.

The *Larvæ*, the messengers of the gloomy abode, brought the living unlucky dreams, threatening visions, and terrible apparitions; they were the phantoms that peopled the night and whose anger people sought to deprecate by throwing black beans over the shoulder, or by striking a bronze vessel. All were not so easy to exorcise, and about some of them there circulated dreadful stories, which strengthened the belief in evil Genii. "Ulysses," say Pausanias and Strabo, "having stopped at Temesa on the coast of Bruttium, one of his companions, Polites, outraged a maiden, and was stoned by the inhabitants. Ulysses did nothing to avenge this murder and appease the manes of the hero, so the spectre of Polites returned every night to spread terror and death among the people of Temesa. In order to escape his anger they were about to abandon their town, when the pythoness revealed to them that they would appease the hero if they built a sanctuary to him, and yearly offered to him the most beautiful among their daughters. The shrine was raised in the thickest part of a wood of wild olives, and the fearful sacrifice was performed, till the day when a



Temesa of Bruttium.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The engraving on page 91 represents the paintings on a tomb at Tarquinii (Corneto.) In the foreground an Elysian repast; on the two side pieces, persons dancing, doubtless the initiated celebrating some rite of Bacchus in the midst of a sacred wood. On the two sides of the door of the tomb, two horsemen and some tigers or panthers, probably in memory of the funeral games. (*Atlas du Bull. arch.* 1831, pl. xxxii. For the description, see *Annales*, vol. iii. p. 325 seq.)

<sup>2</sup> The three first letters of the name of the town, and a helmet; on the reverse a tripod, two greaves; silver coin.

famous athlete of Locri, named Euthymos, entered the temple, saw the maiden, and touched with compassion and love, resolved to fight the demon on the following night. He conquered, drove him out of the territory, and obliged him to cast himself into the waves of the Ionian sea. After that time, never did the fatal spectre re-appear, but there long existed the proverb, 'Beware the hero!'"<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.—NATURALISM OF THE ROMAN RELIGION AND FORMAL DEVOTION.

There is a poetry in the pious ceremonies performed near the hearth and around the tombs. Poetry of another kind, too, is found in the worship of the sacred groves. The Apennines were then covered with those immense forests whose silence and mystery long inspired a religious terror. To find protection amid these unknown and, consequently, so much the more dreaded dangers, men consecrated in some glade a



Sacred Tree.<sup>2</sup>

group of trees, which henceforth became an inviolable sanctuary. Sometimes a single tree which had been struck by a thunderbolt, or whose crest topped the whole forest, and which allowed nothing to grow beneath the depths of its shadow, became a divine being. In 456 B.C. three ambassadors from Rome came to demand of the Æqui the fulfilment of a treaty. The chief, seated under

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, VI. vi. 7-11; Strabo, vi. p. 255; Suidas, s. v. Εὐθυμος; Ælianus, *Hist. Var.*, viii. 18. See, in the reign of Tiberius, the story of the matron delivered by the priests of Isis to the god Anubis.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre. Cymbals are hung on the branches of the sacred tree; behind it stands the altar, on which a ram, which a child leads, is about to be sacrificed; behind, a veiled priestess and the flute-player, necessary in all sacrifices. Behind the altar a second woman, bearing offerings on her head. The worship of sacred trees still exists in many places.

an immense oak, answered them derisively: 'Address yourselves to this tree; I have other business than listening to you.' 'Good,' cried one of the Romans, "let this sacred oak, and the god, who-soever he be, who dwells therein, know that you have violated your promised faith; may they lend a favourable ear to our complaint and aid us in the fight."

Vergil and Lucan saw the remains of this old naturalism still in existence. They speak of trees held in veneration, of the olive tree of Faunus, whereon sailors, when they came back from a dangerous voyage, suspended their *ex-voto*, and of the ancient oak that stretches towards heaven its withered arms, yet ever bears the remains of victims offered by the people, and the sacred gifts of the chiefs. Though around it there spreads the sturdy green forest, it alone is honoured.

"Exuvias populi . . . . sacrataque gestans  
Dona ducum . . . .  
Sola tamen colitur."

Animals naturally played a part in this religion of nature. In the temple of *Juno Sospita* at Lavinia a serpent received offerings. The woodpecker, which, with its strong beak, seems to attack the largest trees in search of food, and the wolf, king of the Italian forests, were the symbols of Mars. When under the leafy cover, in the silence and shade, the woodpecker was heard afar, striking his short, sharp blows, it was the rustic god who spoke, and the augur gave a meaning to his words.

In substance, the religion of the early Romans was not far removed from fetishism. Quirinus, represented by a spear; Jupiter Lapis by a stone;<sup>2</sup> Vesta by fire; Mars by his shield; and the gods and goddesses of fallow lands, of weeding, of manure, of rust, of the grindstone, of the oven, of fear, of fever, and all that represented the physical agencies which man loves or dreads, are scarce above the level of those good or evil beings which barbarous nations worship. For the magistrate as well as for the private person, the song or flight of a bird, an unusual noise, a sudden

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iii. 25.

<sup>2</sup> According to Varro (*S. Aug. de Civ. Dei*, iv. 31), the Romans remained 170 years without possessing any statues. I do not know whether the date is exact, but the fact must have good foundation.

or involuntary sadness, a false step, the flickering of a flame, the groans of the victim, the prolongation or speedy termination of its death-pangs, the colour and form of the entrails, everything in fact, was an omen, and the appetite of the sacred chickens, or the size of a victim's liver, often carried grave decisions.

The Roman knew nothing of divine love; on the contrary, he trembled before the innumerable deities,<sup>1</sup> capricious and vindictive, whom he pictured to himself lying in wait everywhere along the path of life; and in the words of the most religious of pagans,<sup>2</sup> 'Full of affright he entered their sanctuary, as though their temple were the cave of a bear or dragon.' Should he by mischance cross the threshold of his house with his left foot first, should he hear the squeak of a mouse or his glance fall on any object held to be unlucky, immediately he re-entered his house distracted, and could not feel re-assured till he had offered an expiatory sacrifice. He believed in the evil eye,<sup>3</sup> like the Italian of the present day, and like him too he thought to guard against it by a *fascinum*<sup>4</sup> which he hung round the necks of his children, in his garden and over his hearth. Hence came the god Fascinus, whose worship was entrusted to the vestals, and who was placed on the chariot of generals at their triumph, to turn aside envy and to avert evil fortune.<sup>5</sup> There was, however, a sure preservative against spells, which was to spit into one's right shoe before putting it on.<sup>6</sup>

Cato the Elder died in 149 B.C.; he lived, then, at a period in which the grand age of Roman civilization began, yet how superstitious is this cool-headed and calculating man. He believes in charms, and in magic words, for healing sickness. Here is his prescription, for instance, against dislocations. "Take a green rush, four or five feet long, cut it in two in the middle, and let

<sup>1</sup> Varro said 30,000, which was also Hesiod's reckoning (*Works and days*, 252), but Maximus Tyrius (*Dissert.* i.) thought this figure far too small.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *de Superst.* 25; Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos* (Virg. *Ecl.* iii. 103).

<sup>4</sup> This fascinum was commonly a *satyricum signum* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 19), or a little bell suspended on a branch of coral. Almost all young Chinese wear this latter kind of amulet. This does not imply that the superstition travelled from Pekin to Rome. The human mind, in all races, passes through similar stages, which lead to unexpected results.

<sup>5</sup> *Fortuna gloriæ carnifex* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 7).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

two men hold it on your thighs. Begin to sing: *daries dardaries astataries dissunapiter*, and continue to do so until the two pieces are joined together again. Wave a blade over them when the two pieces are joined and touch one another, seize hold of them and cut them across lengthways. Make a bandage therewith on the broken or dislocated member, and it will heal. Sing, however, over the dislocation daily: *huat hanat huat, ista pista sista, domiabo damnaustra*, or else *huat haut haut ista sis tar sis ordaunabon dannaustra*." And he introduced into his *de Re rustica* many similar receipts. Yet Cato is one of the greatest personages of Rome. It is evident that this people was, on certain points, very small indeed.

Superstitions quite as gross and credulity as blind have been seen in later, and even in highly civilized ages, and in many places there exist others worthy of them. Even the Genii of ancient Rome are not all dead; they live again under other names, to people that infinity of heavens whereof the void and silence frighten us. But what belongs more particularly to the Roman religion is its *formalism*. There is no fervour or divine aspiration, still less philosophic reflection in its piety. The words, attitudes and gestures are ordered by the ritual. To leave the established rule, even to be generous to the gods, was to go beyond what was proper, and to fall into superstition. In the temple, the most religious state of the soul was absolute calm; silence on the lips, silence in the mind.<sup>1</sup> For the ceremonies, all was settled beforehand, even to the prayer, which should only rise from the heart, and soon they begin to pray in forms which are no longer understood. In the time of the Antonines, the brotherhood of Arvales chanted songs which dated perhaps from Numa. It was needful, too, to repeat these ancient compositions with religious care, for a peculiar virtue attached to the very expressions. By the omission of one word a sacrifice became useless, a prayer vain. The lawyers say at a later period: *qui virgula cadit, causa cadit*—through a comma, one loses his suit. The same was thought to be the case with the gods. When a consul had a religious formula to pronounce, he read it from the

<sup>1</sup> *Templum in quo verbis parcimus, in quo animos componimus, in quo tacitam etiam mentem nostram custodimus* (Quintil., *Declam.* 265).



ritual, for fear of omitting or transposing a word. A priest followed the reading in a second book, in order to be sure that all the sacramental phrases were said aright; another saw that absolute silence was observed among the bystanders; lastly, a musician drowned with the modulations of his flute every sound which could have broken the charm attached to the words that the officiating person recited.<sup>1</sup>

The feeling of religion has submitted to much slavery, but never has it been enchained in such strict bonds. It might be thought that Rome, like a certain famous institution, was afraid of religious excitement, if we did not know that in this institution the regulation of piety is the result of policy, whereas with the Romans it was the spontaneous production of the national character. But if this childish credulity lowers the spirit of the people, it yet renders them very easy to govern, and the vigorous devotional discipline, which has nothing to do with religious feeling, produced citizens in whom respect for the rules of the temple long inspired respect for the law in the Forum.

We may make another remark; these divinities of Rome appear less beautiful but more moral than those of Greek polytheism,<sup>2</sup> and the Fathers of the Church consider the religion

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 3. Here is the longest passage left us of the old historian Fabius Pictor. At the same time may be seen the poverty of this ancient literature, the miserable state of men's minds, and how grievous was that sacerdotal slavery in which there is nowhere felt beating a truly religious heart. "It is a crime for the flamen of Jupiter to ride on horseback or to see the centuries under arms. Thus he rarely has been named consul. He is not permitted to take an oath; the ring he wears must be hollow and of open work. No fire must be carried from his house but the sacred fire. If a man enters that house bound, he must be unbound, and the bonds must be carried through the inner court up the roof and thrown into the street. The flamen has no knot about him, either on his cap, his girdle, or any other part. If a man who is going to be beaten with rods falls at his feet as a suppliant, the guilty one cannot be beaten without sacrilege that day. None but a free man can cut a flamen's hair. He never touches or names a she-goat, raw flesh, hare, or beans. He must not clip the tendrils of the vine that climb too high. The feet of the bed he sleeps in must be plastered with mud. He never quits it three consecutive nights, and no one else has the right to sleep therein. There must not be near the wood-work of his bed a box with sacred cakes in it. The parings of his nails and the cuttings of his hair are covered with earth at the foot of a fruit tree. For him all days are holy days. He is not allowed to go into the open air without the *aper*; and even as to remaining bareheaded under his own roof, the pontiffs have only quite recently decided that he may do so." (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* x. 15.). Another example of this minute and childish formalism is furnished by Table xli. of Marini (*Atti e monumenti de' Fratelli Arvali*). [One might imagine this page of old Fabius taken out of the *Zendaavesta* or from the laws of Manu.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> See page cxxx.

of Numa to have been a decent religion.<sup>1</sup> Yet the Roman gods do not require their believers to practice justice. The purity they exact is bodily purity, *castitas*.<sup>2</sup> They may be approached without repentance, but not with unwashed face or hands, or stained raiment. Thus a clean toga is necessary for festivals; and ablutions and baths were an act of piety before they were a matter of health. It might even be said that the *thermae*, the architectural glory of Rome, are derived, like her theatres and circuses, from a religious idea. Between these gods and mankind there was but a bond of interest. They wished to be honoured, and like a patron proud of the great number of his clients, they required that the crowd should surround their altars; they demanded sacrifices and libations, songs and sacred dances, wreaths of flowers and foliage round their temples and altars, and a numerous attendance, that their dignity might be raised among the gods, and their credit among men. In return they promised protection, and as they were feared, men sought to appease them. As it was thought they could give health, fortune, and victory, men performed all the acts which could constrain them to grant prosperity.

The Roman did not love his gods, and they did not live in him, did not purify his heart or elevate his soul. Religion was a bargain, and worship a contract in due form; a *quid pro quo*. Plautus bluntly says so: 'He who has made the gods propitious always gains large profits.'<sup>3</sup> This



Garlands of leaves round a Temple.<sup>3</sup>



Vesta holding the Palladium and a Sceptre.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tertull., *Apol.* 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Casti placent superis: pura cum veste venite.*

(Tibullus, II. i. 13).

Aulus Gellius (ii. xxviii.) says: *Veteres Romani . . . in constituendis religionibus . . . castissimi, cautissimique.* The *lustratio*, one of the greatest religious acts of Rome, and one of the oldest, was at first a purification by water. This word comes from the verb *luo*, to wash, wipe out.

<sup>3</sup> DIVO AVG. S.C. Sacrifice before the temple. Large bronze coin of Caligula.

<sup>4</sup> Large bronze of Sabina, wife of Hadrian.

<sup>5</sup> *Curculio* IV., ii. 45.

piety, which calculates so exactly, shows us that the people lacked certain high qualities of mind; having no religious spirit they had in later times no philosophic spirit.

Vesta, however, had brought virgin purity into honour; Juno and all the other goddesses of marriage or nurture had done the same for the wisdom and devotion of matrons; the Lares loved domestic virtues; the Manes concord in families; Fides, good faith in contracts; Terminus, respect for all rights; and with the exception of certain rustic divinities, who delighted in gaiety and laughter—who allowed even far more—all the gods had the Roman gravity. Still we should not go as far as to repeat what is said of this religion, 'that like the philosophy of Socrates, it brought divinity down to earth, and obliged it to regulate the life and manners of men.' The Socratic philosophy was a mighty effort of reflection; the Roman religion, on the contrary, sprang spontaneously from customs, and in primitive ages customs precede belief, which in their turn preserves them. The Latino-Sabine populations, among whom the family tie was so strong, created domestic gods who never can be immoral, and their agricultural life compelled them to have gods who protected property and agreements. Before he was carried to the ends of the field to serve as the sacred boundary, Terminus had risen from the furrow opened by the Latin plough.



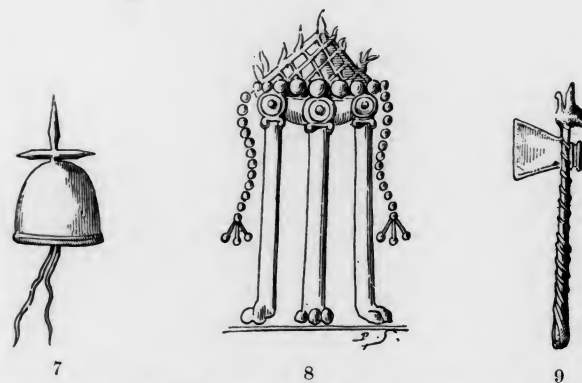
Fides or Good Faith.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.—SACERDOTAL COLLEGES.

Thus the Roman religion is twofold in its nature. There is that of the State or of society as a whole, and that of individual persons; but there exists a very good understanding between the two, because in the main it is the same thing answering to two different needs. The family has its Penates,

<sup>1</sup> FIDES AVGVST. S.C. Good Faith, standing, holding some ears of corn and a basket of fruit. Large bronze of Plotina.

which the State respects; the city its gods, which private individuals honour not only by associating themselves with the public



1. *Lituus*, or augur's baton. 2. *Secespita*, or sacrificial knife. 3. *Patera*. 4. Sacrificial vase, wrongly confounded with the *præfericulum*, which had no handle. 5. *Simpulum*, small cup employed in libations. 6. Sprinkler. 7. *Aper*, or flamen's cap. 8. Tripod surmounted by the *cortina*. 9. Axe with wolf's head, for killing great victims.

Instruments of sacrifice; taken from various coins in the *Cabinet de France*.

ceremonies of their worship, but by particular devotions to such and such a divinity, by sacrifices at such and such a temple. In addressing one of the gods of the city, there is no need of a mediator. 'The Aruspicium,' says Varro,<sup>1</sup> 'enjoins that each should sacrifice according to his own custom, *suo quisque ritu sacrificium faciat*,' and this principle constituted the religious tolerance of the Romans, so long as they did not believe that the State was threatened by particular religions. When the father

<sup>1</sup> *De Ling. Lat.* vii. 38. Cicero also says, *ritus familie patrumque* . . . that must be preserved, *adis quasi traditam religionem* (*de Leg.* ii. 11).

of the family, who was sovereign pontiff in his own house, had recourse to the priest, it was to assure himself that he properly carried out all the rites, and employed the forms necessary to constrain the divine will in his favour.<sup>1</sup> Hence it resulted that all the priests, though appointed for life<sup>2</sup> and forming particular colleges, remained, as senators and magistrates, active members of society, and, as citizens subject to the law and its representatives.<sup>3</sup>

If then religion and its ministers were, at Rome, closely connected with political matters, it was not by ruling them, but in remaining subordinate to them. This dependence lasted as long as pagan Rome; thence came her superiority in government and her inferiority in art and poetry, which in Greece were born in the precincts of the temples.

Neither special knowledge nor peculiar vocation was required of those who desired to be priests. If Rome had a clergy, she had no sacerdotal class possessing great wealth or receiving tithes, and no religious interest was recognised apart from State interest. The augurs could only consult auspices on the order of the magistrates, and it was forbidden to reveal an oracle to the people unless the senate had authorised it.<sup>4</sup>



Ancilia or Shields of Mars.<sup>5</sup>

'Our ancestors,' says Cicero, 'were never wiser or better inspired by the gods than when they settled that the same persons should preside over religion and the government of the Republic.'

<sup>1</sup> M. Bouché-Leclercq (*Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome*) very justly remarks that at Rome the priest only figures in religious solemnities as the master of ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Ep.* iv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Only the *duumviri sacris faciundis*, afterwards the decemvirs, the interpreters of the Sibylline Books, the flamen of Jupiter, and, after the commencement of the Republic, the *rex sacrorum*, could fulfil no other public charge. The vestals were also devoted to the altar; yet they could, after thirty years of duty, re-enter civil life. The pontiff and augurs once claimed to be exempt from the taxes imposed on other citizens, but the quaestors forced them to pay. (Livy xxxiii. 42).

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. xxxix. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Taken from a gem in the collection of Florence.

By this means magistrates and pontiffs unite to save the State.<sup>1</sup> There was, then, no dependence of either of these two powers upon the other. The State and religion were one, and as later the different functions of these innumerable gods could quite logically become simple attributes of one divinity, the State did not feel itself threatened by the elastic interpretation of creeds, and there existed at Rome, when philosophic thought was brought thither from Greece, that religious liberty which churches with precise dogmas will not and cannot recognise.

The most highly honoured of these priests were the three flamens, or *lighters* of the altars of Jupiter, Mars and Quirinus, who could not appear in public or in the open air, even in the court-yard of their houses, without the *apex*, the sign of their priesthood;<sup>2</sup> the three augurs,<sup>3</sup> the sacred interpreters of omens; the vestals, guardians of the public hearth, the fire whereof must never die; the twelve Salii or leapers,<sup>4</sup> keepers of the *Ancilia*, who every year in the month of March danced the war dance, and, as soon as war was declared, entered the temple of the 'God who slays,' to strike his bronze shield with their pikes, crying, "Mars, awake!" the twelve fratres Arvales or brothers of the fields, priests of Dea-Dia, a Telluric divinity; and finally the four pontiffs,<sup>6</sup> who free from all control and rendering no



Frater Arvalis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pro domo*, i.

<sup>2</sup> The same obligation was imposed on the Salii. Cf. the fragment of Fabius Pictor, above quoted (p. 98).

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards four, then nine in the year 300 B.C., finally fifteen under Sulla and sixteen under Caesar. I do not speak of the aruspices, who did not form a college in the State. They were diviners, whom generals took with them and whom private individuals consulted.

<sup>4</sup> On the first day of the month, which bore the name of their god, the Salii passed through the quarters of Rome, stopping before the *ædícula*, or resting places, to perform their rites. This procession, which lasted several days, was interspersed with dances and songs in honour of the gods; perhaps, too, in honour of some great citizens. In the time of Varro (*de Ling. Lat.*, vii. 3) no one any longer understood the *Salaria carmina* and *aramenta*.

<sup>5</sup> For the ceremonies of their worship, the Arvales surrounded their heads with a crown of ears of corn, held together by fillets of white wool. The head of their college was called *magister*, and under the empire the emperors took the office. The figure given above represents Marcus Aurelius as a frater Arvalis.

<sup>6</sup> Four at first, then eight, fifteen under Sulla, and an indefinite number under the empire.



account to either senate or people, watched, under the presidency of the high pontiff, over the maintenance of the laws and religious institutions; they also settled the calendar, and which days were lucky or unlucky, thus rendering the administration of justice and the holding of the comitia to a certain extent dependent upon them. On the day that the new moon showed her golden sickle in the heavens, one of the pontiffs, called (*calare*) the people together on the Capitol and taught them how many days to reckon from the kalends to the nones.<sup>1</sup> On the day of the nones another pontiff announced the festivals to be celebrated during the month, an announcement which is made on Sundays in our churches. Finally the pontiffs kept the record of sacred acts, phenomena, and all events which appeared to have a religious character; hence came the *Great Annals*.

The vestals were at first four in number, two for each tribe; after the addition of the *Luceres* there were six. When a vacancy occurred in the college, the king as chief pontiff chose twenty young patrician maidens of from six to ten years of age, without any blemish, and who seemed to promise beauty. The lot, as representing the divine will, designated which of them was to be consecrated priestess. When the selection was made, the head pontiff took the hand of the chosen one, 'I take thee,' he said, 'thou shalt be priestess of Vesta and shalt perform the sacred rites for the safety of the Roman people.' Then he led her to the *regia*, the sacerdotal dwelling, where her locks fell beneath the shears,<sup>2</sup> and where her sisters clad her in white; it was our modern taking of the veil.

The virgins of Vesta watched by turns over the maintenance of the fire which burned night and day on her altar. If it should

<sup>1</sup> The Roman year seems to have at first counted only ten months: March, April, May, June, the v., vi., vii., viii., ix. and xth. months. These latter, from the seventh to the tenth, have not changed their name; we still say September, October, November and December. Livy (i. 19) attributes to Numa the division of the year of 355 days into twelve lunar months, with the insertion of complementary months, which at the end of nineteen years put the lunar year in agreement with the solar. Each month was divided into three parts, the kalends, which marked the first day, the nones (*nonus*, ninth), which comprised the nine days preceding the *ides*, and these (*idare*, to divide), which began in the middle of the month, the last day of which was called the eve of the kalends.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 85. The *regia*, which was asserted to be the house of Numa, was the head pontiff's residence; behind it were the *atrium* and temple of Vesta.



FRAGMENTS OF TERRA COTTA FOUND AT METAPONUM IN 1829

Showing the end of a column of the inscription of ancient Greek. — (See also Livy, ii. 10.)



happen to go out, it was a terrible omen for Rome; she who had been guilty of the neglect was beaten with rods in a dark place by the chief pontiff, who afterwards relighted the fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood taken from a tree of good fortune, *felix arbor*; in later times by concentrating in a metal vase the rays of the sun.<sup>1</sup> They had to make libations, offer sacrifices, and perform a strange ceremony which doubtless had some connection with their vow of virginity. When, on

Vestal.<sup>2</sup>

the 15th of April, the pontiffs immolated thirty pregnant cows, the embryos were taken and committed to the chief vestal, who burnt them and carefully kept the cinders, which she distributed among the people on the day of the Palilia, that they might make expiatory offerings of them.<sup>3</sup> Every morning they cleansed the temple with water drawn from the fountain of Egeria in a vessel with a large mouth and ending in a point, *futile*, so that it could not be set down on the ground without the water being spilled. They had the protection of Fascinus,

*Futile*, Vase of the Vestals.<sup>4</sup>

the god who averts evil spells, and that of the holy relics, pledges of the duration of empire, *fatale pignus imperii*.<sup>5</sup> These relics, preserved in the most secret place of the sanctuary, were the Palladium, a shapeless statuette of Pallas, and the fetishes which were said to have been brought from Samothrace to Troy by Dardanus, and from Troy to Italy by Æneas. The chief vestal, *maxima virgo*, alone penetrated this holy of holies.

Their functions lasted thirty years, at the end of which the vestals could re-enter the world, and even marry; but very few took advantage of this right; they ended their lives near the goddess to whom they had vowed their virginity. As a compen-

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ii. 67; Plut. *Numa*, 10; Festus, s.v. *Penus Vestæ*. The *arbores felices* were, however, rather numerous: the oak, the holm-oak, the beech, the mountain-ash.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from the *Cabinet de France*.

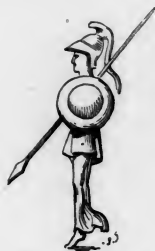
<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fast.*, iv. 629 *seq.* Mention has been made (page 3) of the twenty *argei*, or figures of men in wicker-work, which were thrown by the vestals into the Tiber every year.

<sup>4</sup> Servius (ad *Æn.* xi. 339) asserts that hence comes the word *futilis*, designating a man incapable of keeping what is confided to him. Taken from the *Catalogue Durand*, by M. de Witte.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, xxvi. 27.



sation for this sacrifice they received the greatest respect and enjoyed great honours. Free from all ties of relationship, that is, released from paternal restraint, *patria potestas*, and from the guardianship of their kin, they could receive legacies and dispose of their goods by testament. In courts of justice they made depositions without being obliged to take the oath. On meeting them the magistrate had the fasces lowered; and the criminal being led to punishment was set free, provided they declared they had accidentally crossed his path.

The Palladium.<sup>1</sup>

But, on the other hand, what a horrible death if they broke their vow! At the extremity of the Quirinal, between the Colline gate and the place where afterwards stood the famous gardens of Sallust, was the "accursed field," *campus Sceleratus*. There was dug an underground chamber wherein the guilty priestess was to be buried alive. Placed on the bier which was surrounded with thick coverings to stifle her cries, she was borne with mournful pomp across the Forum through the silent crowd, to the vault, wherein were placed a bed, a lighted lamp some bread, a little water, milk and oil, provisions for one day in an eternal prison, the mocking help of a piety unwilling to have to give an account to Vesta of the murder of one of her virgins! When the funeral train had arrived at the place of torture, the high priest uttered secret prayers, then the bier was opened, and, wrapped in her white veils as in a shroud, the victim descended by a ladder into her tomb, the opening of which was speedily covered by the slaves. The earth was studiously levelled, in order that nothing might reveal the place where, in the dark night and cold of the grave, the vestal expiated a sacrilege which perchance she had never committed. No one came there to make those libations which the poorest offered to the Manes.<sup>2</sup> She was cut off at once from the world of the living and of the dead.

When the sentence was accomplished the crowd slowly melted

<sup>1</sup> After a silver coin of the Julian family.

<sup>2</sup> In the time of Plutarch, however (*Quæst. Rom.* 96), the priests came thither to perform expiations.

away, some deeply moved by the terrible end of a beautiful and noble girl, devoted from infancy to a dread office; the greater number convinced that evils which had threatened Rome had been averted by a necessary sacrifice.

Vesta did not always abandon her priestesses. Æmilia was about to be condemned to death for having entrusted the duty of keeping up the sacred fire to a novice, who had let it go out. After having implored the goddess, the vestal tore a strip from her robe and threw it on the cold cinders, when the fire blazed up again.<sup>1</sup> Another, Tuccia, accused of incest, cried out: "O Vesta! if I have ever approached thy altar with clean hands, grant me a sign to prove my innocence;" and taking a sieve, she went down to the Tiber, filled it with water, and came back again to pour it at the feet of the pontiffs.<sup>2</sup> An engraved gem has preserved the remembrance of this miracle, for each college of priests made a point of having one of its own; and these legends, by attesting divine intervention, freed the conscience of the Romans from the remorse of having condemned the innocent to a frightful death, when their merciless policy demanded a victim to calm popular terror.

The Vestal Tuccia.<sup>3</sup>

The honours paid to the vestal virgins corresponded with the religious importance of the worship which took place round this public hearth, whereon the fire must never go out.<sup>4</sup> But to the religious idea which had at first determined the conditions imposed on the priestesses was added, as a natural consequence, a moral idea—only virgins could keep it up. This eternal flame, which symbolised the very life of the Roman people, and the institution of the college of vestals, was an involuntary glorification of chastity, and in the days of faith this belief must have had a happy influence on manners.

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ii. 68; Val. Max. I. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max. VIII. i. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Montfaucon, *Ant. Expl.*, i. pl. xxviii. *Supplem.* i. pl. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Cic. *De Leg.* ii. 8, *ignem foci publici sempiternum.*



Vestals round the Altar.<sup>1</sup>

The twenty *fetiales*, elected for life, and taken from the most noble families, formed a college at once political and religious, which presided over international acts. When Rome thought she had a right to complain of some nation, a *fetialis*—called, for the occasion, the *pater patratus* of the Roman people—was sent out. He set forth; on his head a fillet of white wool and a crown of vervain, which he had culled on the Capitol. When he arrived at the enemy's frontier, he cried: 'Hear me, Jupiter! Hear me, God of Boundaries! And thou, sacred oracle of right (*fas*), hear. I am the messenger of the Roman people; I come in all justice, and my words deserve all trust.' Then he enumerated the grievances of the Romans, bearing witness by solemn imprecations, that they were well founded. 'If it is against right and my conscience that I demand these persons and these things to be delivered up to me, the messenger of the Roman people, may Jupiter never permit me to return into my country.' Advancing into the enemy's country, he addressed the same words to the first inhabitant whom he met, then to those whom he found at the gates of the principal city and finally in the forum to the magistrates. If, at the end of thirty-three days, satisfaction had not been accorded him, he cried: "Hearken, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quirinus, and all ye gods of heaven, earth, and the lower regions, I take you to witness that this nation is unjust and violates right. How shall we avenge outraged right? Our old men will decide." And he returned to Rome. If the senate and people decided to have recourse to arms, the *fetialis* went back to the enemy's frontier bearing a javelin, the end of which had been burnt and reddened in blood, and there cast this threat of fire and carnage, announcing at the same time the opening of hostilities. At a later period, and until the time of the empire, when the enemy was on the Elbe and Euphrates, the *fetialis* performed the same ceremonies, but without going out of Rome. On the Field of Mars, near the Temple of Bellona, rose the *column of war*, which represented the limit of the Roman frontier. There the *fetialis* cast his

<sup>1</sup> Gold coin from the *Cabinet de France*.

bloody javelin, and Rome thought she had conscientiously performed all the rites which obliged the gods to grant her victory. At the sacrifice offered on the conclusion of a treaty, the *fetialis* killed the victim with a flint stone, the stone whence sparks flashed, and which, on account of this property, was often placed in the hand of Jupiter, instead of the darts which represented lightning flashes.<sup>1</sup>

The greater number of sacerdotal colleges filled up vacancies by co-option, that is to say, the survivors made the election.<sup>3</sup> This was one means of preserving secret the traditions of the corporation. The *flamens* were designated, like the *vestals*, by the chief pontiff.

To aid the priests in the holy ceremonies there were associated with them children of noble family and perfect beauty to whom was given the name of *Camilli*, borne by Mercury, the messenger of the gods.<sup>4</sup> The divinities of Greece, especially also those of Rome, were thought to be much impressed by beauty, which was one of their gifts. They exacted it in their priests, and were offended if they were not served by the most perfect attendance; *e.g.* Juno, who, "in the belief of many," says Valerius Maximus,<sup>5</sup> "made Varro lose the battle of Cannæ, because he had given the care of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to a most beautiful young man whom she wished to see attached to her own altar." We have preserved somewhat of this respect for the work of God in those who consecrate themselves to his service; certain bodily defects are an obstacle to ordination.

The expenses of worship and the maintenance of the priests



Camillus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arnobius, vi. 25.

<sup>2</sup> This Camillus, or servitor of the pontiffs, seems to carry the sprinkler in his left hand, and in his right the *situla*, or pail, containing the water necessary for the ceremony.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *Phil.* xiii. 5, and *Brut.* 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Pueri seu puellæ, ingenui, felicissimi, patrimi matrimique.* Cf. Fest. s.v., *Flaminius*.

<sup>5</sup> I. i. 16.

were provided for by a certain tract of land assigned to each temple.<sup>1</sup> In later times the State even allowed a subsidy.<sup>2</sup>

The domestic worship of certain families also made part of the public worship of the city, as for instance, the *Lupercalia*, of which the *gentes* Fabia and Quinctia held the hereditary priesthood, and the sacrifices in honour of Hercules,<sup>3</sup> which must be performed by Pinarians or Potitians.

#### V.—PUBLIC FESTIVALS.

The festivals, like the gods, were innumerable, for in all ages the Italian has loved religious services, as being a break in the monotony of ordinary life, an occasion for pious ceremonies, noisy games, and meals in which the poor spent the savings of a whole week. It will here suffice to point out a few which display in a distinctive manner the customs of ancient times.

Certain festivals still celebrated in the time of Cæsar,<sup>4</sup> and long after, recalled the rural life, coarse manners, and selfish devotion of the Romans. From Pales, they asked what their descendants asked of S. Antony, the health of their flocks; of Lupercus, the god-wolf who protected the farm against the terrible beast whose name he bore, they asked their increase; of Dea-Dia, an abundant harvest. On the day of the Lupercalia, the priests ran half-naked through the town, armed with whips, the thongs of which were made with the skin of the deer, and of dogs offered in sacrifice to the god of fertility, and with them they struck all whom they met, especially the women, who, by submitting, thought to escape the opprobrium of sterility or to ensure themselves a happy delivery. On the Palilia, the shepherds jumped thrice over a burning hay-cock, and made their animals go through the pungent smoke;

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ii. 7; Festus s.v., *Oscum*; Siculus Flacc., *de Cond. Agror.* p. 23. ed. Goes.

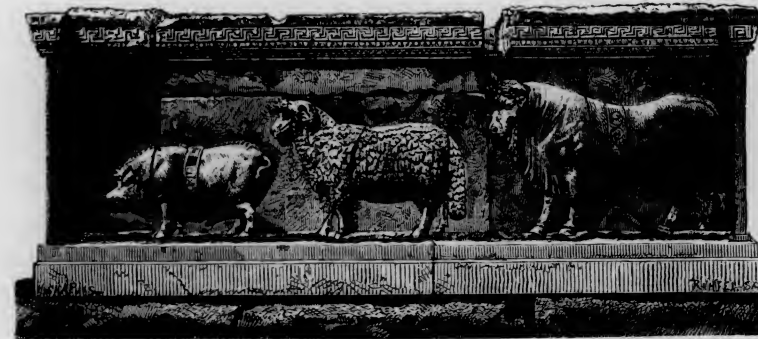
<sup>2</sup> To the Vestals (Livy, i. 20); to the Augurs (Dionys., ii. 6), and probably to other colleges. The vestals, the *pontifex maximus*, and the *rex sacrorum* had moreover a *domus publica*, or residence granted by the State.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman Hercules, who was identical with the Sabine Sancus, and was also the God of good faith (*mehercule*), because he was the strong god, took the name of Recaranus or Garanus (Aur. Vic. Orig. 6; Serv. ad *Æn.* vi. 203.)

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Cæs.* 61.

these were the fires of purification. The *Ambarvalia*, or lustrations of the fields, were performed in the name of the State by the fratres Arvales, before the wheat fell under the sickle, and the festival was renewed around each property. The proprietor with his head bound round with an oak branch and followed by his kindred and slaves, passed three times round his estate, dancing and singing hymns to the Italian Ceres.

"God of our fathers, we purify our fields and those who till them. Drive away evil from our lands; let not the evil weed choke the promised harvest, let not the slow sheep be in fear of



Animals being led to the sacrifice of the *Suovetaurilia*.<sup>2</sup> (Bas-relief found near the column of Phocas.)

the swift wolf."<sup>1</sup> Libations of milk and honied wine, a sacrifice and a feast at which the victim was eaten, terminated these pagan supplications.

The *Ambarvalia* were the purification of the town. Along the walls, led by the priests, and preceded by the victims, rolled the long procession of citizens, who in honour of the solemn day were clad in spotless togas and crowned with leaves. When the hymns had ceased, when the victims had fallen under the sacred knife and the portion set apart for the gods had been burnt on the altar, these latter owed protection to the gates and walls.

The people themselves, at the end of the lustrum, were purified by an expiatory sacrifice. Being convoked by the herald, they

<sup>1</sup> Tibullus II. i. 17, *seq.* Cf. Verg., *Georg.* i. 336—350.

<sup>2</sup> This word is formed from the name of the three victims—the hog, *sus*; the sheep, *ovis*; and the bull, *taurus*.



assembled in the Field of Mars, whither the King, "scented with myrrh and sweet-smelling plants," had resorted at daybreak with the servitors, who led a hog, a sheep, and a bull. Three times he made the round of the assembly, repeating hymns and prayers; then he immolated the victims, and the *suovetaurile*<sup>1</sup> was performed. Songs, prayers, offerings, were all these good-natured gods demanded to keep them at peace with their people.

In grave circumstances, during a pestilence or amidst some public misfortune, they admitted their people to communion with them. Their statues were carried to a table ready spread; the gods were laid upon couches, as at the Roman meals, the goddesses were placed sitting; and the popular imagination, highly excited by danger, saw them accept the feast, or sometimes turn away their heads from it in anger.<sup>1</sup> Is it to some memory of these stony guests, still preserved in Spain, that the terrible legend of the commendatore (in Don Juan), *el Convidado de piedra*,<sup>2</sup> is due?

Such Gods and such festivals show the Roman revelling, like the Greek, in that intoxication with nature which the great enchantress had offered to all the Aryan race; an intoxication delightful and fruitful for the sons of Homer and Plato, oppressive and barren for the sons of Romulus; for the former found therein a lovely and sublime ideal which the latter never knew, and of which they only caught a glimpse on the days when they ceased to be Romans.

<sup>1</sup> Livy xl. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Magnien, *Les Origines du Théâtre*, vol. i. p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> Silver coin of the family of Cælia, with the names of L. Calvus, *septemvir epulonum*, and C. Calvus, monetary *triumvir*.



Reverse of a bronze piece of Faustina the younger. Vesta holding the Palladium and the cup for libations.



State bed for the festival of Lectisternium.<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

### CHANGES IN RELIGION AND CONSTITUTION UNDER THE THREE LAST KINGS.

#### I.—THE GODS OF ETRURIA AT ROME; REFORMS OF TARQUIN THE ELDER.

THE third and fourth kings of Rome are repetitions of the two first: Tullus is a new Romulus, Ancus a second Numa: a suspicious symmetry which is repugnant to history but in which legend delights. Legend, however, attributes a special characteristic to Tullus; he completes the city by giving it its military institutions—*militaris rei institutor*.<sup>1</sup>

The reign of the three last kings marks, on the other hand, a new era. Whatever may be the cause—be it the peaceful or forcible settlement of some Etruscan chief, or a long period unknown to us which prepared the transformation, it is certain that the city whose territory was only six miles long by two broad has become a great town, which covers the Seven Hills and erects monumental buildings, which counts its inhabitants by the hundred thousand, and extends its power afar; and finally, which replaces ancient simplicity by the splendour of its feasts, its fetish gods by the great Etruscan divinities, and their modest altars by the Capitol with its hundred steps.

Whether it was a heritage of the Pelasgi, or more probably, borrowed from the Greek colonies of Italy through the medium of the Campanian Etruscans, the gods of Greece were greatly honoured in the southern cities of Etruria. Thence they came to Rome. Tarquin the Elder, it is said, drove all the gods

<sup>1</sup> Orosius, ii. 4. Florus, i. 3, also says: *hic omnem militarem disciplinam artemque bellandi condidit.*

of Numa from the Tarpeian, in order to raise a temple there to the great celestial family, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Youth alone and the god Terminus opposed it, for the Roman people was never to grow old, nor its frontiers to recede. Ceres, who was identified with Pales, and whose priestess was always a Greek, called from Naples or from Velia (Elea)<sup>1</sup> to do the duties of the sanctuary which was raised to her after the famine of 496 B.C.; Diana, who was confounded with Feronia, the



Juno.

Jupiter.

Minerva.<sup>3</sup>

protectress of the common people,<sup>2</sup> to whom Servius built a temple; Vulcan, whom Tatius already honoured; Mercury the plebeian god of the commerce which had arisen, and the eloquence which was to increase, offered a dangerous competition to the native gods. Apollo, Neptune, Cybele and Venus did not

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. iii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> These three bronze statues, found in the excavations of Herculaneum, are of a comparatively recent date.

come till a later period. The first of these was destined to high fortunes. The Sibyl of Cumæ, from whom Tarquinius Superbus bought the books, was a priestess of Apollo, the Redeemer, so called because he knew the necessary expiations. Under Augustus, he took his place by the side of the Capitoline Jupiter.

Thus the sphere of religious life goes on enlarging, and it becomes so wide that these innumerable divinities end by being effaced, to make way for the one God of whom they were only the obscure manifestations; but then, too, there comes a new society, new ideas, new laws; in fact, another world.

As if the gods of Greece carried art with them, their entrance into Rome was marked by the first effort to give to the immortals dwellings less modest and an appearance less rude. Tuscan workmen built the great temple of the Capitol, and the Etruscan Turrianus modelled in clay the statue of Jupiter, which Tarquin placed there.<sup>1</sup>

Etruria moreover gave something else which properly belonged to her. The miracle of the Tuscan Navius diffused respect for the augurs through the city. No doubt the epoch, when Rome adopted so many Etruscan customs, was that also of the introduction of the science of augury as the religion of the state. It was a surer means of government, inasmuch as both governors and governed put sincere faith in it. In order to study this mysterious art, some young patricians were sent to Etruria, and, for a long time, the augurs were only taken from the noblest families, from those whose members filled the senate and the magistracy. The augur, in fact, was to be at once a sincere<sup>2</sup> priest and a shrewd politician, the latter

Augur.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Legendary history explains all these Etruscan importations by the conquest which Tarquin the Elder made of Etruria. Otf. Müller reverses this proposition and makes the Etruscans conquer Rome and Latium; but what is not contested is, that the epoch of the Tarquins was marked by the preponderating influence in Rome of Etruscan civilization, so much so that the greater part of the Greek historians, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus (i. 20), regarded Rome as a Tyrrhenian town, *Τυρρηνία πόλιν εἶναι ὑπάρχον*.

<sup>2</sup> At the feet of the priest who holds the augur's rod is seen the sacred chicken, whose more or less keen appetite served as an augury.

<sup>3</sup> At an epoch when faith was much shaken, Tiberius Gracchus reading, in the depths of

inspiring the former and making him unconsciously report from heaven the divine decree most conformable to the interests of the State.<sup>1</sup>

This belief in signs ended by making the Romans the most religious people in the universe. 'It was,' said Polybius, 'one of the causes of her greatness,' and the friend of Scipio is right; for this blind piety, if it did not gain the favour of the gods, at least assured the power of the aristocracy, by keeping the people dependent on the most experienced and the wisest class. Besides, in spite of their belief in the augurs, the Roman nobility and its senate never abandoned earthly things for religion till human prudence had nothing left to do. In case of need, they altered fatal presages by the freest interpretations, without their faith being alarmed thereat. A consul was about to engage in battle, and the diviner announced happy omens; he was mistaken, the signs were contrary. 'That concerns him,' said the consul, 'and not me or my army, to whom favourable auspices have been promised,' and he engaged in action. At the first encounter the diviner fell; but the consul was victorious.

It was Tarquin the Elder, too, who first laid hands on the old constitution, not to change it but to broaden its foundations. In spite of the opposition of the patricians and of the augur Navius, he formed a hundred new patrician families, whose chiefs entered the senate (*patres minorum gentium*). Were these the richest and noblest of the plebeians, or only the chiefs of the Luceres,

Spain, the books which treated of sacred things, discovered that, as president of the consular comitia, he had omitted one of the rites. He hastened to make known this mistake to the College of Augurs, who immediately informed the senate of it, and the two consuls were obliged to abdicate. (Val. Max., I. i. 3; Plut., Marc., 5.)

<sup>1</sup> *Auguriis sacerdotisque augurum tantus honos accessit, ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicio gereretur*, (Livy, i. 36). The augurs had the right of declaring the auspices to be contrary. *Comitiatus et concilia, vel instituta, dimittere, vel habita rescindere . . . discernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules . . .* (Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 12). The magistrates had to consult them for all their enterprises and *quique non paruerit, capital esto* (Id., *de Leg.*, ii. 8). But prodigies were only referred to the augurs by the order of the senate, *si senatus jussit, deferunt* (Ibid. ii. 9) "The science of augury," says Cicero elsewhere, has been preserved for state reasons: *Ius augurum etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit, tamen postea rei publicae causa conservatum ac retentum* (*de Divin.*, ii. 35). In (*de Republica*, ii. 10 and 9), he says of Romulus: *Quum hæc egregia duo firmamenta rei publicae peperisset, auspicia et senatum . . . id quod retinemus hodie magna cum salute rei publicae . . .* The necessary information about the Augurs will be found in Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. gr. et rom.*, p. 550-560 and about the auspices, *Ibid.*, p. 580-583.

hitherto repulsed by the senate, and whom Tarquin, the foreign king, admitted? The raising of the number of vestals from four to six would seem to confirm the opinion that he wished to render the third tribe equal to the two first. But Cicero affirms that the whole patriciate was doubled,<sup>1</sup> and Livy, in narrating the creation of these new centuries of knights, names them *Ramnenses*, *Titienses*, and *Luceres posteriores*. Thus there were the first and second *Ramnenses* and the first and second *Titienses*,<sup>2</sup> etc.: as there were the *patres majorum* and the *patres minorum gentium*, the latter of whom did not vote until after the former. Whether it was the admission of the Luceres to the political and religious rites of the ancient tribes, or the doubling, by the addition of new families, of the whole aristocracy, matters little, for it remains beyond doubt that the patriciate was much modified by Tarquin. It was a preparation, as it were, for the great reforms of Servius.

## II.—REFORMS OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

We have seen<sup>3</sup> that the Romans considered their sixth king as a favourite of the gods. The Emperor Claudius, who had composed a history of the Etruscans, once said to the senate, 'Our writers have it that Servius was born of a slave named Ocrisia, whilst the Etruscan annals make him the familiar companion of Cæles Vibenna, all of whose adventurous fortunes he shared. Driven from Etruria by the vicissitudes of a stormy life, these two chiefs came and occupied Mount Cælius with the remnant of their army, and the hill owes its name to Cæles Vibenna. As for Servius, who bore as an Etruscan the name of Mastarna, he changed it for that under which we now know him. In due course, he reached the throne, which he occupied gloriously and profitably to the State.'<sup>4</sup> A tomb at Vulci, discovered scarcely twenty years

<sup>1</sup> *Duplicavit illum pristinum patrum numerum* (*de Rep.*, ii. 20). Cf. Livy, i. 36; Val. Max., III. iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, i. 36, *ad finem*.—*Civitas romana in sex erat distributa partes, in primos secundosque Titienses, Ramnenses et Luceres* (Festus, s. v. *Sex suffragia*). Hence six vestals, *Ut populus pro sua quaque parte haberet et ministrum sacrorum*. (Fest., s. v. *Sex Vestæ Sacerdotes*). This number was never changed again. Cf. Cic., *de Div.* i. 17; Dionys. iii. 71.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> This discourse of Claudius, of which Tacitus has given the substance, is engraved on two



ago,<sup>1</sup> confirms the account of the imperial historian, or at least proves that the legend was a national one in Etruria. On one of the partitions of the tomb two personages are represented, one holding out his shackled hands, the other cutting the strap, and holding under his arm the sword with which he is going to arm his friend. Above their heads are written their names, the captive is called Cæles Vibenna, and he who delivers him is Mastarna. These men are the two companions in arms, who, after many adventures, sometimes risky, like that which the painter represents, arrived at Rome, where one became chief of the people of Mars and the other gave his name to Mount Cælius. It is easily understood that Roman pride would prefer to the Etruscan adventurer, seeking fortune at the point of his sword, the favourite of the gods of the Capitol.

This adventurer was, however, a man of peace. We are only told of one doubtful war of his, against the Veientes,<sup>2</sup> which Dionysius of Halicarnassus transforms into a victory over the whole Etruscan nation. Servius was more especially the legislative king. Did the constitution known under his name really belong to him or was it the work of time? This reform which, modified at different times, yet lived as long as Roman liberty, must have been the outcome, not of the brain of one man but



Cæles Vibenna and Mastarna.

tables of bronze found at Lyons, in 1524, by a peasant who was trenching his vineyard. [It is now to be found appended to most good editions of Tacitus' *Annals*.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> In 1857, in the same funeral chamber at Vulci, in which Achilles was represented sacrificing some Trojan captives (see p. lxx.). The lucumo who had been laid there, had without doubt some similar brother-in-arms, for the two pictures express the same idea, the devotion of a warrior towards the friend who followed him in battle; Achilles avenges Patrocles, and Mastarna delivers Cæles. These fellowships in war must be an Etruscan custom. (Cf. Noël des Vergers, *Revue Archéol.*, 1863, p. 462). [They were, as we know, an old Greek custom, especially in Sparta, and among the Abantes of Eubœa.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Livy, i. 42. [This does not agree with the researches of V. Gardthausen (*Mastarna*, p. 44), who shows that his rule was a military revolt against Etruria by an Etrurian leader of the Latins.—*Ed.*]

of manners and social requirements. The patricians or original people who, at first, alone formed the army must have been constrained, for safety's sake, to call in the plebeians gradually to serve with them in the legions. Servius doubtless did nothing but regulate the new state of things, which insensibly sprang up; he does not the less merit that his name should remain attached to this great institution.

We will speak, then, of this prince as the ancients spoke of him, conceding to him, with the preceding reservation, the honour of having been the legislator of royal and republican Rome.

We know that the plebeians had neither the right of voting (*jus suffragii*) nor the right of intermarriage or exchange (*jus connubii et commercii*) with the patrician families, but that they enjoyed personal liberty. Since Romulus, their number had constantly increased,<sup>1</sup> for his successors had remained faithful to the policy of drawing the vanquished to Rome, to augment its military population. Until Servius, the plebeians remained without direction and without unity. These men of different origins might, however, combine, and some day become dangerous. The prince, himself of foreign birth, who feared the enmity of the patricians, understood what help this numerous and oppressed people would be to him. He took away from the patricians a part of the land that they had usurped from the public domain, and distributed to each chief of a plebeian family *seven jugera* ( $4\frac{2}{3}$  acres) with full Roman rights; and he forced the aristocracy, already shaken by the innovations of Tarquin, to receive plebeians as members of the same city.

He used two means to attain this end: the *tribes* and the *centuries*, that is to say, the administrative and military organisation of the State. He divided the Roman territory<sup>2</sup> into 26 regions, and the town into 4 quarters; in all, 30 tribes. This entirely geographical division was also religious, for he instituted festivals for each district—the *Compitalia* for the plebs of the city tribes, the *Paganalia* for the country tribes. It was ad-

<sup>1</sup> Romulus was said to have established at Rome the inhabitants of Cænina, Antemnae, Crustumium (Dionys. ii. 35); Tullus, the Albans (Livy, i. 20); Ancus, the Latins of Politorium, Ficana, Tellenæ, Medullia, etc. (Livy, i. 33.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, i. 43.

ministrative, for each district had its judges for civil matters,<sup>1</sup> its tribune (*curator tribus*) to keep account of the fortunes, and to assess the taxes; and lastly, it was military, for these tribunes also regulated the military service of their tribesmen, and in case of sudden invasion, collected them in a fort built in the centre of the canton.<sup>2</sup> The State was composed, then, of 30 *communes* (parishes), having their chiefs, their judges, their particular gods, but no political rights, these rights being only exercised in the capital. Without touching the privileges of the patricians, Servius secured to the plebeians that municipal organisation, which must precede, and which introduces, political liberty. As the patricians gave their name to all the tribes except one, we have the right to conclude that they preserved their influence in the cantons where their estates were, and that they probably filled all the offices of judges and municipal tribunes. But, for the first time, they found themselves confounded with the plebeians in a territorial division in which birth and traditions were omitted. That alone was enough to cause a revolution. A time will come when these tribes desire and obtain political rights. That will be the victory of numbers; the centuries secured that of wealth.

Servius had made the census or numbering, which was for the future to be renewed every five years (*lustrum*). Each citizen came to declare under oath his name, his age, his family, the number of his slaves, and the value of his possessions.<sup>3</sup> A false declaration would have led to the loss of property, liberty, and even of life.<sup>4</sup> Knowing thus all men's fortunes, he divided citizens, in proportion to their property, into five classes, and each class into a different number of centuries. Dionysius speaks of six classes, and assigns to the first 98 centuries, whilst the five others together had only 95. In each class there were the *juniores*, from 17 to 45 years of age, who composed the active army, and the

<sup>1</sup> *ἰδωρὰς δικαστὰς* (Dionys. iv. 25). These judges, doubtless, formed the tribunal of the centumvirs, as the curators of the tribes formed the college of the tribunes of the treasury.

<sup>2</sup> Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 36.

<sup>3</sup> The census gave (Livy, i. 44) 80,000 citizens fit to bear arms, or, according to Dionysius (iv. 22), 85,300: *ὡς ἐν τοῖς τιμητικοῖς φέρεται γράμμασιν*.

<sup>4</sup> Some critics think that the valuation of cattle, slaves and ready money was not required for the census until after the censorship of Appius, in 312. The ancient declaration would, in that case, have been more favourable to the aristocracy, since, for the division into classes, account would only have been taken of landed property.

*seniores*, from 46 to 60, who formed the reserve. The first class thus contained 40 centuries of *seniores*, 40 of *juniores*, and, besides, 18 centuries of knights; that is to say, the 6 equestrian centuries of Tarquin (*sex suffragia*) and 12 new ones, formed by Servius of the richest and most influential plebeians. The State gave to each of these 1,800 knights a horse, and allowed for his maintenance an annual stipend (*as hordearium*), which the orphans and unmarried women paid.<sup>1</sup> To the second class were attached two centuries of workmen (*fabri*), and to the fourth two of musicians (*tubicines*).<sup>2</sup> The poor, *capite censi*, formed the sixth class, and a single century, which did not serve in the legions.<sup>3</sup>

The total of the army was 170 centuries of foot-soldiers, 18 of horse-soldiers, 4 of musicians and workmen.<sup>4</sup>

Cicero, in the much discussed passage in the second book of the *Republic*, only speaks of five classes, formed of *assidui* (*assesdare*, tax-payers<sup>5</sup>). To the first he assigns 89 centuries; to the four others, 104; in all, 193, as in the calculation of Dionysius, and one less than in that of Livy. The proletariat, whose census did not amount to 12,500 asses, *accensi* and *velati*,<sup>6</sup> followed the legions unarmed, to replace the dead, to skirmish, or to do orderly service. The poorest, *capite censi*, who were only counted on the register of

<sup>1</sup> This custom existed at Corinth (Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 20). *Orba* signified both widow and unmarried woman.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius (iv. 16-19) gives the census of the first class at 100 minæ (about £380). Pliny (xxxiii. 3) assigns to it 110,000 asses; Aulus Gellius (vii. 13), 125,000; Festus, 120,000; Livy (i. 43), 100,000. These figures are of a date posterior to the sixth century of Rome. From the time of Servius, the *as grave* or the *as libral* was a pound weight of bronze, and there was then in Rome no one whose goods would represent 100,000 pounds of bronze, whether the value of 1,000 oxen, or of 100 war-horses, or 10,000 sheep. (Festus, s. v. *Peculatus*). The basis of the census was doubtless the *jugerum* (2 roods, 19 poles), or what a pair of oxen could plough in a day. The *jugerum* was estimated later at 5,000 asses, which supposes 20 *jugera* for the first class, 15, 10, 5, and 2 or 2½ for the others. As for the *as libral* of 12 ounces, it was successively reduced, about 268 B.C., to 4 ounces; about 241, to 2; in 217, by the Flaminian law to 1; in 89, by the law Plautia Papiria to ½.

<sup>3</sup> In grave danger they were armed at the expense of the State:

*Proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque*

*Ornatur ferro* . . . (Ennius, in Aulus Gellius, xvi. 10).

Cf. Fest., s. v. *Accensi*.

<sup>4</sup> It is impossible to admit that the centuries of workmen and musicians, added to the first classes, voted with them. But the constitution of Servius being at first a military organisation, there is nothing astonishing in the presence of workmen in the train of the *hoplites*.

<sup>5</sup> In the *mancipatio*, there were witnesses representing the five classes of the Roman people.

<sup>6</sup> *Minimæ fideiæ* (Livy, viii. 8).

the census by the head, like slaves and cattle, did not serve. Marius was the first who called them to the standards, and from that day the army lost its national character.

LIST OF LIVY.<sup>1</sup>

Centuries of Knights	18
FIRST CLASS.—100,000 ASSES.	
Centuries of Seniors	40
Centuries of Juniors	40
Centuries of Workmen	2
SECOND CLASS.—75,000 ASSES.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
THIRD CLASS.—50,000 ASSES.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
FOURTH CLASS.—25,000 ASSES.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
FIFTH CLASS.—11,000 ASSES.	
Centuries of Seniors	15
Centuries of Juniors	15
Centuries of <i>Cornicines and Tubicines</i>	3
Centuries of <i>Accensi</i>	
Centuries of <i>Capite Censi</i>	1
Total	194

## LIST OF DIONYSIUS.

Centuries of Knights	18
FIRST CLASS.—100 MINÆ.	
Centuries of Seniors	40
Centuries of Juniors	40
SECOND CLASS.—75 MINÆ.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Centuries of Workmen	2
THIRD CLASS.—50 MINÆ.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
FOURTH CLASS.—25 MINÆ.	
Centuries of Seniors	10
Centuries of Juniors	10
Centuries of <i>Cornicines and Tubicines</i>	2
FIFTH CLASS.—12½ MINÆ.	
Centuries of Seniors	15
Centuries of Juniors	15
SIXTH CLASS.	
Centuries of <i>Capite Censi</i>	1
Total	193

The uncertainty of the number of the centuries and of the basis on which the assessment was made, does not prevent us from appreciating the political importance of this military reform. It is no longer birth which divides the citizens into patricians and plebeians; it is by fortune, that are now regulated both their distribution into classes, their place in the legions, the nature of their arms, which they must procure for themselves, and the quota of the tax which each of them must pay. All the centuries must

<sup>1</sup> The text of Cicero (*de Rep.*, ii. 22), unfortunately mutilated in this place, as in so many others of the *Republic*, does not help us to make Livy's numbers agree with those of Dionysius.

contribute to the treasury according to their census, and later on they exercise, in the Field of Mars, beyond the patrician town, the same political rights. But the first class reckons 98 centuries, although it is much the least numerous, since it only contains the wealthy; it furnishes, then, more than half the tax, and its legionaries, by reason of their small number, are more often called into service. It is also by centuries that, after 510 B.C., votes are taken to decide on peace or war, to appoint to public offices, and make the laws. The rich, divided in 98 centuries, have 98 voices out of 193, or the majority, that is to say a decisive influence in the government. Their unanimity, secured beforehand on every proposition affecting their interests, must render the rights of the other classes illusory. Sometimes, in case of disagreement between the centuries of the first class, those of the second may be called upon to vote; very rarely those of the third; never those of the last; although each of them contains perhaps more citizens than the three first together. 'Servius,' said Cicero, 'did not desire to give power to mere number; it was by the votes of the rich, not by those of the people, that all was decided.'<sup>1</sup> He might have added that the preponderance did not belong to wealth alone, it was given also to wisdom and experience, since the seniors or citizens above 45 years of age—only half as numerous as the juniors, from 17 to 45 years old—possessed as many votes.<sup>2</sup> Finally each had the duty which he could fulfil, and rights in the State were in proportion to duties.

In the new laws, rank was as clearly marked as in the old constitution; but this inequality was effaced in the eyes of the poor by the honour of being counted among the number of the citizens, and by the material advances made in their condition. If the rich kept political power, on them also weighed the consequent responsibilities: in the city the heaviest share of the tax; in the army the costliest equipment, and the most frequent and dangerous service. But, at this time there was at Rome little wealth except landed property. Accordingly, as almost all the *Ager Romanus*,

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. (iv. 20) also says: πάσης τῆς πολιτείας κίρτοι (οἱ πλούσιοι). Livy, i, 43: *vis omnis penes primores civitatis*. Cf. Dionys. x. 17.

<sup>2</sup> This preponderance of age was found again in the senate, where the young only spoke after the old.



and the greatest part of conquered lands were in the hands of the patricians, they remained, as before, the masters of the State. These new laws, which recognised the plebeians as free citizens of Rome, and which, as a natural consequence must some day call them to vote on public affairs, did not, therefore, in reality change the existing condition of the two orders. An immense step, however, was gained: in placing the aristocracy of wealth—a variable power, accessible to all, by the side of the aristocracy of birth—an unalterable power, these laws were preparing for the revolutions which established in republican Rome union and invincible strength.

This constitution struck another blow at the aristocracy by indirectly attacking clientship. It did not abolish patronage, which gave to the nobles material strength, without which privileges cannot long be defended; but it assured a place in the State to the clients who until then had lived under the protection of the Quirites. It separated them from their patrons on the day of the comitia, to mix them, according to their fortune, with the rich or the poor; it opened the road to the Forum for those who had never followed any but that to the patrician *Atrium*. Another law of Servius authorized the freedmen to return to their country, or, if they remained at Rome, to be inscribed in the city tribes. This law would have equally recognised in plebeians the right of patronage, so that the rich plebeian could from that time show himself in the town, surrounded like a Fabius, by a noisy and devoted band. But clientship becomes weaker by diffusion, and in the course of centuries, Rome, the seat of the empire, is peopled, to the ruin of its institutions, with freed slaves.

This constitution, which was to unite two people hitherto separated, had only been conceived with a view to the army; and the centuries were called the city army, *urbanus exercitus*.<sup>1</sup> The *seniores* guarded the town, whilst the *juniores*, or the active army, went to meet the enemy. On the field of battle the legion drew up in serried lines which recalled the Macedonian phalanx,<sup>2</sup> in front

<sup>1</sup> The patricians could accept this reform under the title of a military regulation; they were too strong to allow it to be imposed as a political constitution. Nothing short of a revolution, which rendered the help of the plebeians necessary to them, could wring this concession from them as payment (Livy. i. 47).

<sup>2</sup> Livy. viii. 8. [It may originally have been intended to reward Mastarna's mercenaries. —Ed.]

of the enemy, and exposed to its first onset were the legionaries of the first class, all covered with bronze armour; behind them and sheltered by their bodies and their armour, the men of the following classes; those of the fifth, served as light troops; 300 horsemen the cavalry formed of each legion.

We have seen that the friend of the plebeians of Rome was also the friend of the Latin cities, and that he invited them to common sacrifices in honour of Diana on the Aventine.<sup>1</sup> Slaves

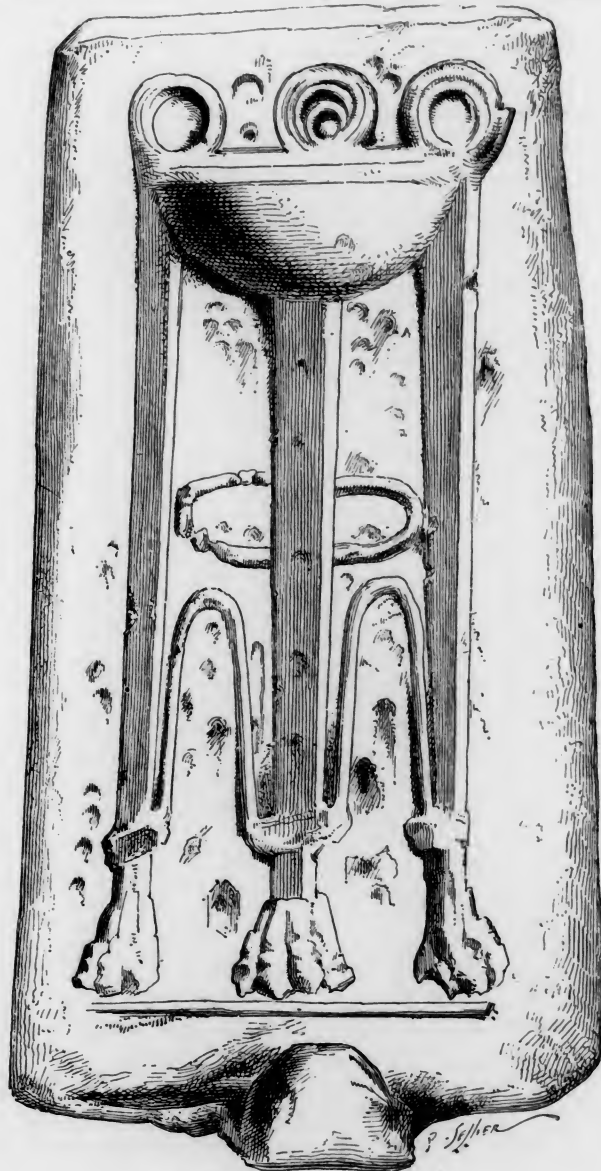


Diana with the Hind.

took as their sanctuary the temple raised on the unlucky hill by the popular king; each year on the ides of Sextilis (August) they

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius (iv. 26) says that he saw the decree containing the clauses of the alliance engraved on a bronze column in ancient Greek characters.

came to sacrifice there;<sup>1</sup> but the patricians do not seem to have



An as in bullion (actual size).

<sup>1</sup> Fest., s.v. *Servorum dies*.

admitted this goddess into the national worship, and no public festival was marked with her name in the book of the Pontiffs. Of course no vestige of this temple or of the image which it contained, remains. When the Romans were Hellenised, they confounded their Diana, a fierce and eternal virgin, with the Greek Artemis, and gave her the attributes of the latter; their palaces and villas have preserved for us some statues of this goddess, which are among the most beautiful that Greek art ever produced.

Dionysius<sup>1</sup> assures us that besides his constitution Servius promulgated more than fifty laws on contracts, crimes, enfranchisement, the forms of acquiring property, weights and measures, coinage, which he was the first to mark with an impression, *primus signavit æs*, etc.<sup>2</sup> If Servius is indeed the author of this last novelty, which was not new for the Greeks of Campania and of Southern Italy, it was a great service which he rendered his country, for money is to commerce what writing is to thought, a powerful means of production.

The laws attributed to the great reformer of Rome seem to have had the same liberal character as his constitution—that for example, which Tarquin abolished, and which the people took nearly two centuries to recover, ordering the property only of the debtor, and not his person, to be responsible for his debt. Popular gratitude protected the memory of the plebeian king, born in slavery or on foreign soil, and they went so far as to believe that he had wished to lay down the crown in order to establish consular government.

Some years before, the Athenian Solon had divided rights in proportion to property. Thus, at the same time, the two greatest cities of the ancient world were desirous of renouncing the

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. iv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Originally the Romans only had as a means of exchange the *æs rude*, bars of metal in bronze or mere copper, without any stamped impression, and without any settled weight. The buyer put into the scales as many pieces as were necessary to make the weight equivalent to the price of the goods bought. This was barter, a means of exchange which indicates a still ruder state of society. The *æs signatum* appears to have been coined under Servius: it was a flat piece of bronze with the picture of an ox, a sheep, or a pig, or, like that which we give, with the impression of a tripod. Later on, more portable pieces were coined of circular shape, on which the value was marked by a distinguishing sign; we have already given some of them on pages xix., liii., lxxvii. The bar represented on page 126, and taken from the *Cabinet de France*, weighs 1,495 grammes (3 lbs. 4 ozs.) At the base is seen the opening through which they ran the molten metal.

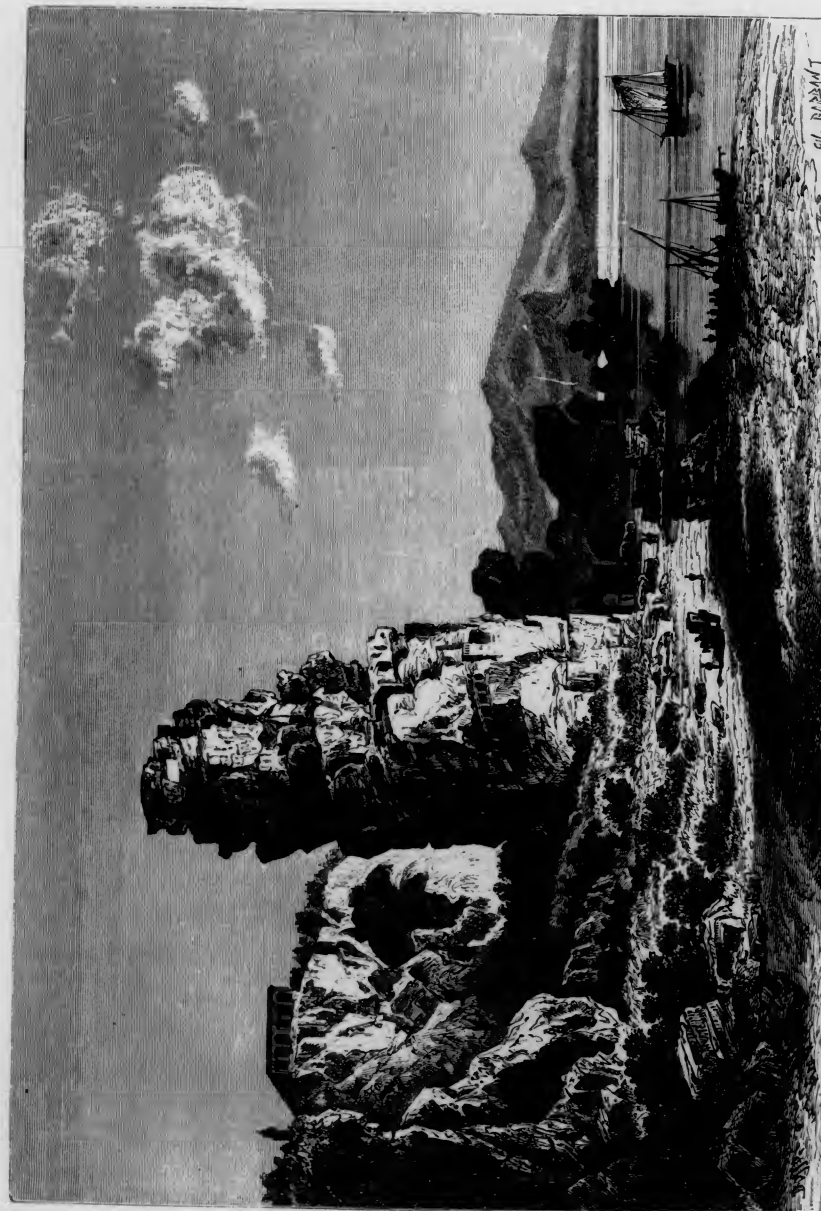
government of the families consecrated by the gods, and of adopting the principle which is still applied in many modern societies, that power depends upon wealth. But, at Athens, customs had paved the way for the reform of Solon, and it was immediately applied; at Rome, that of Servius was in advance of his time, he could not establish it; but, in the next generation it came about of its own accord.

### III.—TARQUIN THE PROUD: POWER OF ROME AT THIS EPOCH.

It was in fact the democratic laws of Servius which helped Tarquin the Proud, posing to the patricians as the defender of their threatened privileges, to dethrone his father-in-law. Having become king by a murder, he destroyed the tables on which were inscribed the results of the census, abolished the system of the classes, and forbade the religious gatherings of the plebeians<sup>1</sup>; then, supported by his numerous mercenaries, he obliged the people to finish the Circus, the Capitol, and the great Cloaca. But, counting too much on his Latin and Hernican allies, he did not spare the patricians more than the plebeians, and, to escape death, many senators went into exile. This oppression was likely to unite the two orders by a common hatred. It lasted, however, until the outrage upon Lucretia had given the multitude one of those exciting proofs of slavery which, even more than bloodshed, bring about revolutions, because the injury done to the individual is felt by all.

"If the constitution of Servius had been maintained," says Niebuhr, "Rome would have attained, two hundred years sooner, and without sacrifices, to a happiness . . . which she could recover only at the cost of fierce combats and great sufferings." Happily, in the history of a nation, as in the life of a man, good often results from evil. This difficult struggle trained the youth of Rome, and retarded its decline; but "woe to him from whom the offence came, and curses on those who destroyed plebeian liberty to the utmost of their power!"

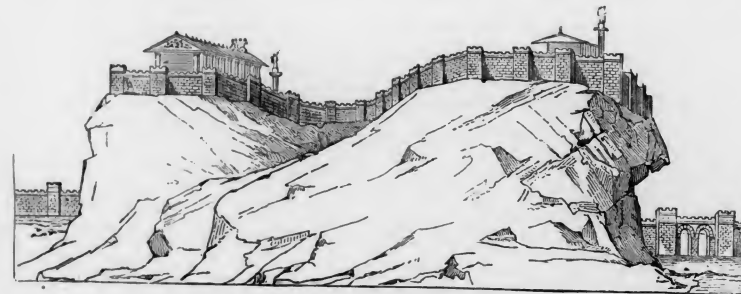
<sup>1</sup> Dionys. iv., 43.



Rock of Terracina.



The Tarquins, however, had extended their reputation far and wide. Under her last kings, Rome is no longer the obscure city whose territory extends a few miles from her walls. The treaty with Carthage concluded in 509 B.C., the grandeur of the



The Capitoline Hill, (restoration of Canina).<sup>1</sup>

city, the importance of her edifices, and her 150,000 fighting men,<sup>2</sup> (whatever reduction we make from this figure), testify that she then formed one of the most powerful states of Italy. The Tiber was already bounded by quays, and some of the foundations laid to support the Capitol still exist.<sup>3</sup> This temple which was worthy of Rome at the time of its grandeur, formed an almost exact square of 200 feet on each side.<sup>4</sup> A double colonnade surrounded it on three sides. But the peristyle of the south, which faced the Palatine, had a triple row of six columns. It stood on one of the two summits of the Tarpeian Hill, that on the north-east, at the place where now stands the church of the Ara-Cœli; the god who held the thunderbolt, has given place to the child who holds the cross, *il Bambino*. But the church is turned the opposite way from



Temple of Jupiter  
Capitolinus.

<sup>1</sup> On the position of the temple of Jupiter, which some place on the west, others at the opposite extremity of the Capitoline hill, see the discussion of Ampère (*l'Histoire romaine à Rome*, vol. ii. p. 59, seqq.)

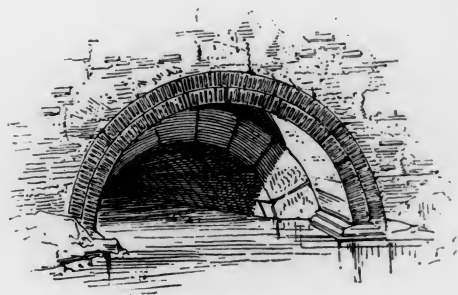
<sup>2</sup> This is the census of the year 496, but these figures are most probably exaggerated. The census of 509 had only given 130,000 men, and that of 491 gave only 110,000, (Cf. Dionys, v. 20, 75; vi. 65, 96). These numbers, if they were exact, would certainly imply a population of at least 600,000 souls.

<sup>3</sup> It may be that those which are still seen, only date from the war with Samnium.

<sup>4</sup> Vitruvius iv. 7.

the temple, which faced the Forum, and rose majestically above it. Grace, however, was wanting to this majesty. With its short columns and quadrangular form, without a corresponding elevation, the temple of Jupiter had a heavy and stunted appearance. This sanctuary well suited a nation of soldiers which laid so great a burden upon the world.

Of all Tarquin's works, the most important was the *Cloaca maxima*. Its foundations were sunk deep under the earth, and



Cloaca Maxima.

its numerous branches brought the water and mud from the low districts of the city and led them into the Tiber. It was only when this immense work had been finished that the marshy plain<sup>1</sup> which extended between the Seven Hills, was rendered healthy and

dry. Such was the height of the triple vault<sup>2</sup> of the main channel, which was built with long stones of peperino, laid without cement, that Agrippa entered it in a boat, and Pliny asserts that a cart-load of hay could have passed through it. Tradition also speaks, as in the case of the great constructions of the Egyptian kings, of the misery of the people condemned to such tasks.

The rule of Rome, however, was then extensive enough for the greatness of the State to be shown by the magnificence of its buildings. In the treaty concluded with Carthage in the very year of the expulsion of Tarquin, which Polybius<sup>3</sup> translated

<sup>1</sup> This plain formed the quarters of the *Velabrum*, the *Subura*, the *Forum Romanum* and the *Circus Maximus*. This circus, which was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  stadia in length by 1 in width, could hold 150,000, or, according to others, 380,000 spectators.

<sup>2</sup> The vaulting is formed by three concentric arches, and the diameter of it is 20ft. It may be remarked that the Greeks only began to use the vaulted arch at the time of Alexander, although M. Heuzey saw many more ancient in Epirus and Acarnania. [Pausanias speaks as if the ancient Minyan treasure-house at Orchomenus had been really arched with a keystone, but according to Schliemann's researches he must have been mistaken.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> III., 22. The authenticity of this treaty would, if necessary, be confirmed by the account of Livy, which represents Tarquin as the recognised chief of the league of forty-seven

from the original, preserved in the archives of the ædiles in the Capitol, all the towns of the coast of Latium, Ardea, Antium, Circei, Terracina are mentioned as subjects of Rome. In the interior of the country, Aricia obeyed her under the same title. Suessa Pometia had been captured and Signia colonised. Between the Tiber and the Anio, all the low Sabine country belonged to her, and the stories about Porsenna prove that on the north of the Tiber her frontier extended so far that ten of her thirty tribes had their territory in Etruria. Even her navy, especially that of her allies, was not without importance, since we can conclude from the terms of the treaty that merchant vessels, which started from the Tiber or the ports of Latium, traded as far as Sicily, Sardinia and Africa. It was, doubtless, the road to Egypt which the Carthaginians wished to close against them, by forbidding to Rome and her allies all navigation to the east of the *Fair Promontory*. The republican revolution cost her this dominion, which it cost more than a century and a half to recover.

The Greeks, who represented Romulus to be a descendant of Æneas; Numa, a contemporary of Pythagoras, and the successor of Ancus to be the son of a Corinthian, illustrated the history of the last Tarquin by stories copied from Herodotus. Thus Sextus enters into Gabii like Zopyrus into Babylon, and the silent but singularly expressive advice of Tarquin to his son is that of Thrasybulus to Periander. Servius, they said, had honoured the Grecian Artemis, by raising a temple to her on the Aventine; Tarquin honoured the Hellenic Apollo by sending to Delphi an embassy, which in the legend only serves to show the feigned madness of Brutus, an echo perhaps of that of Solon. In fact, this king's character has been drawn after those of numerous tyrants whom Greece experienced. Even his fall remains a problem. Was it Lucretia, who, by her generous death, overturned the powerful monarch, whose sway so many cities obeyed, or was it not the whole Roman people who revolted against a foreign master?

It is difficult not to consider the time of the royalty of the

Latin towns. See Livy, i., 52; Dionys. iv., 48—49. [Mommsen, *Rom. Hist.* i. 145, while proving from the Latin forms of Phœnician names the early date of the direct intercourse of Rome and Carthage, disputes the date of this treaty, which he believes to have been much later. But his opinion is much disputed by other scholars.—*Ed.*]

Tarquins as the period of a dominion of the Etruscans, accepted or submitted to on the banks of the Tiber, and the Rome of *Superbus* as the capital of the most glorious of lucumos. The Etruscans, masters of Tuscany and Campania, ought to have been masters also of Latium. Their influence at Rome is only spoken of as regards the arts and the beliefs which they carried thither; it is probable that it was by a conquest, the memory of which Roman pride did not wish to preserve, and by a prolonged rule, that this influence was exercised.<sup>1</sup> Strong and numerous enough to impose their authority and some of their customs, they were not strong enough to change the language, the civil institutions, and the population, which remained Latino-sabine. The history of the greatness and of the fall of the last of the Tarquins, of wars undertaken by the Etruscans in order to re-establish it, leads us, in fact, to the idea that the revolution of the year 510 B.C. was the result of a national movement, provoked by some insulting challenge, such as the outrage on Lucretia. The fortune of the Rasenas was thus waning everywhere. They had already lost the plains of the Po, and they were now losing, or about to lose, those of Campania. The reaction of the indigenous races reached Latium and the town which was its most flourishing city. By the exile of Tarquin, then, we must understand the end of the great Tiberine lucumony and the revival of the old Roman nation.

<sup>1</sup> [Of the interesting arguments of Gardthausen (*Mastarna*, p. 5, *seq.*) to show the domination of the Etruscans about 600 B.C., and the remains of Etruscan names among the Latin towns.—*Ed.*]



Taken from a painting in a tomb at Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii.

## CHAPTER V.

### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

#### I.—CHARACTER OF ANCIENT ROMAN SOCIETY.

NOTHING can be said of science, art or literature in this period. When Tarquin fell, Greek literature had finished half its career, perhaps the most brilliant part. The best days of at least the higher kind of poetry had passed, and the works of Solon, Simonides, and Anacreon were an early decadence; but Pindar, Æschylus, Herodotus and Thucydides were born or were presently to appear. Thus, on one of the shores of the Adriatic Greece had for centuries listened to her immortal singers, while on the other literary genius was yet asleep. And it must be so, because, if the Romans had a worship, they had not a religion, in the sense of a mythology. Instead of the magnificent development of the Greek theodicy and of those great [philosophical] systems which explained the world, we only find at Rome dry rituals. Those living and passionate divinities which, around the Ægean Sea, shared human love and hate, were replaced about the Apennines by sober gods, without adventures, without history, who never cross the azure of the sky to betake themselves to the mountain, bathed in dazzling light, where the Olympians of Homer drink their nectar.

Rome doubtless had songs in honour of gods, kings and heroes. But these rude and short songs, and careless expression of passions and recollections, were far beneath the clearly defined form which individual genius stamps upon its work. Formerly the value of popular songs was overlooked, now it is exaggerated. For the Romans especially, whose cold and severe character had neither



the natural enthusiasm of the Greeks nor their brilliant and lively imagination, popular songs never could have been as rich in details and colour as the school of Niebuhr [or Macaulay's lays] would make us believe. The language, moreover, was too poor to be adapted to varied requirements; the fragment which remains to us of a hymn of the fratres Arvales shows of what little use this rude instrument had hitherto been.

CARMEN ARVALE.<sup>1</sup>

Enom Lases iuvate  
 Enom Lases iuvate  
 Enom Lases iuvate  
 Neve luem arves Marmar sers incurrere in pleoris [thrice]  
 Sata tutere Mars clemens satis sta berber [thrice]  
 Semunis alternei advocapit conetos [thrice]  
 Enom Marmar iuvato [thrice]  
 Triumpe.  
 Triumpe.  
 Triumpe.  
 Triumpe.  
 Triumpe.<sup>2</sup>

Which may thus be transcribed into ordinary Latin:

Eia Lares juvate  
 Neve luem arvis, Marmar, siveris incurrere. Implores . . .  
 Sata tutere, Mars. Clemens satis esto, Berber,  
 Semones alterne invocabit cunctos.  
 Eia, Marmar juvato  
 Triumpe.<sup>1</sup>

In royal Rome they scarcely knew how to engrave laws and treaties on wood or bronze, and the only works which are mentioned for that time are the collection of laws which Papirius may have made under Tarquin the Proud (*jus Papirianum*), and of the Commentaries of King Servius, which are said to have contained his constitution.<sup>3</sup> It is characteristic that Latin was compelled to borrow from the Greek the words for poet and poetry; but it possessed those which have to do with rustic life or with hardy and warlike manners. The common

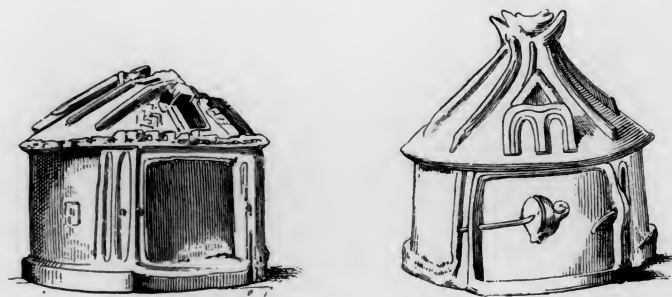
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bréal, *Société de linguistique*, vol. iv., fasc. 5. This song, such as we have it, appears to have been copied at the time of Elagabalus, on some antique table preserved in the archives of the brotherhood. But these copyists of the third century A.D. read the writing very badly, for they have put *enos* six times instead of *enom*, although each of these short phrases is repeated three times; neither did they understand the meaning of it.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vol. vi., p. 568-9.

<sup>3</sup> Pompon., *Dig.*, i., 2, 2. § 2; Dionys. iii., 36; Cic., *pro Rabir.*, 5; Livy i., 31, 32, 60.

treasury was at first a basket of wicker-work (*fiscus*); their contract, a straw broken by the two contractors (*stipula*); their money, a herd (*pecus*); a fine, as much milk as a cow gives (*mulcta*, from *mulgeo*, to milk); war was a duel (*bellum* from *duellum*); victory, the action of binding the conquered (*vincio*, to bind); and an enemy, the victim reserved for sacrifice (*victima*) and *hostia*.

The arts were no better cultivated. If the walls of Rome and the foundations of the Palatine were formed of squared blocks which marked an advance on the polygonal structure of the preceding age, huts covered the slopes about the Seven Hills, and we can reconstruct their clumsy form when we see the cinerary urns recently found under the lava of the Alban



Cinerary urns,<sup>1</sup> reproducing the form of the cottages constructed by the ancient inhabitants of Latium.

mount. Montesquieu well observes, "We must not form the idea of the city of Rome at its beginning from the towns of the present day, unless it be those of the Crimea, made to contain plunder, cattle, and the fruits of the soil. The town had not even streets, unless we give this name to the continuation of the roads which terminated therein. The houses were very small or placed irregularly. Until the war with Pyrrhus these houses were only covered with planks,<sup>2</sup> which would give credence

<sup>1</sup> Cinerary urns in terra-cotta, containing calcined bones, recently found under the deepest lava of the Alban mount, consequently of great antiquity, and reproducing the form of the cottages constructed by the most ancient inhabitants of Latium. (*Revue archéolog.*, May, 1876, 338).

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi. 15.

to the tradition that after the burning of Rome by the Gauls one year sufficed for its reconstruction.<sup>1</sup>

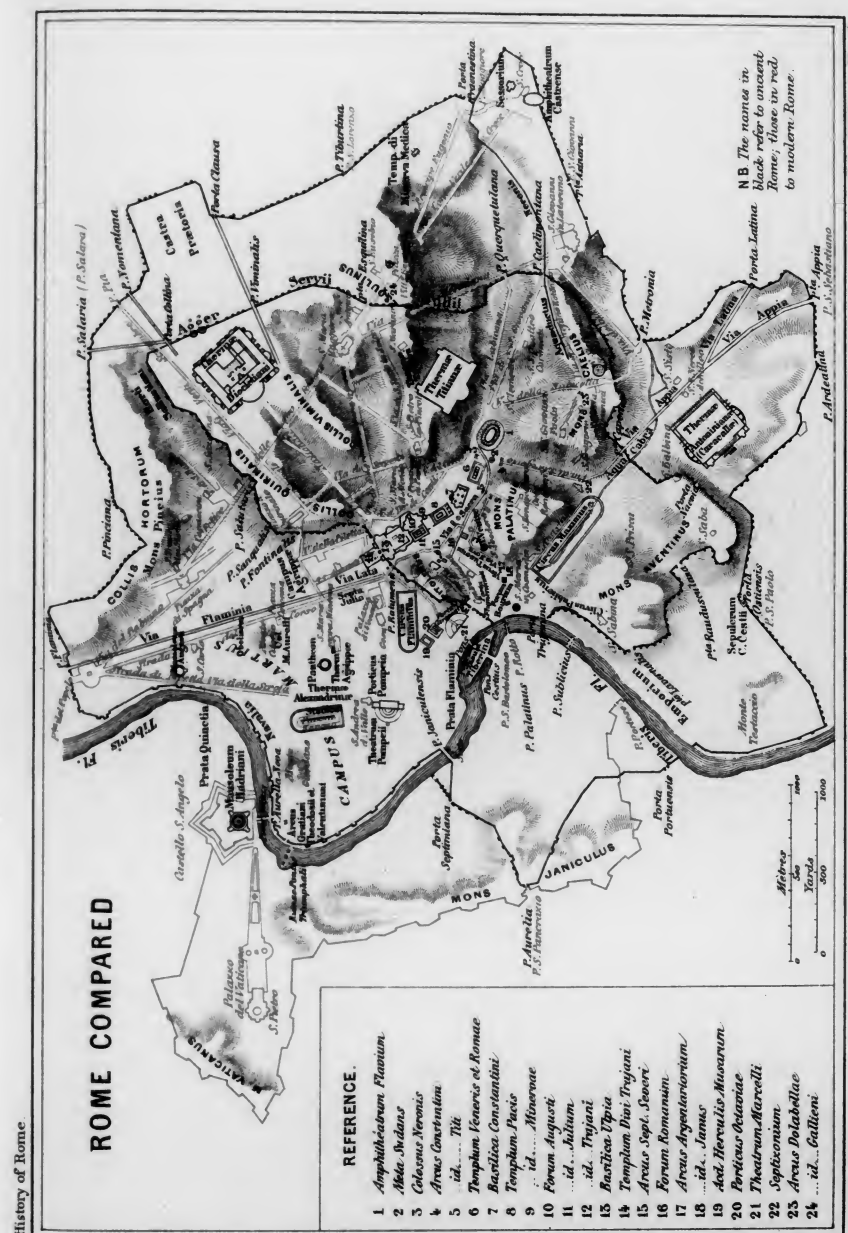
Athens converted her feasts into great national solemnities, during which the highest pleasures of the mind were found associated with the most imposing shows of religious processions, of the most perfect art, and of the fairest nature. Those of Rome were the games of rude shepherds, or shouts of the delighted crowd, when the soldiers entered the city with some captives, sheaves of wheat, and the cattle taken from the enemy—a rustic festival, which time and the fortune of Rome will change into that triumphal ceremony which is the continual ambition of her generals, and one of the causes of her greatness.



Etruscan cups, after Micali's *Monuments inédits*.

To the north and south of the Tiber, however, among the Etruscans, Rutulians, and Volscians, the arts had already begun to make way. Pliny saw at Cære and Ardea some paintings still preserving all the freshness of their colours, which he regarded as anterior in date to Rome. The numerous objects found in the second of these towns prove that it had a regular school of artists. Præneste was also a city fond of works of art; every day some

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cam.*, 32.



are discovered in its ruins. A tomb, which is believed to have belonged to the *gens* Sylvia, from which Romulus was said to be descended, has just yielded a treasure which dates perhaps from seven or eight centuries before our era.

The Romans, who adopted everything from their neighbours, adopted from them even the statues of their divinities, but they themselves made none. For a long time they represented the gods by a naked sword, a lance, or an unhewn stone. For them, the place where a thunderbolt



Group in bronze recently found at Palestrina (Præneste).<sup>1</sup>

had fallen became a temple, *puteal*;<sup>2</sup> the tree struck by lightning a sacred object, and from a handful of baked earth they made their Lares and Penates, whom they thought they saw dancing in the flame on the hearth. Strange fortune of religious conceptions!



Puteal of Libo (silver coin).<sup>3</sup>

Art, one of the elements of the human trinity,<sup>4</sup> was born of the religions of India, Egypt, and Greece,

<sup>1</sup> Of course this group, like the Mercury on page 74, is of a relatively modern period. We shall see later on a very curious cup, also found at Præneste.

<sup>2</sup> *Puteal* means the brink of a well. It was a stone enclosure surrounding a well or consecrated place. The puteal of Libo is often represented on the medals of the *gens* Scribonia; it protected, according to some, a place in the Forum which had been struck by a thunderbolt; according to others, the place where Navius had performed his miracle. Scribonius Libo having repaired it, gave his name to it.

<sup>3</sup> See Cohen, *Med. Consul Emilia*, No. 10.

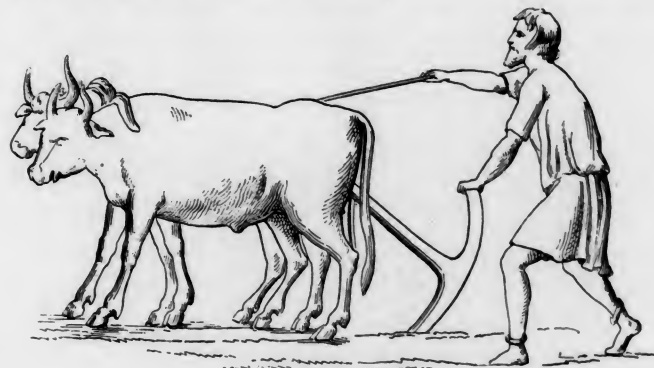
<sup>4</sup> The Good, the Beautiful, and the True.



where it grew and developed; but it could not proceed from the temple of Jehovah, and, on the soil of ancient Rome, it always remained a foreign importation.<sup>1</sup> Even after the Tarquins, the images of the gods, the work of Etruscan artists, were still made only in wood or clay, like that of Jupiter in the Capitol, and like the quadriga placed on the top of the temple. Etruria also furnished the architects<sup>2</sup> who built the *Roma quadrata* of the Palatine, and constructed the first temples; she provided even the flute-players necessary for the performance of certain rites.

## II.—PRIVATE MANNERS.

All the activity of the Roman tended to a practical end—public affairs, agriculture, and domestic cares. Two words signified



The Ploughman.<sup>3</sup>

for him all good qualities, all virtues,<sup>4</sup> *virtus et pietas*, that is to say, courage, force, an immovable firmness, patience in work, and respect for the gods, his ancestors, his fatherland, and his family, for the established laws and discipline. Cicero well remarks,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This sterility of Judæa and Rome is, of course, only shown in plastic arts.

<sup>2</sup> *Fabris undique ex Etruria accitis* (Livy. i. 56: Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 12.).

<sup>3</sup> After an engraved stone in the collection of Florence.

<sup>4</sup> *Appellata est ex viro virtus* (Cic. *Tusc.*, ii. 18). [The peculiar Roman *gravitas* should have been added.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Tusc.*, i. 1. Properly speaking, the originality of the Greeks exists especially in political constitutions; that of Rome in civil laws. Cicero says (*de Orat.*, i. 44), *Incredibile*

without unduly flattering the national pride: 'In sciences and letters, the Greeks surpass us, but there is more order and dignity in our customs and conduct. Where else is there to be found that severity of manners, that firmness, that greatness of soul, that uprightness, that good faith and all the virtues of our fathers?'

Their domestic life, in fact, was simple and austere: no luxury, no idleness; the master ploughs with his slaves, the mistress spins in the midst of her women; 'royalty, even wealth, does not exempt from labour; like Bertha the Spinner, Queen Tanaquil<sup>2</sup> and Lucretia set the example to the Roman matrons. "When our fathers," says Cato, "desired to praise a man of property, they called him a good ploughman and a good farmer; this was the highest of eulogiums;<sup>3</sup> [and on many epitaphs noble women were praised for chastity and diligent spinning.] Then men lived on their lands, in the rustic tribes, which were the most honourable of all, and they only came to Rome on market days,<sup>4</sup> or assembly days. In the villa—a miserable cabin made of mud, rafters and branches—not a day, not a moment was lost. If bad weather prevented work in the fields, there was plenty to do at home in



A woman spinning.<sup>5</sup>

*est enim quam sit omne jus civile, præter hoc nostrum, inconditum ac pæne ridiculum.* He went too far in this contempt for the civil laws of Greece, as is proved in numerous works recently written upon the jurisprudence of Athens. We even find in the Digest the text of the Athenian laws which were copied by the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> Colum., *de Re rust.*, xii præf.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of Varro, they showed in the temple of Sancus her distaff and spindle, still full they said, of the wool which she spun. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 48.)

<sup>3</sup> Cato, *de Re rust.*, præfat., and Pl., *ib.* xviii. 3. The persons of most consideration in the city were the *locupletes loci*, *hoc est agri plenos*, and the anniversary of the foundation of Rome was celebrated on the 21st of April, the day of the feast of Pales, the guardian deity of flocks.

<sup>4</sup> *Nundinæ*, every nine days. After the year 287, the comitia could be convoked on market-days. *Nundinarum etiam conventus manifestum est propterea usurpatos, ut nonis tantummodo diebus urbanae res agerentur, reliquis administrarentur rusticae* (Colum. præf. and Macr., *Sat.*, i. 16).

<sup>5</sup> Taken from a bas-relief at Rome, representing the arts of Minerva.

cleaning the stables and the yard, in mending old ropes and old clothes; even on feast days, one can cut brambles, trim hedges, wash the flock, go to the city to sell oil and fruits."<sup>1</sup> In order to regulate the order of these country labours, calendars were afterwards drawn up, which we have found, and which are the predecessors of our almanacs.

Here follow the indications given by one of them for the month of May:—

MENSIS  
MAIVS  
DIES. XXXI  
NON. SEPTIM  
DIES. HOR. XIII S  
NOX. HOR. VIII S  
SOL TAURO  
TUTEL APOLLIN  
SEGET RVNCANT  
OVES TONDVNT  
LANA LAVATVR  
IVVENC. DOMANT  
VICEA. PABVLAR  
SECATVR  
SEGETES  
LVSTRANTVR  
SACRVM. MERCVR  
ET FLORAE.<sup>2</sup>

The Month  
of May  
XXXI days.  
The nones fall on the 7th day.  
The day has 14½ hours.  
The night has 9½ hours.  
The sun is in the sign of Taurus.  
The month is under the protection of Apollo.  
The corn is weeded.  
The sheep are shorn.  
The wool is washed.  
Young steers are put under the yoke.  
The vetch of the meadows  
is cut.  
The lustration of the crops  
is made.  
Sacrifices to Mercury  
and Flora.

Horace does not draw a more agreeable picture of ancient city manners. "At Rome," he says, "for a long time a man knew no other pleasure and no other festival than to open his door at dawn, to explain the law to his clients, and to lay out his money on good security. They asked from their elders, and taught beginners, the art of increasing their savings and escaping ruinous follies."<sup>3</sup> In this Italy, so full of superstitions, Cato will not have the farmer lose his time in consulting the aruspices, augurs



Sylvanus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Virg., *Georg.* i. 273; Colum., *de Re rust.*, ii. 21, and Cato, *de Re rust.*, 39.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription (*Corpus inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi., p. 637) is taken from the *Calendarium rusticum Farnesianum*, also called *Menologium rusticum Colotianum*; it is a marble cube, bearing on its four sides the indication of the works and festivals for each month.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* ii. 1, 103–107.

<sup>4</sup> This bronze of Hadrian represents Sylvanus, the guardian of the rural domain, who for this reason was associated with the Lares, dragging a ram and holding the *pedum*, or crooked

and soothsayers; he forbids him religious practices which would take him away from his home. His gods are on the hearth and at the nearest cross-roads. The Lares, Manes, and Sylvani, are sufficient for the protection of the farm; there is no need of other gods.<sup>1</sup>

These laborious and economical habits which introduced usury, one of the plagues of Roman society, have been those of all agricultural nations; but everywhere men forgot them to welcome the guest who was sent by the gods, and hospitality was, even for the poorest, a religious duty. Among the Romans, avarice and mistrust closed against the stranger the doors of the *villa*, which was always surrounded with broad ditches and thick hedges, for useless expenses must not be incurred; nor was it ever right to give or lend without gain,<sup>2</sup> except on the great day of the festival of Janus, the 1st of January, when everybody exchanged good wishes and presents, *strenæ*. The French have kept both the word and the thing, *étrennes*. "The father of the family," said Cato, "must make money of everything, and lose nothing. If he gives new brooms to his slaves, they must return the old ones; they will do for pieces. He must sell the oil if it is worth anything, and what remains of the wine and wheat; he must sell old oxen, calves, old carriages, old iron, old slaves and sick ones; he must sell always. The father of the family must be a seller, not a buyer."<sup>3</sup> *Durum genus!*

The father of the family! It is always he who is mentioned, for there is no one else in the house, wife, children, clients, slaves, all are only chattels,<sup>4</sup> instruments of labour, persons without will and without name, subjected to the omnipotence of the father. At once priest and judge, his authority is absolute; he alone is in communication with the gods, for he alone performs the *sacra privata*,

staff of the shepherds. In front, there are a temple, a burning altar and a bird; behind, a tree, which recalls the god of the woods. As the god cannot offer sacrifices to himself, and we see neither the sacred knife nor the cup of libations, I should be inclined to think that they wished to signify by this representation, that, thanks to Sylvanus, the altar would not lack the necessary victims.

<sup>1</sup> *De Re rust.*: *Rem divinam nisi compitalibus, in compito aut in foco faciat.*

<sup>2</sup> *Satin semen, cibaria, far, vinum, oleum, mutuum dederet nemini* (Cato, *de Re rust.*, 5.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Mancipia*, hence *emancipatio*: they are not *sui*, but *alieni juris*, and cannot enter an action. It is the father who answers for them, or judges them.

and, as master, he disposes of the powers and life of his slaves. As husband, he condemns his wife to death<sup>1</sup> if she forges false keys or violates her vow, and he is exempt, in her case, from the religion of mourning, the piety of remembrance.<sup>2</sup> As father, he kills the child that is born deformed, and sells the others, as many as three times, before losing his claims upon them. Neither age nor dignities emancipate them. Though consuls or senators, they may be dragged from the platform or the senate-house, or put to death like that senator, an accomplice of Cataline, who was killed by his father. If he is rich, he will lend at 12, 15, or 20 per cent., for the father of the family must turn his money as well as his lands to account, and the law grants to him the liberty and even the life of his insolvent debtor. Finally, at his death, neither his children nor his wife can claim any of his goods, if he has bequeathed them to a stranger; for he has the right to dispose of his *res* as he chooses.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the city includes and rules the family. For the wish of the father to be carried out, it is necessary for his will to be accepted by the *curiæ*, and they do not like the patrimony to depart from the family.

It is through women especially that manners change, that families, classes and fortunes mingle; but, in this society, so severely disciplined, the woman, the changing element, remains under guardianship<sup>4</sup> all her life. She belongs to the house, not to the city, and in the house she always has a master—her father when she is a girl; her husband when she is married; her nearest male agnate when she is a widow. One of the causes of the ruin of Sparta was the right which Lysurgus had left to women of inheriting and disposing of their goods.<sup>5</sup> At Rome, if the woman

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ii. 25; Pl., *Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 13; Suet., *Tib.*, 35; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32; Plut., *Rom.*, 22; ελευθὴν ὑποβολῇ Egnatius Mecenius uxorem, quod vinum bibisset, fusti percussam interemit (Val. Max., VI., iii. 9). [But not, I fancy, without a family council.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Uxores viri lugere non compelluntur.*—*Sponsi nullus luctus est* (Dig. iii. 2, 9); and elsewhere, *Vir non lugeat uxorem, nullam debet uxori religionem luctus.*

<sup>3</sup> *Uti legasset super pecunia, tutelave suæ rei, ita jus esto* (Fr. XII. Tab.). Wills had to be presented for the sanction of the *curiæ* or at the moment of setting out for an expedition in *procinctu* (*exercitus, expeditus et armatus*). Ulp., *Fr.* xx. 2; Gaius, ii., 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Nullam ne privatam quidem, rem agere feminas sine tutore auctore . . . in manu esse parentum, fratrum virorum . . .* (Cato, ap. Livy. xxxiv. 2). The guardian had over the ward the rights of the *patria potestas*. (Fest. s.v. *Remancipata*.)

<sup>5</sup> Arist. (*Polit.*, ii. 6).

obtained any share<sup>1</sup> in the heritage of her father or husband she could not, except in the case of the Vestals, *in honorem sacerdotii*, either transfer or bequeath it without the consent of her guardians, that is to say, of her husband, brothers, or her nearest male relatives on the paternal side, all interested, as her heirs, in preventing a sale or a legacy. They had also the right of opposing ordinary marriage (*coemptio vel cohabitatio*). The father only, by refusing his consent, could prevent solemn marriage (*confarreatio*),<sup>2</sup> which, in any case, did not take place between a plebeian and a patrician. Placed under perpetual tutelage, she could confer no right, and the relationship established by her had no civil effects; the child followed the father. In short, when she passed into another house, the woman did not take the lares of the paternal hearth, for these domestic gods never went to dwell under a strange roof. For her there was another family, and other gods. "Marriage," said the lawyers later, "is an association based on the community of the same things, divine and human."<sup>3</sup>

But, whether maid or matron, the woman was treated with reverence. Marriage was a holy thing, consecrated by religion; and the mother of a family reigned alone by the side of her husband in the conjugal dwelling, in which polygamy was proscribed. Like him, she performed the sacred rites at the altar of the Penates; if he was a flamen, she became a priestess, *flaminica*; she alone had the right of wearing in the streets the *stola*, which caused a matron to be recognized at a distance and assured her public respect.

The right of life and death given to the husband over his wife, was originally only applied in the case of patrician marriage by *confarreatio*, the law not yet concerning itself with plebeian unions. As soon as the betrothed had tasted of a symbolical cake (*far*), passed under a cart-yoke, put the *as* in the balance, on the Penates, on the threshold of the conjugal house, and pronounced the formula *Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia*, she fell, according

<sup>1</sup> The share of a child, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κληρονόμος ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ὡς θυγάτηρ πατρός (Dionys. ii. 25).

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius says of this sort of union that it took place *κατὰ νόμους ἱεροῦς*.

<sup>3</sup> *Nuptie sunt conjunctio maris et femine consortium omnis vite, divini et humani juris communicatio* (Dig. xxiii. 2, 1). *Uxor socia humane rei atque divine* (Cod. ix. 32, 4).



to the hard expression of the law, into the hand of her husband, *in manum viri*, and her dowry became, like her person, the property



Stola.<sup>1</sup>

(*res*) of her husband.<sup>2</sup> The XII Tables grant the same rights to the plebeian marriage when it has lasted a year without interruption, *usu anni continui in manum conveniebat*.

In case of divorce, the husband kept the dowry. But, in this age of harsh and austere manners, divorce was unknown,<sup>3</sup> and the matrons had not yet raised that temple to Modesty whose doors were closed against the woman who had twice offered the sacrifices of betrothal.

Customs and beliefs, on the contrary, made almost a necessity of divorce, when the marriage remained barren. For it was not the union of two hearts, but the accomplishment of a civil and religious obligation; to give new defenders to the city and perpetuate for the domestic gods the rites of the hearth—for the ancestors, the honours of the tomb. When a family disappeared, they said, "It is a hearth extinguished."

Aristocratic associations insured to the future head of the family—the eldest son—greater advantages than to his brothers.

<sup>1</sup> Distinctive garment of Roman matrons. Taken from the *Mus. Borbon.*, iii., pl. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Omnia quæ mulieris fuerunt, viri fiunt, dotis nomine* (Cic., *pro Cæcina*).

<sup>3</sup> The first divorce mentioned by the Annals, that of Sp. Carvilius, is in the year of Rome 520 (233). "He separated from his wife," says Aulus Gellius (IV. iii. 2), "although he loved her much, because he could not have children by her."

Roman law did not go so far as proclaiming the right of primogeniture, which proceeds from a principle unknown to antiquity, the indivisibility of the fief, for it was too much pre-occupied with the absolute power of the father to limit his rights in anything; but, in leaving him the free disposition of his goods, it permitted him, in the interest of his house, to settle a greater portion on the eldest of his children.<sup>1</sup> These rights of the father, however, being once reserved, Roman law ordained, in case of decease *without will*, equal division among all the children. This entirely democratic clause, after having enfeebled the patrician aristocracy, enabled the lawyers of the Middle Ages to make a breach in the feudal system.

Such is the law of the Quirites, *jus Quiritium*, and we find here the triple basis on which rests this society, so profoundly aristocratic; the inviolability of property, of land or of money; the unlimited rights, and the religious character of the head of the family.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—PUBLIC MANNERS.

The rights of parental authority were likely to produce docile subjects. Having become a citizen, the son transferred from his father to the State the same respect and the same obedience. It is a characteristic of small societies that patriotism varies inversely with the extent of territory, and is stronger in proportion as the enemy's frontier is nearer. For then the man belongs more to the State than to his family. He is rather a citizen than husband or father, and domestic affections are postponed to love of the native soil and its laws. To serve the State was the first law of the Romans, and in the *Dream of Scipio*, that half-Christian essay, immortality is promised only to great citizens. By these causes is explained

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Greek mythology, Hercules is submissive to Eurystheus.

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius (ii. 26) contrasts the prodigious extension at Rome of the *patria potestas* with the narrow limits in which Solon, Pittakos, Charondas and all the Greek legislators, had confined it. At Rome the father was everything in the family, as the State was everything in the city. This severe organisation proves that at first the most rigorous discipline had been necessary to ensure its safety and that some trace of it was left in the *gentes*.

the respect of the plebeians for institutions, even when they were opposed to them, and those *secessions* unaccompanied by pillage, those bloodless revolutions, that pacific progress which took place gradually in constitutional ways. Hence come, too, in ordinary life, the submission to old customs and to the letter of the law, on which it would be sacrilege to put a new construction—that blind faith in the incomprehensible formulæ of worship and jurisprudence, and the authority, so long recognized, of the *acta legitima*.

The word religion signifies bond [or obligation]. In no other country, in no other times, has this bond been so strong as at Rome; it united the citizens to one another and to the State. As the Romans saw gods everywhere; as all nature, sky, earth, and water was to them full of divinities who watched over human beings with benevolent or jealous eyes, there was no act of life which did not require a prayer or an offering, a sacrifice or a purification, according to the rites prescribed by the ministers of religion. This piety, being the offspring of fear, was all the more attentive in observing signs considered favourable or the reverse; so that everything depended on religion—private life from the cradle to the tomb, public life from the comitia to the field of battle; even business and pleasure.<sup>1</sup> Games and races were celebrated in honour of the gods, the people's songs were hymns, their dances a prayer, their music, uncouth but sacred harmonies, and as in the middle ages, the earliest dramas were pious mysteries. By the continual intervention of the pontiffs, who knew the necessary rites and sacred formulæ, by that of the augurs, aruspices and all the interpreters of omens, this religion, devoid of dogmas and of clergy, of ideal and of love—made up of silly superstitions, like that of some of their descendants—was yet a great force of cohesion for the State and a powerful discipline for the citizens.

No people—some famous examples notwithstanding—ever pushed so far the religion of the oath. Nothing could take place—raising of troops, division of booty, lawsuits, judgments, public affairs, private affairs, sales, contracts, or anything else—without the swearing

<sup>1</sup> Livy well says (vi. 41): *Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret?*

of either fidelity and obedience or of justice and good faith, the gods being called upon to bear witness to the sincerity of the parties. At sales the purchaser, in the presence of five citizens of full age, put the bronze, the price of the purchase, into a balance held by the *libripens*, and touching with his hand the land, the slave, or the ox which he was buying, said: "This is mine, according to the law of the Quirites; I have paid for it in copper duly weighed." This right of selling or buying by *mancipation*<sup>1</sup> (*manu capere*, to take with the hand), without the intervention of a magistrate and without written receipt, was one of the privileges of the Quirites, and, doubtless, one of their most ancient customs. It explains the importance of that law—*Uti lingua nuncupasset, ita jus esto*, such as the word is, so is the right—which penetrated so far into the Roman habits that it made them the most faithful of all nations to their word, but to the literal word, to the actual sense, even should good faith be impaired thereby. Thus for a loan it was necessary to say—*Dari spondes?* dost thou promise the gift? and the lender must reply—*Spondeo* I undertake to do so. Should either of the two change one of these words, there was no longer any contract, no creditor or debtor, and if the money had been delivered it was lost. A man brings into court a neighbour who has cut his vines, and produces against him the terms of the law; but the law speaks of trees, he says vine—the suit cannot proceed. The leaders of a sedition, seeing that the soldiers are hindered from joining by the oath they have sworn to the consuls, propose to kill the latter. "When they are dead," say they, "the soldiers will be free from their oath." At the Caudine Forks the generals give the Samnites a verbal promise, but there is not, as is necessary to bind two nations, any treaty concluded by the *fetiales* with the sacred herb, and consecrated by the sacrifice of a victim, therefore the agreement is, as regards religion, invalid, and the senate annuls it.

This servile attachment to legal forms came from the religious

<sup>1</sup> All objects of property were divided into *res mancipi* (lands, houses, slaves, oxen, horses, mules, asses), and *res nec mancipi*. The possession of the latter was transmitted by the simple delivery to the purchaser. For the others, the formalities just described were necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ii. 32.

character of the law and from the belief imposed by the doctrine of augury, that the least inadvertence in the accomplishment of rites was sufficient to alienate the goodwill of the gods. Consuls were often obliged to resign on account of some negligence committed in the consultation of omens.<sup>1</sup> How often did religion itself suffer thereby, when by clever evasions the Romans deceived their gods with an easy conscience.

The principal occupation of the Romans was agriculture, for the small amount of manufacture then at Rome, save a few trades necessary to the army; was abandoned to the poor citizens and strangers.<sup>2</sup> But agriculture did not enrich the small proprietor; it was well when it yielded him a livelihood and he was not forced, in order to supply a deficiency of the crops, to draw on the rich man's purse, to have recourse to the fatal assistance of the usurer. In later times the usurer was a plebeian knight or a freed man. At this epoch he was almost always a patrician,<sup>3</sup> for to the incomes derived from their estates the patricians united the profits of maritime commerce, which they had perhaps reserved to themselves. The insolvent debtor had no pity to expect, for movable property was as strictly protected as landed property. "If he pay not," said the law, "let him be cited into court. If illness or age hinder, let him be provided with a horse, but not a litter. The debt being acknowledged and judgment given, let there be thirty days grace. If he still fails to pay, the creditor shall cast him into the *ergastulum*, bound with straps or chains weighing 15 pounds. At the end of sixty days let him be produced on three market days and sold beyond the Tiber; if there be several creditors, they may divide his body; it matters not whether they cut more or less."<sup>4</sup> This was a dangerous and

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Marcell.*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> To Numa, however, is attributed the formation of nine corporations (Plut. *Numa*, 17). the flute-players, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, shoemakers, turners, copper-workers, and potters; all the other artisans were united in a single corporation.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. iv. 11. Livy, vi. 36. *Nobiles domos... ubicumque patricius habitat, ibi carcerem privatum esse.*

<sup>4</sup> . . . *Secanto, si plusve minusve secuerunt, se (for sine) fraude esto*, Frag. of XII Tables. It may possibly be that in the fifth century before our era, the *sectio* no longer referred to more than the price of the sold debtor, but for earlier ages it must certainly be taken in its literal sense, although according to Dion. (frag. xxxii.), who knows nothing of it, it was never practised.

inpolitic cruelty, for the crowd could not always remain indifferent to the sight of a corpse, or the appearance in the Forum of a man of the people, half dead under the lash for the sake of a little money which he could not pay.

To sum up, the history of the early age of Rome shows us a cold and melancholy people, eager for gain, disdaining the ideal which returns no interest—without fire, without youth. But this nation, which seems never to have lived its teens, owed to its origin, and the circumstances of its historic existence, the most severe discipline in the family, in religion, and in the State. If during centuries it never knew aught of poetry or art, it had more than any other the sentiment of duty; its citizens knew how to obey; that is why, in later times, they knew how to command. Moreover, the aristocratic constitution which resulted from its customs permitted it to be prudent in designs, and persevering in action; and a military organisation, already excellent, henceforth provides it with the means of carrying out everything which it undertakes. When the endless strifes of the Forum and the outer world come, it can apply itself to them with the energy which ensures victory, with the political ability which preserves the State.



L. CÆSI. The Lares, each holding a rod and caressing a dog; above, a head of Vulcan, and pincers; on the right and left the letters LA RE (*Lares*). Reverse of a silver coin of the Caesian family.



## SECOND PERIOD.

### ROME UNDER THE PATRICIAN CONSULS (509-367 B.C.)

STRUGGLES WITHIN—WEAKNESS WITHOUT.

## CHAPTER VI.

INTERNAL HISTORY FROM 509 TO 470.

### I.—ARISTOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION OF 509:

#### THE CONSULSHIP.

THE Kings of Rome had not been more fortunate than the Cæsars were afterwards. Of seven of them, five had died, as so many Emperors did, a violent death. The reason was that both had the same enemy, a powerful aristocracy. Moreover, the abolition of royalty is a very common historical incident. Throughout the whole Græco-Italian world, the kings of the heroic age give place sooner or later to the nobles, who, at Rome, were called patricians. *Superbus* does not, perhaps, merit the reputation that legend has affixed to him; but the nobles did not wish for another chief who could, like Servius, prepare for political life the crowd of plebeians whom they held in subjection, or like Tarquin, strike off the higher heads. They replaced the king by two consuls or prætors, chosen from their midst and invested with all the rights and all the insignia of royalty, except the crown and the purple mantle worked with gold.

At once the ministers and presidents of the senate—administrators, judges and generals—the consuls had sovereign power,

*regium imperium*,<sup>1</sup> but only for one year. In the interior of the city the nobles did not allow them both to exercise the prerogatives of their magistracy at the same time. Each had the authority, and the twelve lictors with their fasces, for a month. If they differed in opinion, the opposition of one, *intercessio*, arrested the decisions of the other; a conservative measure—for the interdict prevails over the command, that is, the old order prevails against the new. For a sudden attack on the institutions they would have needed a military force; now Rome had no soldiers but her citizens, and no one could appear in arms within the pomerium. As the consuls were responsible for their acts, they were exposed, on quitting office, to formidable accusations. Thus the royal authority was divided, without being weakened; it remained strong without the power of again becoming dangerous, since it was renewed yearly; and by the *intercessio* it was self-restraining; but should a danger arise demanding the rapid concentration of power, it reappeared complete in the dictatorship.

The nobles did not desire that the revolution should extend to the gods. Custom required that certain sacrifices should be offered by a king, so they appointed a *rex sacrorum* to perform them, but all ambition was forbidden him; he was declared incapable of filling any other office.

Finally, the centuries of Servius were re-established, or became for the first time the great political assembly of the Roman people, under guarantees which prevented all encroachment. In memory of their early character they met outside the



Consul between two laurel-crowned fasces.<sup>2</sup>



Fasces.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Uti consules potestatem haberent . . . regiam* (Cic. de Rep. ii. 32). Livy, (i. 60) says that the consuls were elected *ex Commentariis Servi Tulli*.

<sup>2</sup> Consular coin of Cn. Piso. The fasces, the insignia of victory, were surrounded with wreaths of laurel; the victor and his soldiers wore laurel too, for it was considered a preservative against evils, and a guarantee against the shocks of Fortune, which is wont to strike more particularly at happy people. This coin, given by Morell, after Goltzius, is no longer to be found in any collection.

<sup>3</sup> Consular coin of C. Norbanus; a fasces with an axe, a caduceus, and an ear of wheat.

pomerium in the Field of Mars, not at the call of the lictors, like the comitia of the curiæ, but at the sound of the trumpet. Before they met it was necessary to consult the auspices, so that religion kept them in dependence on the patrician augurs. The convocation must be announced thirty days beforehand (*dies iusti*), that none might be unaware of it, and to avoid all chance of surprise by the enemy, a red flag floated over the Janiculum, which a picket occupied while the comitia lasted.<sup>1</sup>

The government really remained in the hands of the patricians. They were masters of the senate, the supreme council of the city, wherein most of the propositions afterwards laid before the comitia must first be discussed, and they were predominant in the assembly of centuries by their wealth and the number of their clients. If any plebeians who had, by their fortune, reached the highest classes, threatened to render the vote of the centuries unfavourable, the patrician magistrate, who presided over the comitia, could always, by means of the augurs, break up the assembly, or annul its decisions; or, if ill omens failed, cause a popular resolution to be rejected by the senate.

Rome had then an upper house, which discussed the law twice, once before and once after it had been laid before the comitia, and a lower house, composed of the whole people, which voted but did not discuss. It was somewhat like our three readings. But the largest share of influence was accorded to maturity of mind and to experience in public affairs, since by its preliminary authorisation the senate had the initiative in proposing laws, and, by their right of confirmation or rejection, the power to arrest the proceedings of a magistrate who had presented to the comitia, and caused them to pass, a revolutionary bill.

All was done with the same precautions in the elective comitia; the president proposed to the people the candidates whom the senate and the augurs preferred, and the assembly

<sup>1</sup> Livy xxxix. 15 . . . nisi quum vexillo in arce posito comitiorum causa exercitus eductus esset. Cf. Aulus Gellius, xv., 27; Dionys. vii. 59. . . . ὡς περ ἐν πολέμῳ and Macrob. Sat. i. 16. The comitia could be held only on set days, *dies fasti*, during which it was allowable to engage in state affairs. There were about 190 of these days in the year. The *dies nefasti* or ferial days, were those on which religion closed the tribunals and forbade all public transactions. Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vi. 29; Festus, s.v. *Dies comitiales*.

could only vote on these names. If a flatterer of the masses succeeded in obtaining a nomination displeasing to the great, the assembly of the curiæ, composed of patricians only, had the right of refusing to grant the chosen magistrate the *imperium*, that is, the powers necessary for the exercise of his office<sup>1</sup>; and this assembly also formed the supreme tribunal of the city.<sup>2</sup>

It was really, then, the patricians who made the laws and appointed to public offices, all of which they themselves filled, *jus honorum*. They held the priesthood and the auspices; they were priests, augurs and judges, and they carefully hid from the eyes of the people the mysterious formulæ of public worship and of jurisprudence. Finally, they alone had the *jus imaginum*, which fed the hereditary pride of family, while at the same time the prohibition of marriages between the two orders seemed likely to bar for ever the people's access to the positions held by the nobles, and entry into that senate which was their fortress.<sup>3</sup>

But the plebeians had in their favour their numbers, and even their very misery, which soon drove them into successful revolt. They were no longer a stranger people, they were a second order in the State, which grew unobserved and unceasingly in face of the other, and which the patricians were obliged to arm in order to resist Tarquin, the Æqui, Volsci, and Etruscans. This assistance must earn its reward. Already the people had received judges of their own, who decide in most civil suits, and religious festivals, at which the assembled plebeians could reckon their numbers, and it was from the military centuries, or the two orders united, that the nomination of the consuls<sup>4</sup> proceeded, as Servius Tullius is said to have proposed. Henceforth the comitia centuriata makes the laws which the senate proposes, and the elections which the curiæ confirm, and decides for peace or war. These serious innovations satisfied popular ambition for the time, for the

<sup>1</sup> *Ut pauca per populum, pleraque senatus auctoritate . . . gererentur . . . Populi comitia, ne essent rata, nisi ea patrum approbavisset auctoritas* (Cic. *de. Rep.* ii. 32). *Ergo . . . nec centuriatis, nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant* (Livy, vi. 41).

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen further on that it was the XII. Tables which gave the centuries their high criminal jurisdiction.

<sup>3</sup> . . . *Servili imperio patres plebem exercere, de vita atque tergo regio more consulere, agro pellere et ceteris expertibus soli in imperio agere* (Sall. *Hist. fr.* i. 11.)

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. v. 2.

plebeians saw men of their own order in the first classes, and patricians in the last, like Cincinnatus, who after his son's lawsuit, had only six acres of land for his own property.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman plebs was not, however, like that populace of great cities, which is seen chafing, struggling and calming down at random—a blind force which only becomes formidable when it finds a leader. The plebeians, too, had their nobility, their old families, and even royal families; for the patricians of conquered towns, like the Mamilii, the Papii, the Cilnii, and Cæcinæ in later times, had not all been received into the Roman patriciate. Other families, of patrician origin, but whom circumstances unknown to us drove out of the curiæ or hindered from entering them—the Virginii, the Genucii, the Menii, the Melii, the Oppii, the Metelli, and the Octavii, placed themselves at the head of the people; and these men, who could vie in nobility with the proudest senators, by joining their fortunes with the order into which they had been driven, furnished the plebs with ambitious leaders, and its efforts with skilful direction.<sup>2</sup> As the price of the help afforded to the nobles against Tarquin, they

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. IV. iv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Metelli claimed descent from Cæculus, son of Vulcan and founder of Præneste. They were plebeians, and yet Livy calls them patricians (iv. 4). The gens Furia, on the other hand, was patrician, yet he calls the Furii plebeians (ix. 42 and xxxix. 7): the Melii and Menii were plebeians, he calls them patricians (v. 12); the Virginii (v. 29) and the Atilii (iv. 7) were patricians, he makes them plebeians (v. 13, and x. 23); the Cassii, Oppii and Genucii are, in like manner, called by turns patricians and plebeians, consuls and tribunes. One branch of the gens Sempronia, the Atratini, are patricians; another branch, the Gracchi, are plebeians. The explanation of this peculiarity, which occurs too often to be due to an error on the part of Livy, may perhaps be found in the supposition that, out of regard for [traditional] numbers (see p. 67), there remained outside the original senate certain families who were yet held in as high consideration as those whose chiefs, having become senators, conferred on their descendants the name of patricians. In that case the curiæ must have comprised families which had the auspices, all the rights of the sovereign class of citizens, and admission to office, without being patrician, and yet not plebeian. When two orders only came to be recognised in the city, some of these families re-entered the aristocratical body, others must have been thrown back upon the people, whose strength they constituted. Members of these uncertain families may have even been placed by the censors on the list of the senate. This would explain the phrase of Livy (v. 12) about the plebeian Licinius Calvus, before the year 367 B.C.: *vir nullis ante honoribus usus, vetus tantum senator*. Dionys. (frag. xlv.) asserts that it was through fear of tribunitian accusations (see p. 4) that some patricians had caused themselves to be inscribed among the plebeians. The reason is a poor one, for an adoption was necessary in order to change one's family, and in that case the person adopted took the name of the adopter. Whatever explanation is accepted, however, this much is certain, and we only insist on this important point, that there were, either between patricians and people, or at the head of the people, noble and wealthy families interested in overthrowing the distinction between the two orders.

had obtained the enforcement of the constitution of Servius; hereafter they will extort further concessions, for Etruria is arming in the king's cause, and behind the Veientes and Tarquinians may be already seen the preparations of Porsenna. A common misfortune may bring the two orders nearer by humbling the military pride of the nobles.

Aristocracies die out when they are not renewed, especially in military republics, where the nobles are found in the first ranks of battle, and pay for their privileges with their blood. Decimated by warfare and by that mysterious law of development in the human species which causes the extinction of old families;<sup>1</sup> every aristocracy which does not receive recruits from without its pale is soon exhausted and destroyed by the action of time alone. The 9,000 Spartans of Lysurgus were no longer more than 5,000 at Plataea, fewer still at Leuctra and at Sellasia. But the nobility of Rome never closed its "golden book." Under Tullus the great families of Alba, under Tarquin a hundred new members, had been admitted to the senate. After the abolition of royalty, the fathers felt the need of strengthening themselves by drawing towards them all the men of consideration in the city to whom the curia had hitherto been closed.<sup>2</sup> Brutus or Valerius restored the senate to the usual number of 300 members, as it had been deprived of many by the cruelty of Tarquin and the exile of his partisans.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the senate distributed among the people the lands of the royal domain, abolished customs, and lowered the price of salt,<sup>4</sup> a clever move



<sup>1</sup> The pestilences so frequent at Rome also contributed to the extinction of families. After the plague of 462 B.C., which carried off both the consuls, several patrician families disappear. After that epoch there is no mention of the Lartii, Cominii and Numicii, and we no longer, or only rarely, meet with patricians of the name of Tullius, Sicinius, Volumnius, Æbutius, Herminius, Lucretius, and Menenius.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot possibly admit the strange theory, originating in Germany, of the constitution after the year 509, of a plebeio-patrician senate. The whole internal history of Rome up to 367 B.C. protests against this supposition.

<sup>3</sup> The exiles were so numerous that they fought in separate bodies (Dionys. v. 6). A passage in Cicero (*de Rep.* i. 40), shows that there was a violent reaction against the friends of the last king.

<sup>4</sup> Denarius of the Junian family.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, ii. 9. For these proceedings Brutus had re-established, or caused to be confirmed by the curiæ, the quæstors established by the kings. (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 22). Plutarch refers their creation to Valerius



in two ways, for by satisfying the ambition of the chiefs, it separated them from the masses, which remained without leaders, while at the same time it interested the latter, by increasing their material welfare, in the cause of the nobles.

To the first year of the republic, too, are said to belong the laws of Valerius, who being left sole consul for some time after the



A Milestone.

death of Brutus, exercised a kind of dictatorship, and made use of it to pass laws which the *intercessio* of a colleague would perhaps have prevented. These laws punished with death whosoever should aspire to royalty, and authorised disobedience to a magistrate who should continue his office beyond the appointed term. He caused the fasces to be lowered before the popular assembly, and recognised its sovereign jurisdiction by carrying the law of appeal (*provocatio*),<sup>1</sup> which was to Rome what the *habeas corpus* has been to England. In order to show clearly that the power of life and death was taken away from the consuls he took the axes out of the fasces within the city and within a mile of its walls. Beyond

that they were restored to the lictors, for the consuls on passing the first milestone,<sup>2</sup> recovered that unlimited power which was

<sup>1</sup> *Neque enim provocationem longius esse ab urbe mille passuum* (Livy, iii. 20). "This was," says Cicero (*de Rep.* ii. 31) "the first law voted by the centuries. The appeal forbade *eum qui provocasset virgis cedi securique necari* (Livy, x. 9). Compare Val. Max. iv. 1. and Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 31. Dionysius (v. 19) extends the prohibition to fines. But if this occurred, it could only be after the decemvirate. There is attributed to Valerius, too, a law which would throw open the candidature for the consulship. *Ἰπατίαν ἰδῶκε μέγιστα καὶ παραγγέλλειν τοῖς βουλευμένοις*. (Plut. *Popl.* ii.). It is of course understood that this refers only to patricians who might demand of the senate or consuls to be inscribed on the list of candidates.

<sup>2</sup> The value of the Roman mile is about 1615 yards (1481·75 metres). Upon the roads which issued from Rome, each mile was marked by a numbered post, and the distances counted from the gate of the circuit wall of Servius. The post represented by the engraving, after a restoration of Canina, was the first upon the Appian way. It is much later in date than our present epoch,

as necessary to them in the army as it was dangerous in the city.

Thus the patricians and the plebeians remained two distinct orders, widely separated by the inequality of their condition; the one, descendants of the early conquerors, and guardians of the ancient worship; the other, a mixed mass of men of all kinds of origins and religions, long kept in subjection by the ruling people, the Quirites, and still placed, as having neither the same blood nor the same gods, under the insulting prohibition against intermarriage with patricians. Fortunately the assembly of centuries united them in a single people, and this union saved them. At first, it is true, it benefited only the patricians, who appropriated the lion's share of the royal spoils. But the plebeians little by little forced them to an equitable division. The establishment of the tribuneship was their first and surest victory; for before attacking they must learn how to defend themselves.

## II.—THE TRIBUNATE.

At Rome as at Athens, and in all the states of antiquity wherein handicrafts did not support the poor people of free condition, debts were the primary cause of democratic revolutions. Rome, being an exclusively agricultural state, would have needed, in order to profit by the advantages of that condition, a long period of peace or a vast territory which might save the greater portion of the land from undergoing the ravages of war. Now warfare was constant, and after the conquest of Porsenna and the rising of the Latins, the frontier was so near the town that the lands of the enemy might be seen from the top of the walls.<sup>1</sup> There was, then, neither repose nor safety to be had, whence it resulted that everywhere there was crowding and bad husbandry. Called to arms every year, the plebeian neglected his little farm; moreover

as it bears the names of Vespasian and of Nerva. The use of these posts must be much more ancient than Gracchus, who is supposed to have established them (Plut., *C. Gracce.*, 6—7). The post was at first a rough-hewn stone, which, by degrees, in the vicinity of Rome and large towns, assumed the shape of a monument.

<sup>1</sup> For the military history of this epoch, see next chapter.

he must equip himself at his own expense, provide his own food in war time, and yet pay the tax, which was relatively heavier for the poor than the rich, because, being based upon landed property, it did not allow for the debts of the one class or the credit of the other. But if the war was not successful, if the enemy, who could in a single day traverse the whole territory of the republic, came and cut down the crops and burnt the farms; if to the pillage of the people of Latium and the Sabine land there were added inclemency of weather, how was the farmer to support his family or rebuild his burnt home?

There were means of coming to some understanding with the gods. A temple was promised, it might be to some foreign deity whom they felt guilty of having neglected; or they offered a sacrifice and thought they had set themselves right with the celestial powers. Thus a famine having broken out during the Latin war, the dictator Postumius promised a sanctuary to a Greek divinity, Demeter, who caused the fruitfulness of the Campanian plains, whence the senate no doubt procured corn. She took, on the banks of Tiber, the name of an old Etruscan deity, Ceres,<sup>1</sup> and to minister at her altar a woman was summoned from Naples or Velia, who on her arrival received the rights of citizenship, because a Roman tongue only could invoke the gods in favour of Rome.

The usurer's account was a more difficult matter to settle. All the hard-earned savings went first, then the booty won in previous campaigns, and finally the hereditary patrimony, the last pledge on which the poor man had raised a loan at an enormous rate of interest. Thus a great number of plebeians had, within a few years after the expulsion of the kings, become the debtors of the wealthy, like their descendants, the peasants of the Roman Campagna, who, ruined by usury and monopolies, sell their crops before they have been sown. But the wealthy were to be found especially among the patricians. Being possessed of vast estates, and holding the lands of the public domain, which, as it was usually left for pasturage, had little to fear from the enemy's ravages, they could still export to foreign countries the wool of their flocks

<sup>1</sup> Servius, ad *Æn.* ii. 325. The name Ceres has no meaning in Latin.

and the produce of their land. Their fortune was less dependent on a bad season or a hostile incursion. Thus they always had money for that lucrative business<sup>1</sup> which brought in more than the best land or the most dogged work. At Rome, as at Athens before the time of Solon, and as in all the ancient states of Asia and the North, the law assigned to the creditor the liberty and life of the debtor; it was a pledge, a mortgage held on his person. If the debtor did not fulfil his obligations within the legal period, he became *nexus*,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, he bound his person to pay his debt by labour. He was not a slave; but his creditor could impose servile duties upon him, and even keep him imprisoned in the *ergastulum*. His children, unless he had previously emancipated them, shared his fate, for they were his property, and his property, like his person, belonged to his creditors until he had freed himself from his debt.

It was not necessary that many plebeians should find themselves under the action of this severe law to cause a wide-spread

<sup>1</sup> Usury was a national vice at Rome. Polybius knew this so well that he honours Scipio for not having been guilty of it (*xxxii. fr. 8*). We know that Cato the Censor carried on the most disreputable form of it—maritime usury, and we see in Plutarch the parsimony of Crassus, notwithstanding his immense fortune.

<sup>2</sup> See page 150. The *nexum* was the verbal agreement undertaken by the creditor, in the presence of witnesses, to pay back the loan.



Ceres found at Ostia in 1856. (Museum of the Vatican.)

irritation; its very existence was sufficient. The people soon saw that the revolution had merely substituted patrician for royal authority, and they conceived a violent hatred for these haughty masters, who treated them with the violence they themselves had suffered at the king's hands.<sup>1</sup> At first, they peaceably demanded the abolition of debts; then they refused to obey the conscription for service against the Latins. The situation seemed so critical to the senate that they revived royalty with all its power for a time. In 501 B.C. they created the dictatorship, the powers of which were unlimited. Elected, on the invitation of the senate, by one of the consuls, and chosen from among the *consulares*, the dictator (*magister populi*)<sup>2</sup> had, even in Rome, twenty-four lictors bearing the axes in the fasces, as a sign of absolute authority. The ordinary magistrates were under his orders, and the right of appeal to the people was suspended; it was like our declaration of martial law. He was nominated for six months, like his lieutenant, the *magister equitum*, but none ever retained these formidable powers so long. So soon as the danger had passed, which had caused the suspension of public liberty and the legal establishment of this provisional tyranny, the dictator abdicated.<sup>3</sup> The senate had thus reserved an extraordinary magistracy for those critical times from which states often emerge only at the cost of their liberty. More than once, indeed, did the dictatorship save the republic, from the enemy without and from the agitations of the Forum within. If for nearly three centuries Rome never felt the stormy vicissitudes of the Hellenic

<sup>1</sup> *Propter nimiam dominationem potentium* (Cic. *pro Corn.* fr. 24), Sallust speaks similarly (*Hist. frag.* i. 11.).

<sup>2</sup> *Lars*, in Etruscan, means lord and master (Plutarch, *Quest. Rom.* 51). The expression *magister populi* has the same meaning, and the dictatorship was probably an imitation of what took place in Etruria, when in grave circumstances, she appointed a *lars*, like Porsenna or Tolumnius.

<sup>3</sup> Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 82; Fest, s. v., *optima lex*. A tradition, reported by Livy, would assign another cause for the creation of this magistracy, that the two consuls were partisans of the king. The Greeks translated the word dictator by *μόναρχος* and *αὐτοκράτωρ*. Zonaras (vii. 13), says: *τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς μοναρχίας ὠφέλιαν θέλοντες . . . ἐν ἄλλῃ ταύτην ὀνόματι εἰλοντο*. Machiavelli made the following remark, which is confirmed by Montesquieu (*Esp. des Lois*, ii. 3): "Without a power of this nature, the state must either be lost in following the ordinary lines of proceeding, or else quit them, in order to save itself. But if extraordinary means do good for the moment, they leave a bad example which is a real evil. The dictatorships of Sulla and Cæsar have, of course, nothing in common with the ancient dictatorship."

republics; if those movements, which otherwise would have degenerated into revolutions, only resulted at Rome in the regular development of the constitution, it was owing in a great measure to this office, this unlimited power of which moderated the public excitement, while, at the same time, it arrested ambitious designs.

Startled by these menacing displays, by this unlimited power, the plebs stifled its murmurs for some years, and the consuls were able to count on its support in the regal wars. But in 495 B.C., Appius Claudius, the most pitiless of patricians, was appointed consul with Servilius. His pride, which chafed even at a complaint, was already exciting sullen anger, when a man suddenly appeared in the Forum, pale and fearfully emaciated. He was one of the bravest centurions of the Roman army; he had been in twenty-eight battles. He told how, in the Sabine war, the enemy had burnt his house and his crops, and carried off his flock. In order to live he had borrowed money, and usury, like an odious sore, devouring his patrimony, had even invaded his body. His creditors had led away himself and his son, loaded with irons and lacerated with blows; and he showed his body still bleeding. At this sight, the public fury knew no bounds, and a messenger having come to announce an incursion of the Volscians, the plebeians refused to take arms. "Let the patricians go and fight," said they, "let them have all the perils of war since they have all its profits." They only yielded when the consul Servilius had promised that after the war their complaints should be examined, and that all the time it lasted, debtors should be free. On this assurance the people took arms. Before this, the Volscians had given three hundred hostages; Appius had them all beheaded. Then Servilius marched on Suessa Pometia, which was taken, and the booty distributed among his soldiers. But when the victorious army returned to Rome the senate refused to fulfil the consul's promises. The poor found themselves again at the mercy of the pitiless Appius, and the *ergastula* were filled anew. In vain the people exclaimed loudly against it; Appius was inflexible. In order to frighten the multitude, he caused a dictator to be appointed. The choice fell upon a man of a popular family, Manlius Valerius, who renewed



the pledges of Servilius, and with an army of 40,000 plebeians, defeated the Volscians, Æquians, and Sabines. The people thought that they had this time secured the execution of the consular promises; again they were deceived. A few poor men only, it is



Bridge of Nomentum.

said, were sent as colonists to Velitræ. The indignant Valerius resigned, calling to witness Fidius, the god of pledged faith, which had been broken.



Anna Perenna.<sup>2</sup>

To avert a revolt in the Forum, the consuls of the year 493, availing themselves of the military oath taken to their predecessors, forced the army to go out of the city. But outside the gates the plebeians abandoned the consuls, and crossing the Anio, probably at the spot where the bridge of Nomentum was built, they marched, under the leadership of Sicinius Bellutus and Junius Brutus, to the Sacred Mount,<sup>1</sup> and encamped there; those of

<sup>1</sup> The *mons sacer* is an elongated hill, separated from the Anio by a meadow, in which there still exists the ancient bridge, surmounted by a pontifical building of the fifteenth century. (See cut.)

<sup>2</sup> C. ANNI. T. F. T. N., that is, C. Annus, son of Titus, grandson of Titus Annus. Head with a diadem, attributed by Cavedoni to Anna Perenna; to the right, a caduceus, of the left, a pair of scales. Silver coin of the Annian family.

Rome withdrew at the same time with their families to the Aventine.<sup>1</sup> Tradition had it that an old woman of Bovillæ brought them, every morning, smoking hot cakes, which she had sat up all night to bake: it was the goddess Anna Perenna.<sup>2</sup> Under this legend lies hidden a remembrance of the assistance given to the plebeians by the neighbouring cities.

Some time passed in delay and in fruitless negotiations. At last, the patricians, frightened by the menacing position of the legions, nominated two consuls, friends of the people, and sent ten consulars as a deputation to the soldiers. Among them were three former dictators, also Lartius Postumius, Valerius and the plebeian Menenius Agrippa, the most eloquent and popular of the senators. He told them the fable of the belly and the members, and brought back their demands to the senate. They were remarkably moderate. All slaves for debt were to be set free; the debts themselves, at least those of insolvent debtors, to be cancelled.<sup>3</sup> They did not even demand that the criminal law should be altered; fifty years later, we shall find it still inscribed by the decemvirs on the Twelve Tables. But they would not consent to come down from the Sacred Mount until they had nominated two tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, whose right the senate should recognise of assisting the harshly-used<sup>4</sup> debtor, and of staying by their veto the effect of the consular judgments. In this way, those Romans who remained without patrician protection, and had no one to defend them, would henceforth have two official patrons with whom it would be necessary to reckon.<sup>5</sup>

These representatives of the poor had neither the *laticlave* with a border of purple, nor *lictors* armed with *fascies*. No external mark distinguished them from the crowd, and they were preceded by a single apparitor in plain dress. But, as *fetials* in an enemy's territory, their person was inviolable. They devoted to

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Rep.*, ii. 37; Livy, ii. 32; App., *Bell. Cíc.*, i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fast.*, iii. 654.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. vi. 83.

<sup>4</sup> At first the tribune could only protect the plebeian who had been insulted or struck in his presence.

<sup>5</sup> Zon. vii. 15: *προσάρας δύο* and Livy ii. 33; iii. 55. The tribunes were not allowed, except during the Latin games, to be away from Rome at night, and their door always remained open. Their power ended one mile from the walls, where the *imperium* of the consuls began.

the gods anyone who struck them, by saying *sacer esto*,<sup>1</sup> and his goods were confiscated to the profit of the temple of Ceres. No patrician could become a tribune (493 B.C.).

By this creation of two leaders of the people (soon afterwards five, still later ten) the revolt, purely civil, if I may so term it, in principle became almost a revolution and turned out to be the greatest event in the domestic history of Rome. "It was," says Cicero<sup>2</sup>, "the first reduction of the consular power, in constituting a magistrate independent of it. The second was the help which it afforded to the other magistrates as well as to the citizens who refused obedience to the consuls."

The rich plebeians adopted the chiefs of the poor as being those of the entire order. Thus supported, this protective power soon became aggressive, and we shall see the tribunes, on the one hand, extending their veto to all acts contrary to popular interests,<sup>3</sup> and on the other politically organizing the people, outside the *auctoritas patrum*, and causing the *concilia plebis* to assert as their own the rights of deliberating, voting, and electing. Later on, we shall see them effacing the distinction between the orders by proclaiming the principle that the sovereignty resides in the whole people, and then will come the time when no one is so powerful in Rome as a tribune of the people. This power doubtless committed many excesses. But, without it, the republic, in subjection to an oppressive obligarchy, would never have fulfilled its great destinies. "Rome ought either to have continued a monarchy," said even Cicero,<sup>4</sup> who had much personal ground for complaint against the tribunate, or there was need to grant the plebeians a liberty which was not made up of mere empty words." This liberty now begins for them, since there is no freedom apart from strength and there is no strength in societies except in discipline. Disciplined by its new chiefs, the people were soon able to maintain a regular struggle against the great,

<sup>1</sup> Zon. (*ibid*) explains this expression, which occurs so often in legislation. The victim, led to the altar as a sacrifice was *devoted*, i.e. given up to death; so also the man declared *sacer*.

<sup>2</sup> *De Leg.* iii. 7. The question how the tribunes were nominated between the years 493 and 471 is very obscure. I do not doubt, however, that it had been from the first reserved to the *concilium plebis*. See p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Val. Max.* ii. 7; *Dionys.* x. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *De Leg.* iii. 10; ... *re non verbo*.

and obtain, one after the other, all the magisterial offices. The patrician city, forced to receive them, will be opened to the Italians also, later on to the world, and a great empire will be the recompense of this union, demanded and secured by the tribunes.<sup>1</sup>

It was with the most solemn ceremonies, by sacrifices and the ministry of the fetials, as if the matter in hand were a treaty between two different peoples, that the peace was concluded and celebrated. Every citizen swore to keep eternally the sacred laws, *leges sacratae*,<sup>2</sup> and an altar, erected to Jupiter Tonans on



B. Left side.

A. Altar of the Temple, thought to be that of Quirinus, at Pompeii.<sup>3</sup>

C. Right side.

the site of the plebeian camp, consecrated the mountain where the people had acquired their earliest liberties. Public veneration surrounded, to the day of his death, the man who had reconciled the two orders, and when Agrippa died, the people gave him, as well as Brutus and Poplicola, a splendid funeral.

As the consuls had two quæstors, so the tribunes had under them, to guard the material interests of the plebeian community, two ædiles whose rights increased as did those of the tribunes, and who finally had the care of all public buildings (*ædes*), especially that of the temple of Ceres where were kept the *senatus-consulta*,

<sup>1</sup> On the successive additions to the tribunes' power, see Zonaras, vii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Livy*, ii. 33; *Dionys.* vi. 89.

<sup>3</sup> The altar of Mons Sacer was certainly very simple and unornamented, whilst that we give is much ornamented. It shows at any rate the general form of Roman altars and how religious art decorated them. On one of its sides (fig. A) is to be seen a sacrificial ceremony; on the other sides (figs. B, C) are grouped different articles used in worship; the *lituus* or augur's staff, the box for perfumes, etc.

and the right of controlling the supply of Rome with provisions.<sup>1</sup> In the second century B.C. the ædileship was, according to Polybius, a very illustrious office<sup>2</sup> and Cicero calls the great Architect of the world the *Ædile of the Universe*.

It is certain that the plebeians had already their own special judges, *judices decemviri*, and their public assembly, *concilium plebis*; the patricians were naturally excluded from them, or to speak more exactly, did not condescend to enter them.<sup>3</sup>

We shall close with two remarks: the tribunate is the most original of Roman institutions, for nothing like it has existed either among ancients or moderns; and the revolution whence it proceeded did not cost one drop of human blood.

### III.—THE AGRARIAN LAW.

The beginnings of the tribunate were humble and obscure like those of all the plebeian magistracies.<sup>4</sup> But a patrician who had been consul and celebrated a triumph three times—Spurius Cassius—revealed to the tribunes the secret of their power, viz. popular

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. vi. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. x. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, iii. 55 and ii. 56, 60; Dionys. ix. 41.

<sup>4</sup> To fill up the interval void of acts which intervenes between the years 493 B.C. and 486 B.C., there are usually placed, immediately after the establishment of the tribunate, the trial of Coriolanus, and the disputes of the tribunes with the consuls respecting the colonies of Norba and Velitræ, that is to say, the conquest for the tribunes of the right of speaking before the people without interruption, of convoking the comitia of tribes, of declaring plebiscita, of judging and condemning to death patricians. Thus we fail to recognize the humble beginnings of this magistracy, which in the first year of its existence was certainly not strong enough to brave the senate, the patricians and the consuls. Besides this consideration many circumstances in the story are actually false. Thus Norba and Velitræ were not then Roman colonies, but independent Latin cities, as the treaty of Cassius with the Latins proves; Corioli was not a Volscian city taken by the Romans, but one of the thirty Latin republics. Then Coriolanus is said to have borne when very young his first arms at the battle of Lake Regillus, in 496 B.C. and in 492 B.C. he demands the consulship and is father of several children. The tradition of Coriolanus has no doubt a historical basis; but this proscription of one of the most illustrious patricians, this vengeance of a chief among the banished, ought to belong to the epoch which saw the condemnation of Menenius and Appius, the exile of Cæso and the attempt of Herdonius. Niebuhr also believes the Julian law to be posterior to that of Volero, and Hooke had previously proved it. It was in truth a plebiscitum, and the people were only able to pass it after the adoption of the Publilian law in 470 B.C. Besides the first use of the Julian law was made only in 421 B.C. in connection with Cæso (*hic primus vades publico dedit*), the tribunes would thus have remained more than thirty years without using it.

agitation. He was the first to start amongst the crowd that grand watchword, "the agrarian law;" and the tribunes after him had only to pronounce it to raise in the Forum the most furious storms. In the middle ages, to possess land was to take rank among nobles; at Rome, it was to become truly a citizen, to have true riches, such as alone brought honour, possessed endurance, and the only kind that Rome, without industry and with but little trade, could know and respect. Hence the importance of the agrarian laws; for, political rights being in proportion to fortune, to diminish that of some and increase that of others amounted, in the order of the social system, to raising the latter and bringing down the former. By touching property they touched also the very constitution of the State; they laid a hand on that which religion had consecrated. Of course the upper classes repelled always, by either force or deception, those laws which sought to give the people, at their expense, a little fortune and power.

The agrarian laws did not, however, attack hereditary patrimonies, ordinarily of small extent, but property usurped from the State and which could be recovered in its name from the dishonest holder. Like the territory of all the peoples in Italy and Greece, the *ager Romanus* had been primitively divided into equal parts among all the citizens; these *assigned* lands, the limits of which the augurs themselves drew, formed the inviolable and hereditary property of the Quirites. But in this division of the soil, there had been reserved for the wants of the State a certain extent of land, generally pasturage and forests, which continued to be the common domain, the *ager publicus*, and on which everyone had the right of pasturing his flocks (*pecus*), for the payment of a small rent (*pecunia*). This public domain grew with the conquests made by Rome; for by the right of war, all conquered lands belonged to the conquerors, who generally made of them a two-fold division: the one, restored to the old inhabitants or assigned, as property of the Quirites, to particular Roman citizens (*coloni*); the second, without doubt the more considerable, attached to the public domain.

If the *ager publicus* had continued wholly communal it would have yielded but a slight profit; to increase its value, a part of it was enclosed; and the State, as proprietor, received from the



farmers of it a tenth part of the produce. This tithe formed, down to the time of the Veian war, along with the rent for pasturage, the principal revenue of the city; hence the importance of all questions relating to the *ager publicus*. But the farmers, at first, were all patricians,<sup>1</sup> and the senate, forgetting the interests of the State in behalf of those of their own order, neglected, little by little, to demand the tithes and rents. This was, however, the mark which distinguished these leaseholds, and, at all times, revocable possessions, from full *quiritary possession*. So, on this mark disappearing, the farms became changed into freeholds, and the State lost doubly, by the diminution of the rents paid to the treasury, and by the loss of the public domain, transformed into private domains,<sup>2</sup> without the possessor paying for these usurped lands the *tributum ex censu* which was levied on all quiritary (freehold) property.

However, ancient jurisprudence declared that there was never any statute of limitation against the State;<sup>3</sup> which, therefore, retained all its rights over these usurped domains, and was able to resume them, whoever might be the holder—the original farmer, his heirs, or anyone who had bought from them for ready money. For, in the case of both parties—the unjust possessor or the *bonâ fide* purchaser—it was nothing else than a property held without title.

During the monarchy, agrarian laws had been frequent, because it was the interest of the kings, surrounded by a jealous aristocracy, to keep friends with the partisans of the people; but since the exile of Tarquin there had been no other assignment than that of Brutus. How much misery however, had not the plebeians borne, during those twenty-four years, from war and usury? So the most illustrious of the patricians, the only one of this epoch who, with Valerius, had been three times decorated with the consular purple,

<sup>1</sup> A passage of Cassius Hemina, in Nonius (ii. s. v. *Plebitas*) leads to the belief that plebeians could not be admitted to the occupation of domain land. There is certainly reason to believe in the principle here implied, since the plebeians were considered as a foreign people. But the same passage proves that there were also plebeians holders of domain land: *Quicumque propter plebitatem agro publico ejecti sunt*; and Sallust (*Hist. frag.* 11) says also, that some time after the expulsion of the Tarquins, they were driven from the public lands, *agro pellere*. We shall see Licinius Stolo in the possession of 700 acres.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aggenus Urbicus, *de Controv. agror.*, ap. Ges., *Rei agrariæ scriptores*, p. 69. *Negant illud solum, quod solum populi Romani esse cepit, ullo modo usucapi a quoquam mortalium posse.*

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 14.

Spurius Cassius, desired to restore to the State its revenues and lands, and to give the poor the means of becoming useful citizens. He proposed to divide a part of the government lands amongst the most needy; to compel the farmers of the State to pay their tithes regularly, and to use this revenue in paying the troops.<sup>1</sup> If these were, indeed, the demands of Cassius, we know not how to rate too highly the unrecognised glory of this great citizen, who after having consolidated abroad the tottering fortunes of Rome, by his double treaty with the Latins and Hernicans,<sup>2</sup> wished, at home, to prevent trouble by helping the poor, and who, almost a century before it was adopted, had proposed the important measure for the settlement of the soldiers' pay (486).

But these popular and patriotic demands aroused the indignation of the senate. The usurpation of the *ager publicus*, against which Cassius protested, was the principal source of patrician fortunes. A long possession seemed, besides, to have established a right, and the great number of possessors of domain land no longer distinguished their hereditary estates from the fields which they kept from the State. However, it would have been dangerous, at a moment when the people saw a consul at their head, to reject the law: the senate accepted it without seeing it carried out, but hastened to be avenged on Cassius. The multitude once appeased, dark rumours spread about the city: "Cassius was only a false friend to the people. To obtain allies he had already sacrificed the interests of Rome to the Latins and Hernicans; but he wished to stir up the poor against the great, and profit from their quarrels to get himself declared king." The tribunes, jealous of their popularity, and the people, whom it is so easy to frighten with empty shadows, deserted him, when, on retiring from the consulship, the nobles accused him of treason in the comitia curiata, *ex more majorum*. Condemned to be beaten with rods and beheaded (486), he was executed by order of his father in his ancestral home.<sup>3</sup> Thus have

<sup>1</sup> This law is not that of Cassius, but that of Sempronius Atratinus, who very probably did no more than reproduce the principal provisions of Cassius, excluding, however, the Latins, whom Cassius, in order to strengthen the alliance of Rome with them, admitted to a share of the lands which they had recently conquered in concert with the Romans (Dionys. viii. 68, 69; Livy, ii. 41).

<sup>2</sup> See page 180.

<sup>3</sup> Dion Cassius (*frag.* 19) regards him as a victim of the nobles: οὐκ ἀδικήσας τι ἀπέλιτο.

perished so many popular patricians, victims of a powerful aristocracy. The favour of the people is dangerous: it has slain more tribunes than it has crowned.

The nobles, once rid of Cassius, sought to preclude the return of the danger. The powerful house of the Fabii was signalised by its zeal for the interests of the senate, and it was one of its members that had pronounced sentence of death against Cassius; the nobles desired no other consuls, and during seven years (484—478) a Fabius forms a member of the consulate. In vain, also, did the tribunes call for the acceptance of the agrarian law. C. Mænius even wished, in 482, to oppose his veto to the raising of troops since the senate would not proceed to a division of the lands. But the consuls conveyed their tribunal out of the city, where the tribunitian protection did not extend, and summoned the citizens to the enrolment, causing, by their lictors, the farms to be burnt, the fruit trees to be cut down, and the fields laid waste of those who did not give their names. These violent acts might prove dangerous; the senate preferred fighting the people with its proper weapons, by gaining some members of the college of tribunes, whose opposition stopped the veto of Sp. Licinius in 480, and of Pontificius<sup>1</sup> in 479. But the soldiers took it on themselves to avenge the feebleness of the tribunate, and in 480, the legions refused to gain a victory over the Veientes, so as not to secure to Cæso Fabius the honour of a triumph.

Here, the history becomes obscure. The Fabii, chiefs of the senate, pass over to the people, and then are forced to leave Rome. We cannot but see in this change one of those frequent revolutions in aristocratic republics. Without doubt, the patricians were alarmed at seeing the consulate become the heritage of one family, and the Fabii were obliged to seek among the people, notwithstanding their ambition, that support which the senate intended to withdraw. Won over by the popular words and conduct of M. Fabius (479), the soldiers promised him, this time, the defeat of the Veientes. The battle was bloody; the consul's brother perished; but the soldiers kept their word: the Etruscans were crushed.<sup>2</sup> On their return, the Fabii received the wounded plebeians into their houses,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, ii. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ii. 44; Dionys. ix. 6.

and henceforth, no family was more popular. The next year, Cæso Fabius, having owed the consulate, "rather to the people's votes than those of the nobles,"<sup>1</sup> forgot that he was the accuser of Cassius, and wished to extort from the patricians the execution of the agrarian law. Since all hope of obtaining justice for the people was lost, the whole *gens*, with its clients and partisans, left the city where it was uselessly compromised in the eyes of the patricians, and in order to be still useful to Rome in its voluntary exile, it established itself before the enemy<sup>2</sup> on the banks of the Cremera. Later on, the pride of the Fabian *gens* insisted in seeing in this exile the devotion of three hundred and six Fabii, who sustained, with their four thousand clients, on behalf of tottering Rome, the war against the Veientes. One Fabius only, left at Rome because of his tender age, prevented, it is said, the extinction of the whole clan.<sup>3</sup>

After conquering in many encounters, they allowed themselves to be drawn into an ambushade in which the greater part perished. The rest took refuge on a steep hill, and fought there from morning till evening. "They were surrounded by heaps of dead; but the enemy was so numerous that the arrows rained on them like flakes of snow. By dint of striking, their swords had become blunt and their bucklers had been shattered. Yet they never ceased fighting, and snatching arms from the enemy, they fell on them like wild beasts."<sup>4</sup> While these heroic scenes were going on, which remind us of the exploits sung in the *chansons de Geste*, the consul Menenius came by chance into the neighbourhood with an army; he did nothing to save the Fabii. Perhaps this family, so proud, which had tried to rule in Rome by its consular office, and afterwards by the favour of the people, was sacrificed to the jealous fears of the senate, as afterwards Sicinius and his band to the terrors of the decemvirs (477).

The pontiffs inscribed among the *dies nefasti* that on which

<sup>1</sup> *Non patrum magis quam plebis studiis . . . consul factus* (Livy, ii. 48).

<sup>2</sup> *Cum familiis suis* (Aul. Gell. xvii. 21.)

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. ix. 15; Livy, ii. 50; Ovid Fast., ii. 195 seq. Dionysius says, four thousand clients and *ἱεῖραι*; Festus, five thousand clients. The Vitellii pretended also, aided only by their clients, to have defended against the Æquicoles a town which took their name, Vitellia (Suet. Vitell., i.).

<sup>4</sup> Dionys. ix. 21.

the Fabii had perished, and the gate by which they had left was cursed; no consul would ever cross the entrance on an expedition.<sup>1</sup> Rome preserved the memorial of its misfortunes, and by this mourning, perpetuated through centuries, she prevented its repetition.

#### IV.—RIGHT OF THE TRIBUNES TO ACCUSE THE CONSULS AND TO BRING FORWARD PLEBISCITA.

The people had not been able to prevent the exile of the Fabii; they wished at least to avenge them. The tribunes accused Menenius of treason (476 B.C.); shame and grief overcame him, he starved himself to death. This was a considerable success.<sup>2</sup> Until then the power of the tribunes had been confined to their veto, and this the consuls well knew how to render illusory, but we see them now adopting a new weapon. The disaster at Cremera and the public mourning helped them to gain the right of citing the consuls to the bar of justice. Henceforth the tribunitian accusers waited for those magistrates who are opposed to the agrarian law, till they gave up office. Excluded from the curiæ, the senate and the magistracies; annulled in the centuries by the preponderating influence of the patricians; deprived by the dictatorship of the tribunitian protection, the plebeians now found the means of intimidating their most violent adversaries by summoning them before their tribes, *concilium plebis*. For meeting and acting the tribunes had need neither of the permission of the senate nor the consecration of the augurs;<sup>3</sup> and the patricians who could not pretend to the tribunate did not vote in the popular assembly, just as English peers do not in the elections for the Lower House of Parliament. In less than twenty-six years, seven

<sup>1</sup> Dion, *fr.* 21.

<sup>2</sup> From the texts of Dionys. (ix. 44, 46), and of Lydus (i. 34, 44), we might conclude that a law conferred on the tribunes this right of accusing the consuls, but we cannot understand how this law could have been made. We must rest content to be ignorant of many things respecting these old times.

<sup>3</sup> *Μήτε προσουλέματος . . . μήτε τῶν ἱερῶν* (Dionys. ix., 41). *Plebeius magistratus nullus auspicato creatur* (Livy, vi. 42).

consuls and many patricians of the most illustrious families were accused, condemned in penalties, or escaped this shame only by exile or voluntary death.<sup>1</sup>

In 475 B.C. Servilius, and in 473 L. Furius and C. Manlius were accused by the tribunes, the former for a mismanaged attack in the war against the Veientes, the others for not having executed the agrarian law. Servilius escaped, but Manlius and Furius had as their opponent the tribune Genucius, who had sworn before the people to allow no obstacle to stand in his way. On the day of the trial he was found dead in his bed (473).<sup>2</sup>

This assassination spread terror among the people and its chiefs, and when the consuls forced the plebeians to enlist, arbitrarily distributing the ranks, and disdaining to heed any complaints, not a voice arose from the tribunes' seat. "Your tribunes are deserting you," cried Publilius Volero, a brave centurion who refused to serve as a common soldier. "They prefer to allow a citizen to perish under the rods than expose themselves to assassination." On the lictors approaching to lay hold on him, he pushed them away, took refuge in the midst of the crowd, stirred it up, roused it to action, and drove from the Forum the consuls and the lictors with their fasces broken.

The year following he was named tribune (472). He could have taken revenge by an accusation against the consuls; he preferred employing for the popular cause the courage which a successful rising had just aroused in the people. It was the army which, on the Sacred Mount, had elected the first tribunes; but this army, in a state of revolt against the consuls, was the plebeian part of the comitia centuriata, and whilst it had, without doubt, been decided that the new chiefs of the plebs should be designated in the popular assembly of the tribes, the patricians well knew that if they succeeded in carrying the election back to the centuries,<sup>3</sup> the revolution would be abortive. Efforts

<sup>1</sup> Menenius and Servilius (Livy, ii. 52); the consuls of the year 473 (ii. 54); Appian (ii. 56); Cæso (iii., 12); the consuls of the year 455 (iii. 31). Cf. Dionys. x. 42. He says elsewhere (vii. 65): *Ἐνθὲν δὲ ἀρξάμενος ὁ δῆμος ἤρθη μέγας ἢ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία πολλὰ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀξιώματος ἀπέβαλε*. Livy (ii., 54) says the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> According to Dion Cassius there were many more murders.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero (*pro Corn.*, 19), and Dionysius (vi. 89), say that the first tribunes were chosen by the curies. But we cannot understand how the victorious plebs could consent to receive its new leaders from the hands of the patricians.



were certainly made to effect this end. Volero wished to decide the matter by demanding that the designation by the tribes should be definitely established. This law would restore to the tribunate its democratic vigour. The patricians succeeded during a year in preventing it from passing. But Volero was re-elected, with Lætorius as colleague, who added to the Publilian proposal: that the ædiles should be named by the tribes, and the tribes should take cognizance of the general affairs of the State, that is to say, the plebeian assembly should have the right of making *plebiscita*.<sup>1</sup> On their part, the senate took care that Appius Claudius should secure the consulship, as being the most violent defender of patrician privileges.<sup>2</sup> The struggle was sharp; it was the most serious contest since the creation of the tribunes. "This man,"—said the colleague of Volero, of Appius, "is not a consul but an executioner of the people." Then, sharply attacked by Appius at the assembly: "I speak with difficulty, Quirites, but I know how to act; to-morrow I will have the law passed or I will die under your very eyes." The next day Appius came to the Forum, surrounded by the whole patrician youth and by his clients. Lætorius again read his rogation, and before calling on the tribes to vote, ordered the patricians, who had not the right of voting in these comitia, to retire. Appius opposed this: "The tribune has no right over the patricians." Besides he had not used the customary formula: "If you think it good, withdraw, Quirites." To discuss law and legal forms in the midst of a revolution was to increase further the popular ferment. Lætorius, instead of answering, sent against the consul his *viator*; the consul, his lictors against the tribune, and a bloody fight took place. Lætorius was wounded, but, in order to save Appius the consulars were obliged to hurry him away into the senate house. He entered, calling the gods to

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius, ix. 43; Zonaras, vii. 17. As heaven was not consulted for the holding of *comitia tributa*, so neither were they preceded by solemn sacrifices, like the *comitia centuriata*: they were beyond the control of the augurs, (Dionysius ix., 41, 49). They were held on market days, in order that members of the rustic tribes might attend; if the debate had not closed with sunset, it could not be resumed till the third market day following. The patricians having in the curies their own proper assembly, and all the influence in the senate, and the centuries, did not vote in the *comitia tributa*. (Livy, ii., 60).

<sup>2</sup> *Propugnatorem senatus, majestatisque vindicem suæ, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus*. (Livy ii. 61).

witness the weakness of the senate, who were allowing laws to be imposed more severe than those of the Sacred Mount (471).

Nevertheless, the people remained masters of the Forum, voted the Publilian law, and forced the senate to accept it by seizing the Capitol. Twenty-four years ago, they had compelled the patricians to grant the creation of the tribunate, only by leaving the city; now, to complete the victory begun on the Sacred Mount, it was the very citadel of Rome that they held by arms. What boldness in men so recently enfranchised! What strength in this people, lately so humble! The defeat of the aristocracy has, sooner or later, become certain. For the people will find in the tribunate, henceforth free from the influence of the nobles, a sure protection; in the assemblies which have the right of making *plebiscita*, a means of action; lastly, in their numbers and discipline, an ever-increasing power.

Among the tribunes nominated after the adoption of the Publilian law was Sp. Icilius. To prevent the return of fresh acts of violence, he made use of the right which had just been recognised as belonging to the commonalty, and had this law passed,<sup>3</sup> "that no one should interrupt a tribune when speaking before the people. If anyone infringed this prohibition, he was to find security to come up for judgment; if he failed to do so, he was to be punished with death and his goods confiscated."

In the struggle, Lætorius had been wounded, perhaps killed.<sup>4</sup> But Appius had been humbled as patrician and consul; the death of a tribune did not satisfy his wounded pride. An invasion of Æquians and Volscians placed the plebeians at his mercy, by obliging them to leave Rome under his command. Never had authority been more imperious or arbitrary. "My soldiers are so many Voleros," said he, and he seemed to try, by dint of his unjust severity, to drive them into revolt. Whether it was treason,

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ix. 48

<sup>2</sup> These *plebiscita* were not then obligatory on the two orders; but in formulating the wishes of the people, they gave them a force which it was difficult to resist for long. Legally, these *plebiscita* required the sanction of the senate and the curiæ.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. vii. 17. This Julian law is commonly assigned to the time of the trial of Coriolanus (see p. 168, note 4). We conform, in placing it here, to the opinion of Niebuhr and the logical concatenation of facts.

<sup>4</sup> At least, he does not appear again.

or a panic, or the vengeance of soldiers who wished to dishonour their general, is uncertain, but at the first charge against the Volsci, they threw down their arms and fled to the Roman territory. There they again encountered Appius and his vengeance. The centurions, the officers who had abandoned the standards, were put to death, and the soldiers decimated. This bloodshed atoned for the last plebeian victories.

Appius re-entered Rome, certain of the fate which awaited him, but satisfied with having, at the price of his life, once at least subdued this people. Summoned, on quitting his consulship, before the popular comitia, he appeared in the character of accuser and not of suppliant, inveighed against the tribunes and the assembly, and made them yield by his haughtiness and boldness. The day of judgment was put off; he did not wait for it; a voluntary death forestalled his condemnation, and the crowd admiring, in spite of itself, this indomitable courage, honoured the funeral of Appius by an immense attendance (470). Livy makes him die of sickness; this is less dramatic, but more probable.<sup>1</sup>

In 493 the tribunes had only their right of veto; in 476 they acquired the right of accusing consulars, and in 471 that of passing plebiscita by the people. Thus twenty-three years had sufficed for organising the political assembly of the plebeians, and for making it already, within certain limits, a legislative and judicial power. As regards the agrarian law, it had been rejected, and in spite of so many high-sounding words and promises, the people continued in poverty. But it was in exciting the crowd by this delusion about the equality of property that the tribunes had gained their place in the State and some trustworthy guarantees. So it has been, and always will be.



Plebeian aëdiles.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dionys ix. 54. Livy, ii. 61.

<sup>2</sup> AED. PL. (*aëdiles plebis*). Head of Ceres. The reverse M. FAN. L. CRT. P. A. Marcus, Fannius and Lucius Critonius, aëdiles of the people. Silver money of the families Fannia and Critonia. We shall return to this matter when the creation of the curule aëdileship takes place.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MILITARY HISTORY OF ROME FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUIN TO THE DECEMVIRS (495—451).

#### I.—THE ROMAN TERRITORY IN 495; PORSENNA AND CASSIUS.

MONARCHY had given to Rome a grandeur which the treaty of Tarquin with Carthage testifies,<sup>1</sup> and to the plebeians a well-being which resulted from the commerce which this treaty shows,<sup>2</sup> as well as by successful wars made under the kings, and the immense works carried out by Ancus, Servius, and the two Tarquins. The aristocratic revolution of 509 caused the Romans to lose this power and prosperity. The people sank into misery, and Rome was almost reduced to its own walls.

The most dangerous of the wars called forth by this revolution was that which Porsenna, the powerful Lars of Clusium, conducted. He conquered the Romans and took from them the territory of the ten tribes established north of the Tiber. Rome hid her defeat under heroic legends, and it was only after she had become mistress of the world that she did not blush to avow the acceptance from Porsenna of harder conditions than she herself ever imposed after her most brilliant victories. He forbade the use of iron, except for agricultural purposes,<sup>3</sup> and exacted as sign of submission that the senate should send him a curule chair or ivory throne, a sceptre, and a crown.<sup>4</sup> Rome being overcome

<sup>1</sup> See p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Dedita urbe* . . . (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 72) *defendit ne ferro nisi in agricultura uterentur*. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39.)

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. v. 34.

<sup>4</sup> There remains a curious proof of the extent of this commerce. It is a cup in silver *repoussé* work, recently found among a large number of other gold, silver, and bronze objects, at Preneste (Palestrina) and preserved in the Kircher Museum [Collegio Romano] at Rome. All

Porsenna aimed at conquering Latium, which three centuries earlier the Etruscans had victoriously traversed, and at opening



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Phœnician Cup found at Preneste.

up a route towards the lucumonies of the Vulturmus. The Greeks

the objects which compose this treasure differ greatly both from Etruscan and from Greek art. They recall, by their oriental stamp, other finds made in Cyprus or Greece. Our patera is an imitation of the Egyptian. The centre is filled with a war scene. A prince is in the act of putting to death some captives. Before him stands the god Horus: behind a warrior in arms, who brings other victims. Above, a sparrow-hawk with outspread wings. The border is filled with symbolic scenes. Four sacred barks are symmetrically disposed; on two of them is the scarabæus, symbol of the sun and immortality: in the two others some divinity. Between the ships are thickets of lotus and a woman who is nursing a boy.

"Two circles of hieroglyphic writing are round these scenes; but the whole is coarsely imitated: the hieroglyphs give no sense.



Tomb, called that of Arnus.



of Campania saw with terror the preparations for this new invasion, and, to prevent it, they came to the help of the Latin cities which were resisting the Etruscans. Aricia, which has bequeathed its name to the picturesque village of Laricia on the southern slopes of the Alban Mount, near the charming lake of Nemi, was then the most flourishing city in Latium. It had resisted Tarquin Superbus, and when the son of the king of Clusium, Aruns, appeared before its walls with a powerful army, the inhabitants met him bravely in the field with their Latin and Greek allies. But they were unable to withstand the charge of the Etruscan phalanx, and they were already retiring in disorder, when the men of Cumæ, by a skilful manœuvre, charging the enemy in the rear, changed his victory into defeat.<sup>1</sup> Aruns was slain, and there are shown near Laricia, the ruins of a tomb, built in the Etruscan manner, where they allege that he was buried.<sup>2</sup> The *débris* of his army took refuge in Rome, which profited from this reverse to rise in insurrection; the Etruscan rule was driven back again beyond the Tiber.

Rome recovered its liberty, but not its power,<sup>3</sup> for the

"The sparrow-hawk is surmounted by a Phœnician inscription which M. Renan reads: *Eschmunjair ben Ischeto* (Eschmunjair, son of Ischeto).

"These words are engraved in a very delicate character. They determine conclusively the Phœnician origin of the treasure of Præneste, and of other similar finds. But, besides, they help to fix the date with all but certainty.

"The character of the letters does not permit us to carry down the composition of the inscription lower than the sixth cent. B.C. The hieroglyphics lead to the same conclusion. M. Maspero finds among them no sign which appears in the texts from the twenty-seventh dynasty on (about the fifth century). The inscription furnishes us again with an indication of another sort. M. Renan translates the last proper name by "the work of Him" (of God), and compares it to analogous names such as Abdo (the servant of Him), etc., etc. Now, the pronoun suffix "of Him" which is written in Phœnician by a *var*, the Carthaginians render by *alef*. Our inscription writes it by the latter letter. Then again, on a cup of the same sort, but without inscription, found in the same place, are seen following, in a circular design, the different events of a royal hunt. Now, among the animals hunted by the king is a large ape, probably the gorilla, unknown in Egypt and in Syria. It results from this, that these plates or cups are most likely of Carthaginian origin." As our manufacturers imitate for the slop trade the products of China and Japan, so the Carthaginian merchants had made gold and silver articles badly copied from the Phœnician or Egyptian styles. Our imitation Pæno-Egyptian cup bought from the sailors of the coast by some rich inhabitant of Palestrina is a proof of the activity of the Carthaginian commerce with the Latin cities. [Cf. M. Clermont Ganneau's remarkable tract on the second cup, representing the adventure with the colossal ape.—*Ed.*]

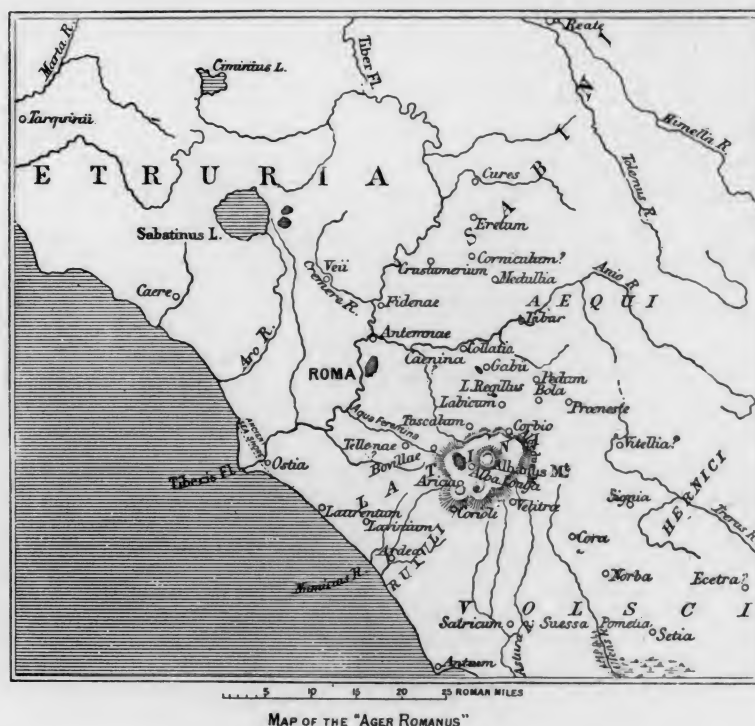
<sup>1</sup> Dionys. v. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Canina has given the restoration of it.

<sup>3</sup> This clearly results from the war against Veii in 483, and from the reduction of the 30 tribes of Servius to 20, the number which is found after the expulsion of the kings. In

Etruscans continued masters of the right bank of the river, and on the left bank was recovered only the old *ager Romanus*, limited on the south by the lands of the Latins of Gabii, Bovillæ, Tellenæ, and Tusculum.

From the lofty citadel of this last-named city which rises 15 miles off from the walls of Servius, can be seen all who leave Rome by the *porta Capena*; but from that distance also the Tusculans, their faithful allies, signalled, by two beacon-fires on their ramparts, the approach of the Æquians and Volscians.



On the east some successful expeditions into the Sabine territory extended the Roman frontier to the neighbourhood of

495 are named 21 (Livy, ii. 21) a new tribe called Crustumian, from the name of a conquered city, having been formed after the Sabine war. Fidenæ, which was reduced only in the year 426, is two leagues from Rome.

Eretum, which remained free.<sup>1</sup> Tibur, nearer Rome, from which it was separated only by 20 miles, also kept its independence and promised to defend it bravely by the worship which it paid to its civic divinity, Hercules of the Rocks, *Hercules Saxonus*, whose temple rose above the Falls of the Anio. And it did in reality defend it for more than a century and a half.<sup>2</sup> On the north



Tusculum. Restored by Canina (see cut p. 186).

the frontier reached scarcely beyond the Janiculum. Rome was at that time no longer a great state, but it was always one of the greatest of the Italian cities, and this made its fortune. Within its circumference, and on this territory of only a few leagues in extent, were reckoned, if we believe Dionysius of Halicarnassus,<sup>3</sup> 130,000 fighting men; 130,000 men under the command of the consuls, directed in times of peril by one will, and always under

<sup>1</sup> Since the war during which the Sabine Attus Clausus settled at Rome (see p. 105, n. 1), there was no independent Sabine town nearer Rome than Eretum.

<sup>2</sup> It was not taken till 335.

<sup>3</sup> Dionys. v. 20, he says, according to the census-lists.

excellent discipline. Thanks to the concentration of their forces, the Romans were able to attend safely to their internal disputes; for, though they expended in their Forum the energy which they should have transferred more advantageously to fields of battle, yet they were too strong to be overwhelmed by any enemy who might attack them—a serious war always bringing back union, and with it invincible power. Thus they never ceased having confidence in their good fortune; from the earliest days of the republic they had raised a temple to Hope.

Their enemies were above all the Æquians and Volscians.



Tusculum.—Present state (see p. 185).

Mountaineers, poor and fond of pillaging, always threatening and yet inaccessible, to-day in the plain burning the crops, to-morrow strongly entrenched or hidden among the mountains, the Æquians were, if not the most dangerous, yet at least their most troublesome enemy. The Volscians, numerous rich and possessing a fertile territory, ought to have caused more alarm, had they

not been divided into a multitude of small tribes, which never united either for attack or defence, and showed neither plan nor perseverance in their expeditions, which the impatience of some, and the sluggishness of others generally foiled. This state of division; the want of a capital, the loss of which might by one blow end the struggle; as well as the nature of the country, intersected with mountains and marshes, should have made the war interminable. With such enemies there was no other way of finishing it than that which, but recently, the pontifical government employed against the brigands of the Roman states: to raze the cities and exile or exterminate the population. This is what Rome did. But when the war was ended, the country of the Volscians was nothing but a mere solitude.



Hope (see p. 186).<sup>2</sup>

In Etruria, the enemy was different; Veii, a commercial and industrial city,<sup>1</sup> was only 4 leagues from the Janiculum. On this side they knew where to strike: it was simply to march directly against the city, besiege it and take it. But the danger for Rome was the same as for Veii, for the two cities found themselves existing under very similar conditions: both large, populous, strong in situation, protected by strong walls and able to put considerable forces on foot. So Rome was not in a state for undertaking this siege, which would end the war, till a century more had elapsed.

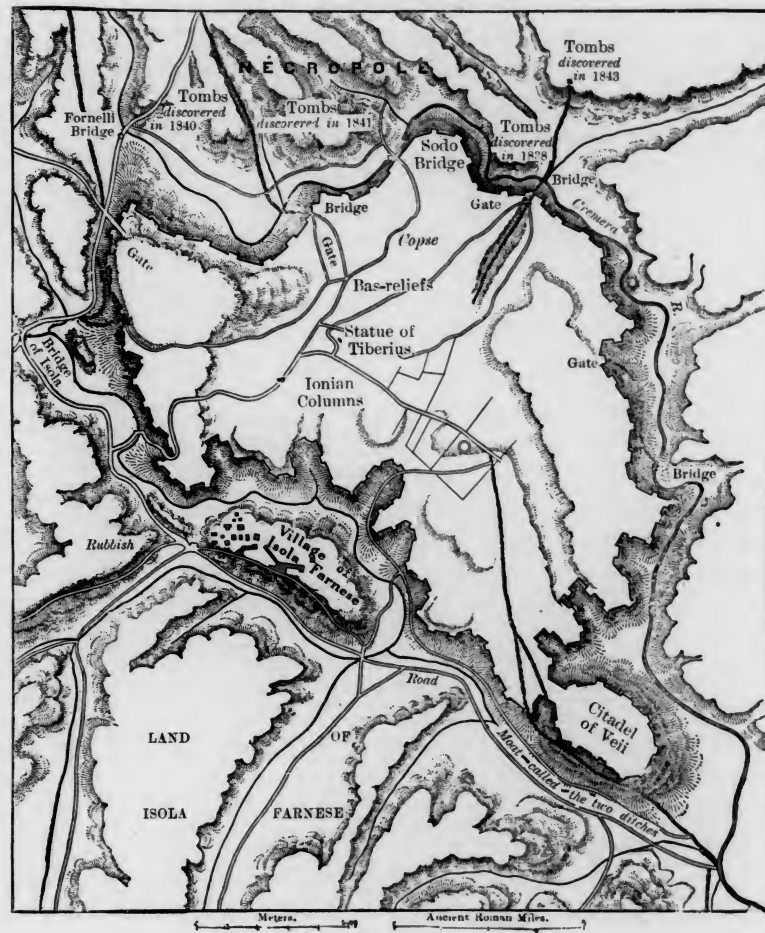
Among these enemies we have reckoned neither Latins nor Hernicans, whom their position necessarily rendered allies of the republic. It was by the burning of the Latin farms that the incursions of the Æquians and Volscians always became known at Rome; and the Hernicans, established between these two people,

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. (ii. 52) calls it as great as Athens, and Livy (v. 24) finer than Rome. It was situate where the Isola Farnese is now, on a height which overlooks a magnificent valley, through which runs the Cremera, a short way from the first posting station on the route from Rome to Florence, 11 miles from the walls of Servius.

<sup>2</sup> This statue is reproduced in the Atlas of the *Bull. arch.* 2, vol. ix. pl. 3, under the title of *Statua archaica*.



in the valley of the *Trerus*, had to suffer daily from their depredations. This alliance dated from ancient times (*seruē Latine*).



Plan of the City of Veii.<sup>1</sup>

Under the last Tarquin it was changed on Rome's side into a domination which the exile of the kings removed and which the

<sup>1</sup> This plan has been drawn up by Canina, who has marked on it the tombs discovered in the Necropolis, and the part of the city where were found some columns, bas-reliefs and a colossal statue of Tiberius, which is in the Chiaramonti Museum. Veii which remained deserted till Cæsar's time, received from him, and later on from Augustus, a colony, and New Veii seems to have continued several centuries.

battle of lake Regillus did not re-establish. Rome and the Latins continued separate, but the increasing power of the Volscians and the ravages of the Æquians drew them closer. In 493 B.C., during his second consulate, Sp. Cassius signed a treaty with the 30 Latin cities, either designedly omitted, or misunderstood by the Roman historians, because it bears witness to their feebleness after the wars of the kings; but there could still be read, in the time of Cicero,<sup>1</sup> on a bronze column: "There shall be peace between the Romans and the Latins so long as the sky remains above the earth and the earth under the sun. They shall never arm against each other; they will not afford any passage to the enemy across their territory, and they will bring aid with all their force whenever they are attacked. All booty and conquests made in common are to be divided." Another witness<sup>2</sup> enables us to add: "The command of the combined army shall alternate each year between the two peoples."

Seven years later, during his third consulship, some time before proposing his agrarian law, Cassius concluded a like treaty with the Hernicans.<sup>3</sup> From that time the Æquians and Volscians could make no movement which Hernican or Latin messengers did not at once announce at Rome, and the legions hastening either up or down the valley of the Trerus were able to threaten the very heart of the enemy's country. These two treaties added more to the grandeur of Rome than any of those which it signed ever after; for they assured its existence at a time when its power might have been nipped in the bud. The whole weight of the war against both Æquians and Volscians fell upon its allies, and on this side it generally played the part of a mere auxiliary. Hence the little importance of these wars, in spite of the acts of heroism and devotion, the great names, and the marvellous stories with which the annalists have adorned them.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Balbo*, 23; Livy, ii. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cincius, mentioned by Festus, s. v. *Prætor ad portam* . . . *Quo anno Romanos imperatores ad exercitum oporteret* . . .

<sup>3</sup> It is by virtue of this treaty that the colony of Antium was divided between the Romans, Latins and Hernicans *ἵσθητε τῇ βουλῇ* . . . *ὑπερίσταναι Λατίνων τε καὶ Ἑρνίκων τοῖς βουλευμένοις τῆς ἀποικίας μετέχειν*, Dionys., ix. 59.

II.—CORIOLANUS AND THE VOLSCIANS; CINCINNATUS AND THE  
ÆQUIANS.

The Volscians, established among mountains (*monti lepini*), which reach a height of 5,000 feet, and whose waters form the



Ceres.<sup>2</sup>

Pontine Marshes, had the twofold ambition of stretching at once along the fertile valley of the Tiber and along that of the Liris. After the fall of Tarquin, they had retaken the cities which that king had conquered from them. Stopped, on the south, by the strong position of Circei, which, nevertheless, fell into their power, and by the impassable and sterile country of the Aurunci, they threw themselves upon the rich plains of Latium, took Velitræ and Cora, in spite of their powerful fortifications, and carried their outposts within ten miles of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

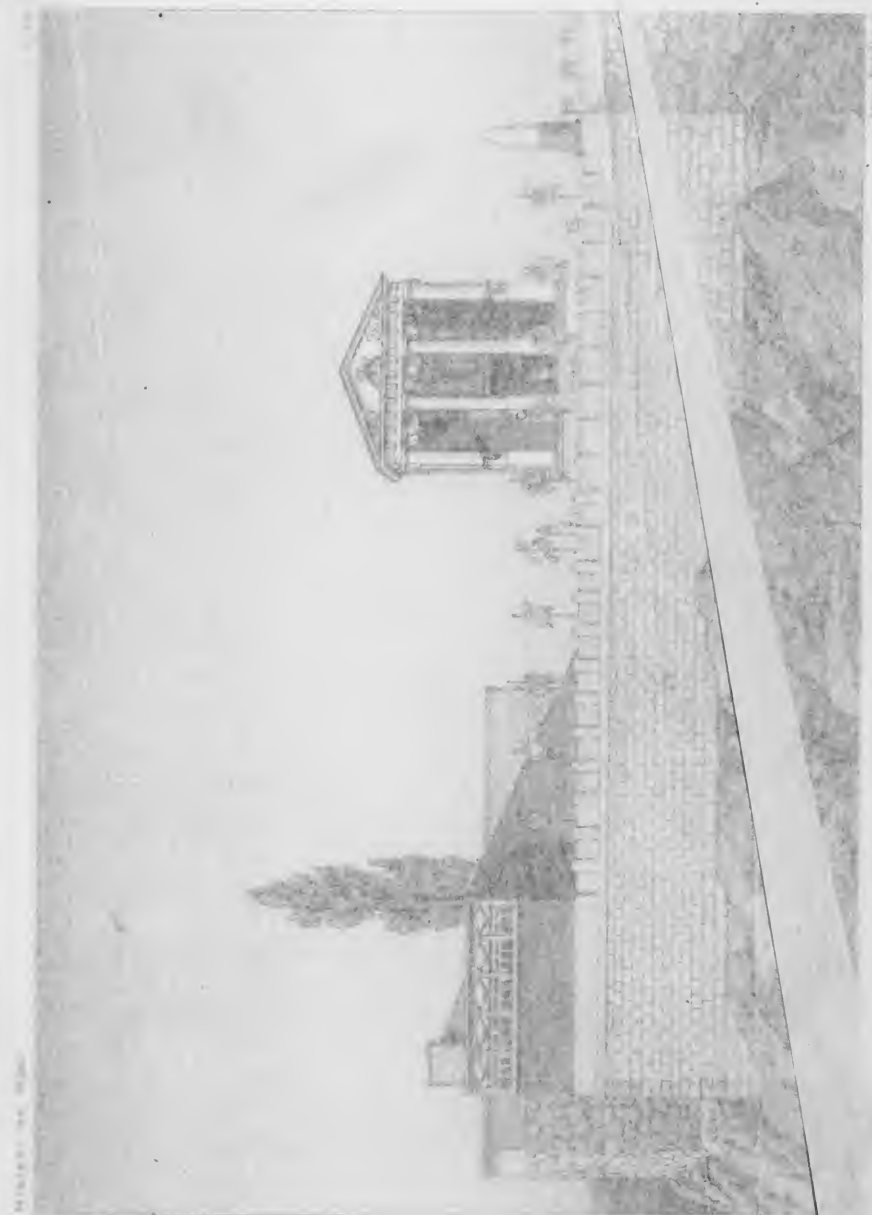
The most fortunate of their invasions, and that to which all their con-

quests have been attached, was led by an illustrious Roman, an exile of the *gens Marcia*.

He was, says the legend, a patrician distinguished for his

<sup>1</sup> At Bovillæ, which they took (Plut. *Cor.*, 29) as well as Corioli, Lavinium, Satricum and Velitræ. (Livy, ii. 39).

<sup>2</sup> Taken from an ancient painting in the museum at Naples.



TEMPLE OF CORA  
as restored by L. F. F. F.

ON THE EQUATION OF MOTION OF A PARTICLE IN A  
MAGNETIC FIELD

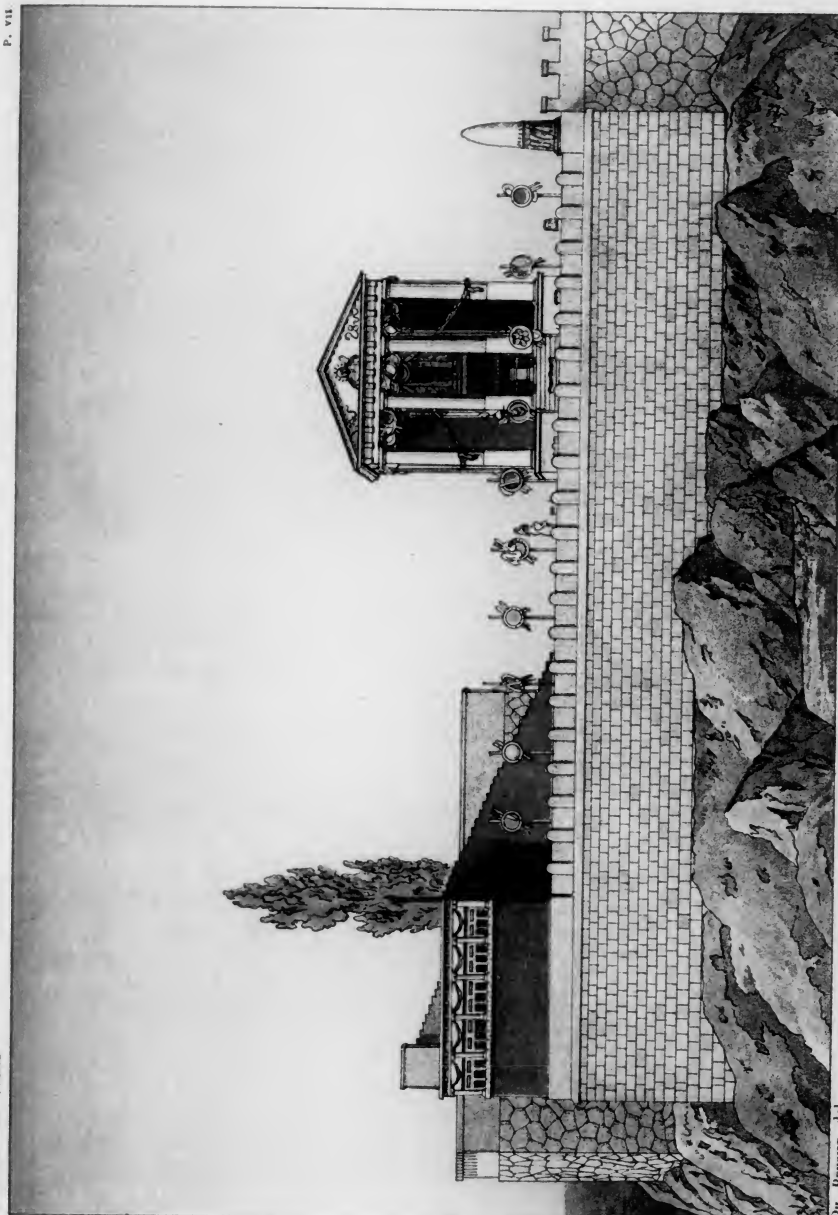
The highest of these are the snow-capped mountains (*monti lepidi*), which are between 5,000 and 6,000 feet high and whose waters form the

Pontine Marshes, had the twofold ambition of stretching at once along the fertile valley of the Tiber and along that of the Liris. After the fall of Tarquin, they had retaken the cities which that king had conquered from them. Stopped, on the south, by the strong position of Circei, which, nevertheless, fell into their power, and by the impassable and sterile country of the Aurunci, they threw themselves upon the rich plains of Latium, took Velitæ and Cora, in spite of their powerful fortifications, and carried their outposts within ten miles of Rome.<sup>1</sup> The most fortunate of their invasions, and that to which all their con-

the exile of *l'empereur* Napoléon.

He was a very intelligent & patriotic distinguished for his

1. A. *Artemisia*, *Artemisia* (1902), *Artemisia* as well as *Artemisia*, *Artemisia*, *Artemisia* and *Artemisia* (1902).



TEMPLE OF CORA  
as restored by Labrousse

DR. H. BENOIST, del.



courage, piety, and justice.<sup>1</sup> At the battle of lake Regillus he had won a civic crown, and gained at the taking of Corioli the surname of Coriolanus. Once, when the plebeians refused to give levies of troops, he had armed his own clients, and sustained alone the war against the Antiates. Yet the people, whom he wounded by his pride, refused to give him the consulship, and Coriolanus conceived a feeling of hatred which he showed by some hasty words. During the retreat to the Sacred Mount the lands remained uncultivated; to fight against famine, a temple was vowed to Ceres, and what was of greater service, they bought corn in Etruria and Sicily, where Gelon refused to take money for it. The senate wished to distribute it gratuitously to the people: "No corn or more tribunes," said Coriolanus. This expression was understood by the tribunes, who instantly cited him before the people. Neither the threats nor entreaties of the patricians could move them, and Coriolanus, condemned to exile, withdrew to the Volscians of Antium, a powerful and rich maritime city. Tullius, their chief, forgot his jealousy and hatred, that he might arouse in the heart of the exile a desire of revenge; he consented to be simply his lieutenant, and Coriolanus marched upon Rome at the head of the Volscian legions. No army, no fortress stopped him, and he encamped at last near the Cluilian ditch, ravaging the lands of the plebeians, but sparing, purposely, those of the nobles. In vain did Rome try to bend him. The most venerable of the consulars and the priests of the gods came to him as suppliants to receive only a harsh refusal. When the deputation returned in despair, Valeria, sister of Poplicola, was praying with the matrons at Jupiter's temple; as if by an inspiration, she led them to the house of Coriolanus and prevailed on his mother Veturia to endeavour to touch the heart of her banished son, whose proud spirit had not been broken by the prayers of his country and his gods. At the approach of these ladies, Coriolanus maintained his fierce aspect. But they told him that amongst them were his aged mother and his young wife, leading her two children by the hand. Too Roman still to fail in filial respect, he advanced

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. viii. 62: "Ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἑμπύτοι πρὸς πάντων ἐς εὐσεβίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην. This legend has been much discussed, and Shakespeare has utilised it without clearly sifting out the element of truth it contains. [Was this to be expected?—Ed.]

to meet Veturia, and ordered the fasces to be lowered in her presence: "Am I face to face with my son, or with an enemy?" said the dignified matron. The wife did not dare to speak, but threw herself weeping into the arms of her husband, and his children clung to him; he was overcome, and withdrew. The Roman women had saved Rome the second time.

The story is beautiful, but scarcely credible. Tired of war, and laden with booty, or finding that resistance grew stronger as they approached Rome, the Volscians withdrew to their cities. The legend adds that they did not pardon Coriolanus for thus stopping them in the middle of their revenge, and that they condemned him to death. According to Fabius, he lived to an advanced age, exclaiming: "Exile is very hard upon an old man."

We can hardly refuse to believe that Rome was reduced to the last extremities and that the Volscians were established in the centre of Latium; but it was a patrician who had conquered and thus honour was saved.

Coriolanus, on his part, had reason to find a stranger's bread very bitter, for exile at Rome was both a civil and religious excommunication. The exile lost not only his country and property, but his household gods, his wife, who had the right of re-marrying, his children, to whom he became a stranger, his ancestors, who were no longer to receive funeral sacrifices at his hands. Our civil death is less terrible.<sup>1</sup>

The mountains which separate the basins of the rivers Liris and Anio descend from the borders of lake Fucinus to Praeneste where they terminate at Algidus by a sort of promontory which commands the plain and valley of the Tiber. By following the hidden mountain paths, the Æquians could reach Mount Algidus unperceived, the woods of which still covered their march and ambuscades.<sup>2</sup> Thence they burst unexpectedly on the Latin lands,

<sup>1</sup> Cicero wishes that he could be put to death, for the reason that this is a more suitable end for the brave: *Huic generi mortis potius assentior*; but Atticus answers: "it is true that rhetoricians are allowed to lie in history if their art gains by it, *concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis ut aliquid dicere possint argutius*!" If we compare this with what is cited from Livy above, p. 63, we shall find that these Romans had a strange idea of the duties of an historian.

<sup>2</sup> *Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido*. A few years ago Algidus was still the haunt of brigands who infested the neighbourhood of Palestrina and Frascati.

and if they were in sufficient numbers or the enemy too cautious, they were soon in the midst of the Roman territory. Every year these incursions were renewed; it was not war; but it would have been far better to have serious engagements than these unceasing acts of brigandage. The Latins were rendered so weak that the Æquians were able to take several of their cities.<sup>1</sup> According to the treaty of Cassius, Rome was bound to send all their forces to their help. Their internal dissensions and the dangers they ran on the side of Veii, kept the legions in the city or to the north of the Tiber. However, the senate felt alarmed when it saw the Æquians established on Mount Algidus, and the Volscians on the Alban Mount, separating the Latins from the Hernicans and threatening two peoples at the same time.<sup>2</sup> A forty years' truce, which the Veientes had just signed (474), and the adoption of the Publilian law (471), by ending, for a time, the Etruscan war and the troubles of the Forum, enabled them to listen to the complaints of their allies.

Two members of the *gens* Quinctia, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus, gained the honours of this war.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, a popular patrician, had been the colleague of the imperious Appius. While the Voleros of the latter allowed themselves to be beaten by the Volscians, Quinctius seized the booty gained by the Æquians and re-entered Rome with the title of *Father of the Soldiers*. Consul a second time in 467, he took possession of Antium, a part of whose territory was distributed amongst some Roman colonists and he had on his return so brilliant a triumph that he obtained the surname of Capitolinus. The Æquians continued in arms. Four times their active bands audaciously penetrated into the Campagna of Rome; one day they even surrounded the consul Furius in a narrow gorge. Two legions were on the point of destruction; Capitolinus saved them. At the news of the danger, the senate had invested the other consul with dictatorial power by the formula: *Caveat consul ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*, and it was

<sup>1</sup> In the legend, all these towns, even Corbio, beyond the Anio, are taken by the Volsci: all the successive conquests of both Volsci and Æqui were attributed to the Roman exile.

<sup>2</sup> These two mountains are the watershed between the basins of the Tiber and the Liris, and they dominate the whole Latin plain.

employed only to charge Capitolinus with the difficult duty of delivering the consular army.

Never had Rome, since Porsenna, been so seriously threatened; internal troubles had begun again respecting the proposal of Terentillus. The pestilence was raging with a violence so much more fatal because the inroads of the enemy filled the city, during the heat of summer, with men and troops accustomed to the pure mountain air.<sup>1</sup> In 462, an army of Æquians and Volscians encamped only three miles from the Esquiline Gate; three years later a night attack delivered the Capitol for a moment into the hands of the Sabine Herdonius; the year following Antium revolted, and the consul Minucius allowed himself once more to be shut into a defile by the Æquians. Cincinnatus alone seemed able to save the republic. He retook the Capitol and restored to the Romans the fortress which was also their sanctuary. In this matter, he made himself conspicuous by a severity which gained the confidence of the senate: he was made dictator.

The senators who were sent to inform him of this election found him across the Tiber in the field which was named for a long time the meads of Quinctius. He was digging a ditch and he received them resting on his spade. After the accustomed salutations, they requested him to assume his toga in order to receive a communication from the senate. "He is astonished, asks if all is not well and sends his wife Racilia to find his toga in the hut. Having put it on, after having brushed off the dust and perspiration, he returns to the deputies who salute him dictator, present their congratulations and press him to return to the city."<sup>2</sup> If this scene is not historic it is at least according to the manners of the time and the character of the man. What follows shows the patrician, so proud of his descent, taking possession of power with the same simplicity which he had shown in quitting his plough and displaying the activity and energy of men born to command. A boat awaited him on the Tiber; he embarked and was received on the left bank by his three sons, his relatives and the greater part of the senators.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. 26.

Before the end of the day he went to the Forum and then named as his cavalry chief another patrician as poor as himself, and ordered all business to be suspended, all shops closed, and all men able to take arms to meet on the Field of Mars before sunset, each with five stakes and enough bread for five days.



Sezze.<sup>1</sup>

Evening being come, he set out and marched six leagues in four hours; before daybreak the Æquians were themselves enclosed by a ditch and a palisade work: they were compelled to pass under the yoke. On his return in triumph to Rome, followed by the consul and the army that he had saved, he compelled Minucius to set him free from his special charge, had the consular fasces<sup>2</sup> broken before him, and on the seventh day laid down the dictatorship in order to return to his own fields.

<sup>1</sup> Setia was on a hill difficult of access which rose above the Pontine Marshes; the town of Sezze has kept the name and occupies the same site.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. x. 22; Livy, iii. 26-30. *Vi majoris imperii*. The school of Niebuhr regards this story as legendary.



In spite of this success, which national vanity has thus embellished, as is the case in so many other points of Rome's military history, the war was not ended; the Æquians kept possession of Algidus as did the Volscians of the Alban Mount.

During the half century that had elapsed since the expulsion of the kings, the decadence of Rome's power was not arrested



Ruins of a temple near Sezze.

one instant. In 493 its territory was at least protected by the Latins; but of the thirty Latin cities which had signed the treaty of Cassius, thirteen were now either destroyed or held by the enemy and among them some of the strongest places of Italy, such as Circeii, at the foot of its promontory, Setia, Cora, and Norba,<sup>1</sup> all three in the mountains of the Volscian territories, and surrounded by strong walls. If the *ager Romanus* was not yet encroached upon, the barrier which ought to have protected it had been partly destroyed. Was Rome more fortunate in the north against the Etruscans?

<sup>1</sup> Other Latin cities taken or destroyed: Velitæ, Tolina, Ætrona, Satricum, Labicum, Pedum, Corioli, Carventum, Corbio. (Dionys. and Livy, *passim*.)

### III.—WAR AGAINST VEII.

A great part of Etruria had taken part in the expedition of Porsenna; since that time the invasions of the Cisalpine Gauls, and the increasing power of the Greeks and Carthaginians had divided the attention and forces of the Etruscan cities; some of them watching, on the north, the passes of the Apennines; others, in the west, on the coasts threatened by the Ligurian pirates, and, on the south-west over their own colonies, which, one by one, were slipping from their hands. The old league was dissolved, and all idea of conquest in the direction of Latium had been abandoned. But Veii, at a distance from the Gauls and the sea, was too near Rome not to profit by its weakness. The war, however, did not break out till 482 B.C. It lasted nine years.

Two incidents only have been preserved of this war, far more serious for Rome than the incursions of the Æquians and Volscians; the foundation by the Romans of a fortress on the banks of the Cremera, from whence they extended their ravages for two years up to the walls of Veii, and the occupation of the Janiculum by the Veientes. We have already seen that the Roman annalists do great honour to the patriotic devotion of the Fabii for having held in check all the enemy's forces, till the day when, surprised by an ambuscade, the whole *gens* perished.<sup>1</sup> The Veientes in their turn burnt up everything along both banks of the Tiber, and established themselves on the Janiculum, from whence they saw Rome at their feet. One day they crossed the stream and ventured to attack the legions on the Field of Mars. A vigorous effort repulsed them; the next day they were caught between two consular armies, and at last driven from the dangerous post which they held. The war was carried up to the very walls of Veii; a forty years' truce left the two peoples in the position which they held before hostilities began (474 B.C.).

In this war, Veii had not been supported by the great lucumones of the north, whose attention was at that time called

<sup>1</sup> See page 173.

elsewhere, where the fate of their rivals was being decided. While in fact, Rome was rehearsing her part for future greatness by these obscure contests, and for the pillage of the world by the carrying off some rustic plunder, the armies of Xerxes were shaking Asia, and three hundred thousand Carthaginians, his allies, made a descent on Sicily (480). The ability of Themistocles at Salamis saved Greece; that of Gelo at Himera assured the welfare of Syracuse, and of the Italic Greeks who disputed with the Etruscans the commerce of the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the Adriatic. At first the Greeks closed against them the Straits of Messina; then in the year which preceded the forty years' truce they annihilated their fleet in the vicinity of Cape Misenum.<sup>1</sup> Hiero established in the Isle of Ischia a station for his galleys, which cut the communications between the Etruscan cities of the Vulturnus and those of the Arnò. Thus the most dangerous enemies of the ancient subjects of Porsenna were wasting their forces in these distant wars, and this enabled the Romans to indulge with impunity in all the disorders which accompany growing liberty.

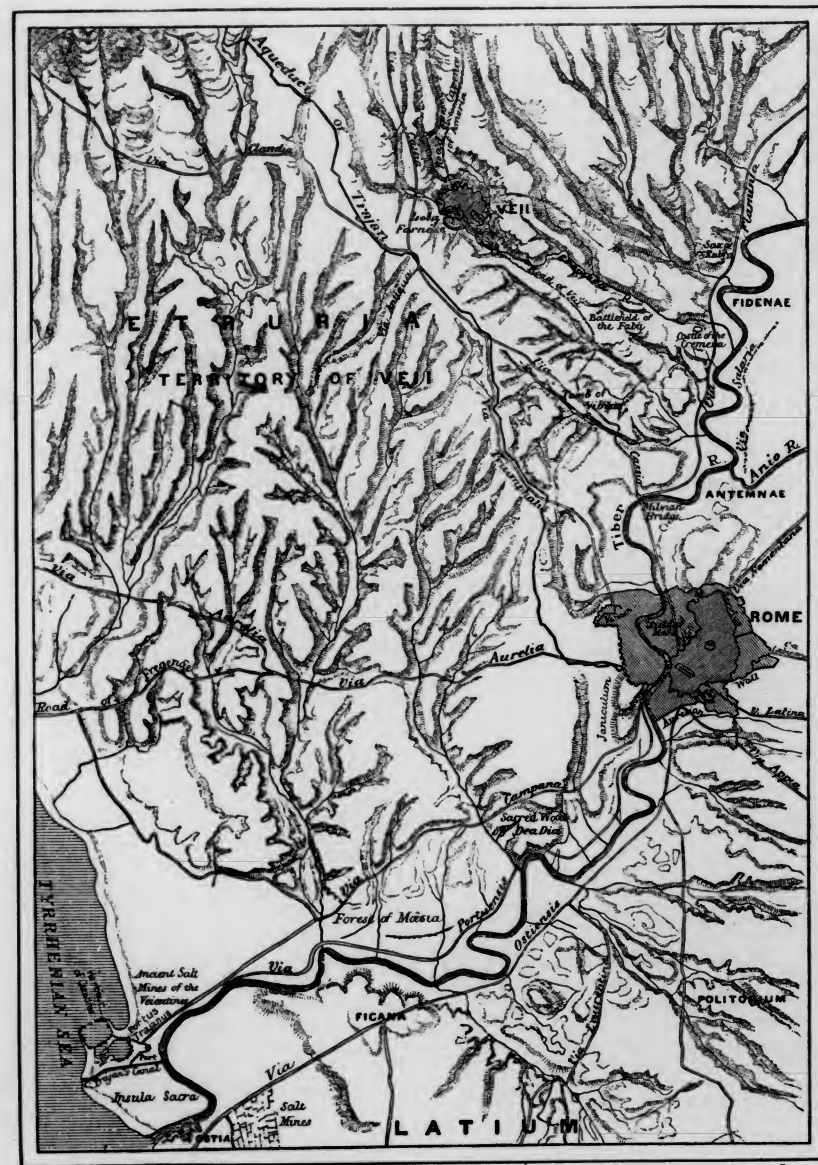
During these first years of the republic, so fruitful for Rome's institutions, nothing had been done to extend its power. Rome, at all events, had lasted, gaining daily strength and confidence. Its territory, properly so called, had not been impaired, and the population grew warlike in these struggles which were not really dangerous. The soldiers whom Appius decimated without resistance, whom Cincinnatus loaded with five stakes, their arms and their victuals, for a march of nearly twenty miles in four hours, were already the legionaries who could conquer the Samnites and Pyrrhus. Rome need no longer fear

Hope.<sup>2</sup>

for her existence, as in the time of Porsenna, and she has the right to great expectations.

<sup>1</sup> See page lxxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Cabinet de France*, No. 94, in the catalogue; cameo of archaic style, representing Hope standing, with a diadem, lifting up the skirt of her tunic with the left hand and holding in her right the flower which promises to bear fruit.



Southern Etruria (Territory of Veii).

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE DECENVIRS AND CIVIL EQUALITY (451-449).

#### I.—BILL OF TERENTILIUS.

UP to the time of Volero and Lætorius, the people had only won the means of fighting, and the struggle, in spite of the violences which had already taken place, had not yet seriously begun. The aristocracy preserve all the offices which they held after the exile of the kings, the supreme command, the magisterial offices, religion, justice; but the plebeians were formerly without guidance and object; now their chiefs are measuring the distance which separates them from power.

The internal history of Rome is truly of an admirable simplicity. First of all, an aristocracy which forms by itself the whole State, and below, far below, strangers, fugitives, men without family and almost without gods. But then the plebeians, used as instruments for conquests, see their number, as well as their worth and their strength increase by these conquests. It comes to pass that they help the nobles to drive out a tyrant; next day, they are forgotten: they fly to the Sacred Mount from their misery and servitude, and discover chiefs who discipline this mob, hitherto untrained, exercise it in the conflict, and gradually arm it at all points. Presently they pass from the defensive to attack their foe.

In 462 the plebeians demanded the revision of the constitution and a written code.<sup>1</sup> This was too much to ask at once, for they were not strong enough to triumph at once. So then victory was gained piecemeal, so to speak, and needed more than a century to complete it. In 450 they extorted civil equality; in 367 and

<sup>1</sup> *Legibus de imperio consulari scribendis* (Liv. iii. 9); and further on (iii. 34): *Fons omnis publici privatiq. est juris*; and Dionys. x. 3: τοὺς ἐπὶ πάντων νόμους, τῶν τε κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων. Lastly, Zonaras, vii. 18: τὴν πολιτείαν ἰσότηραν ποιήσασθαι ἐψηφίσαντο.



339 political equality; in 300, religious equality. The decemvirate was the conquest of equality in civil and penal law.

In the constitution nothing was written or determined; no one knew where the jurisdiction of the magistrates, where the powers of the senate ceased. Law was not right, *rectum*, or as the jurists of the empire defined it, the good and the just, *ars boni et æqui*: it was the order imperiously given, *jus*, by the stronger to the weaker, by the priest to the layman, by the husband to the wife and children.<sup>1</sup> Besides, to fulfil their duty, to protect the plebeians against iniquitous handling of the law, the tribunes needed to know it, and it continued in the uncertain and floating state of custom; the judge gave sentence, "according to the usage of their ancestors," *ex more majorum*, that is, after the particular law of an ancient sovereign people of whom the new people knew nothing. The tribune C. Terentilius Arsa was determined to destroy this uncertainty and the arbitrary conduct it authorised. Abandoning the agrarian law, which was becoming stale, he demanded in 462 that five men should be nominated to draw up a code of laws, which should determine, by limiting it, the power of the consuls.<sup>2</sup> A plebiscitum had no force over the *populus*; the senate was then able to avoid considering this proposition, but it attempted to stop the tribune by the veto of one of his colleagues. But they had all sworn to remain united, and neither threats nor evil omens could turn them from their purpose.

The leader of these acts of patrician violence was the son of Cincinnatus, Cæso, a young man proud of his power, his exploits and his high rank. At the head of the young patricians, he disturbed the deliberations, attacked the crowd, and more than once drove the tribunes from the Forum. This man seemed to contain in himself all dictatorships and consulates, and his audacity made the tribunitian power useless. A tribune dared nevertheless to make use of the Julian law. Virginus accused Cæso of having struck one of his colleagues in spite

<sup>1</sup> For the aristocratic idea of order, *jus* from *jubeo*, we have substituted the idea of justice. The French word *droit* comes from the Latin *rectum* and *directum*, in Italian *diritto*, in Spanish *derecho*, in German *recht*, in English *right*, among the Scandinavians *ret*. The Slavs start from another idea: not that of rectitude, but of truth, *pravda*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iii. 9.

of his inviolable office, and a plebeian bore witness that he had knocked down, on the Suburan road, an old man, his brother, who died some days after of his wounds. The people were much excited by this murder, and Cæso, set free on bail, would have been condemned to death at the next comitia, had he not voluntarily gone into exile to Etruria. He had been compelled to find bail to the amount of 30,000 lbs. of bronze; to pay it, Cincinnatus sold all his property except four acres (461 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>

Like Coriolanus, Cæso determined to be avenged, and the tribunes came one day to denounce before the senate a conspiracy he had organised. The Capitol was to be surprised, the tribunes and chiefs of the people to be massacred, the sacred laws abolished. The Capitol was in fact, in the following year, seized during the night by the Sabine Herdonius, at the head of 4,000 adventurers, slaves or exiles, among whom probably was Cæso (460).<sup>2</sup> This bold stroke frightened the senate as much as the people, to whom the consul Valerius promised the acceptance of the Terentilian bill in return for their help. The Capitol was retaken by the aid of the dictator of Tusculum, C. Mamilius,<sup>3</sup> and not one escaped of all those who were holding it. But Valerius, the popular consul, had fallen during the attack, and was replaced by Cincinnatus, who thought the senate released from its promises by his death. "So long as I am consul," said he to the tribunes, "your law shall not pass, and before leaving office I will nominate a dictator. To-morrow I lead the army against the Æquians." They announced their opposition to the enrolment. "I do not want fresh soldiers; the legionaries of Valerius have not been disbanded; they will follow me to Algidus." He wished to take the augurs there, in order that they might consecrate a place for deliberation and compel the army, as representative of the people, to revoke all the tribunitian laws."<sup>4</sup> The senate dared not follow their consul in this violent reaction; they merely rejected the law, but the same

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iii. 13; Dionys. x. 4-8.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys. x. 9, 14; Livy, iii. 15: *tribunorum interficiendorum, trucidandæ plebis*.

<sup>3</sup> He received, in recompense, the freedom of the city. It was, without doubt, a descendant of Tarquinius Superbus, who had a son-in-law a dictator of Tusculum; his family was reckoned among the more illustrious plebeian families.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, iii. 20.

tribunes were re-elected for the third time; so they were in the years following, up to the fifth time, and with them was brought forward the hateful bill, in spite of a new dictatorship of Cincinnatus, who employed his authority to exile without appeal the accuser of his son (458 B.C.).

This state of things kept men's minds in such a continual ferment, that the senate thought it prudent to consent to nominating for the future ten tribunes, two for each class (457). The people, above all those of the lower classes, expected from this increase more efficacious protection, the patricians greater facility for bribing some members of the college. Other concessions followed.

In 456 the tribune Icilius demanded that the lands of the public domain on the Aventine should be distributed among the people.<sup>1</sup> In vain the patricians troubled the assembly and upset the voting urns; the tribunes, supported by the brave Sicinius Dentatus, condemned several young patricians to confiscation of their property as authors of these violent acts. The senate secretly bought back their lands and restored them. But the tribunes had proved their strength; they secured the acceptance of the law by the tribes, compelled the consuls to take it to the senate, and Icilius obtained the right to enter the curia to defend his plebiscite. From this innovation sprang the right for the tribunes to sit and speak in that assembly; later on, they had even, as had the consuls and prætors, that of calling it together.<sup>2</sup> The law passed. Many of the poor who lived outside the city went to live on the Aventine, and the force of the plebs increased by the number of those who were able to hurry to the Forum at the first call of the tribunes. The popular hill was covered with plebeian houses. The citizens too poor to build one from their own resources united with others; each flat had in this way its proprietor, a custom which still exists at Rome, in Corsica, and even in some cities of France. As the public domain retained not

<sup>1</sup> Dionys., x. 31. The condition of *ager publicus*, preserved by the Aventine up to 456, contradicts the tradition relative to the establishment, on this hill, of the Latins conquered by Ancus (Cf. page 29).

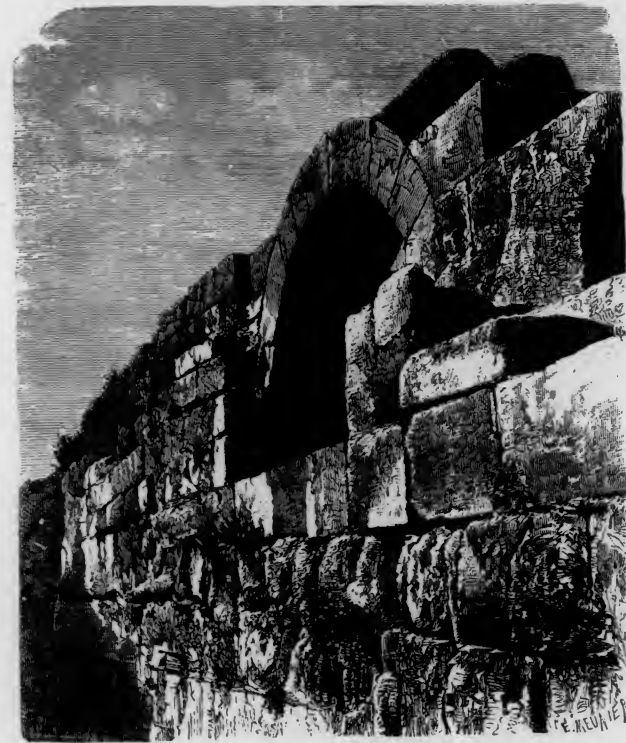
<sup>2</sup> We see them, after the decemvirs, in full possession of this right. Cf., Livy, iii. 69. v., 1, 2, 3, 6, 26, 36, etc. *Tribunis plebis senatus habendi jus erat, quamquam senatores non essent, ante Atinium plebiscitum* (Aul. Gell., xiv. 8.)



The Aventine (present state).

a foot of soil there the patricians could not stay; and this hill became a sort of fortress of the people. Under the decemvirs it was the asylum of plebeian liberty.<sup>1</sup>

In 454, a law presented to the centuries by the consul, Ater-



Wall of the Aventine.<sup>2</sup>

nus, recognised in all the magistrates, even in the tribunes and ædiles, the right of punishing by fine those who did not show to

<sup>1</sup> The Icilian law was placed among the number of the *leges sacratae*, following Livy (iii. 32); but Lange (*Römische Alterthümer*, i. 519 and 532), thinks with reason that Livy has confounded this *lex Icilia* with the Icilian plebiscitum of 471, which was in fact a *lex sacrata*. (See p. 177, n. 2). Up to that time a great number of plebeians inhabited, as tenants, houses belonging to the patricians; the latter lost by this law the influence they used to exercise, under the title of landlords, over a certain number of the plebs.

<sup>2</sup> After a photograph by Parker. The Aventine, formerly covered with temples and thickly populated, would be a mere solitude without two or three convents which rise on it above the Tiber.



them the respect and obedience which their office demanded.<sup>1</sup> The lowest fine was fixed at one sheep, and the maximum, which could be reached only by an increase of a head for each day of refusal, at two oxen and thirty sheep. At the same time this law put a limit to the arbitrary manner in which the consuls had up to that time fixed the amount of the fines.

A short time after an official coinage began. The State had at first only certified the quality of the metal<sup>2</sup> by stamping the pieces of bronze, *aes*, the weight of which was afterwards determined by the buyer's balance, whence the form of purchase called *mancipatio per aes et libram*:<sup>3</sup> "I take this object bought with this bronze duly weighed." To this first warranty there was added another in the time of the decemvirs<sup>4</sup>—the evidence of weight; they ran in a mould pieces of bronze of a circular form, bound to weigh twelve ounces.<sup>5</sup> This was the *as librale*, which carried a stamp with a figure indicating its value and which was divided as follows:

As	= 1	pound, bearing the head of Janus.
Semis	= $\frac{1}{2}$	" Jupiter.
Triens	= $\frac{1}{3}$	" Minerva.
Quadrans	= $\frac{1}{4}$	" Hercules.
Sextans	= $\frac{1}{6}$	" Mercury.
Uncia	= ounce $\frac{1}{12}$	" Rome.

The appearance of money is one of the great events in history. For more than a century and a half, to the year 268 B.C. the Romans were satisfied with their heavy bronze money, while for a long time Greece, Sicily and South Italy were coining silver money, which is the most beautiful yet known. How wretched the

<sup>1</sup> Dionys., x. 50; Cic., *de Rep.*, ii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The primitive bronze was of almost pure copper: 93.70 of copper and 6.30 of tin.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman pound, which was divided into 12 ounces, weighed 327.4 grammes.

<sup>4</sup> In the Twelve Tables the penalties are given in *ases*. Cf. Gaius iii. 223.

<sup>5</sup> It is believed that no single *as* reached this weight; the greater number in reality weighed 9 to 10 ounces. But in 1852 there were found at Cervetri 1575 *ases* many of which weighed 312 grammes, whence it must be inferred that the greater part of the ancient *ases* had about the normal weight (see p. 209 No. 2). Respecting the successive reductions of the weight of the *as* which fell to 4 ounces (at the end of the Samnite war): to 2 ounces (at the end of the first Punic war), to 1 ounce in 217, and later on to  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ , (during the early empire); even in the middle of the 3rd century to  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{6}$  of an ounce see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 5; Festus s.v. *Sextantarii ases*; Mommsen *Hist. of Rom. Money*, and Marquardt *Handb.*, ii. p. 9 et seq. It is easy to tell by a cursory inspection of the table on page 209 and by the finish of the work of the stamped *ases*, that these coins are of much later date than the *ases* which were cast. The former date in fact only from the second century B.C.



As cast.



Semis cast.



As struck.



Triens cast.



Semis struck.



Quadrans cast.



Triens struck.



Sextans cast.



Ounce cast.



Quadrans struck.



Ounce struck.



Sextans struck.

Table of bronze money.

commerce for which such means of exchange sufficed? Let the as cast at Rome be compared with the coins of Thurii and Syracuse and we can measure the distance which then separated the Romans from the Greeks!

The division of the lands of the Aventine was a true agrarian law, and the *lex Aternia* repressed one of the most crying abuses<sup>1</sup> which Terentilius had attacked. The senate hoped in this way to impose upon the people, and to delay, by these partial satisfactions, two formidable demands, the agrarian law and the *lex Terentilia*. But the tribunes would not tolerate either truce or respite; the two proposals were immediately resumed, and to get them passed, there was elected to the tribunate the most renowned and popular of the plebeians, Sicinius Dentatus, an old centurion who had been present in 120 battles, followed 9 triumphs, slain 8 of the enemy in single combat; received 45 wounds, all in front; earned 183 necklaces, 160 gold bracelets, 18 lances; 25 suits of armour, and lastly 14 civic crowns for the same number of citizens whom he had saved.<sup>2</sup> Employing a means of intimidation which his predecessors had already employed, Sicinius condemned two consuls to fines. The senate saw the necessity of giving up force without excluding diplomacy in order to divert the revolution. It accepted the proposition of Terentilius, which the tribunes had changed into a demand for a complete revision of the constitution.<sup>3</sup> One of the consulars condemned, Romilius, had supported the bill, no doubt hoping that the new legislation would take from the hands of the tribunes, if it did not destroy the tribunate itself, this terrible right of accusation before the people.<sup>4</sup> The



Civic crown with laurel leaves.<sup>3</sup>



Civic crown.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The importance of this law will be felt if we recall the effect that was produced in England by the penalties enforced by the government of Charles I. At Rome in 430 the penalties in kind were converted into penalties in money.

<sup>2</sup> OB CIVIS SERVATOS, a large bronze of Augustus' time.

<sup>3</sup> Aul. Gell. ii. 11. Dionys. x. 37.

<sup>4</sup> AVGVSTO OB C.S. (*ob cives servatos*) in a crown of oak. Reverse of a gold coin of the family *Petronia*.

<sup>5</sup> The lawgivers were to seek *quæ æquandæ libertatis essent* (Livy. iii. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Dionys. x. 48 and 58.

astonished Dentatus praised his courage, abjured their old hatred, and in the name of the people, remitted the penalty which ought to have been paid into the treasury of Ceres. "This money," replied Romilius, "belongs now to the gods; no one has the right to dispose of it." And he refused the boon.

However three commissioners were named, Sp. Postumius, A. Manlius, and P. Sulpicius, to go perhaps to Athens,<sup>1</sup> at any rate to the Greek cities of Italy, to collect the best laws. To give the strangers a high idea of the Roman people, the quæstors caused the vessels in which the ambassadors sailed to be richly decorated.

Rome was at peace during the absence of the three deputies. On their return (452) some discussion arose respecting the composition of the legislative commission. This was where the nobles determined to face the tribunes. The question was indeed very serious, for all antiquity thought that the legislator ought to be invested with unlimited power. The consuls, the tribunes, the ædiles, the quæstors were then to give way to ten magistrates charged with drawing up the new code. The most precious of the republican conquests, the *provocatio*, was even suspended, but the rights acquired by the plebeians during the last 50 years were reserved!<sup>2</sup> Besides, before the new laws could be put in force they would have to receive the approbation of the senate and the sanction of the people. Rome did not then give up her liberties. In pleading their acquaintance with law, the patricians kept the ten places of legislators for themselves. This first choice decided that the reform should not have a political character.

<sup>1</sup> Livy affirms it, *Atticis legibus* (iii. 32). Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 27), says only . . . *et accitis quæ usquam egregia*. [The nature and duties of the censorship (cf. below, p. 233, *seq.*) make it very probable that the financial measures of the decemvirs were borrowed directly from those adopted by the Athenians, who then ruled over a great maritime power.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> The law *de Aventino publicando*, and the *leges sacratæ* were, however, removed from the right of general revision granted to the decemvirs. The sentence was terrible for any who should have violated these laws: *Sacer alicui deorum sit cum familia pecuniaque*. Cf. Fest., s. v., and Livy iii. 32.

## II.—THE DECENVIRS (451—449).

IN the year 451 B.C., on the Ides of May, the decemvirs, who had all served as consuls, entered on their duties. They were: App. Claudius, T. Genucius, P. Sestius, T. Romilius, C. Julius, T. Veturius, P. Horatius, and the three commissioners.<sup>1</sup> Each day one of them held the presidency, the government of the city, and the twelve lictors. Unanimous in their acts, just and affable towards all, they kept the republic in a state of profound peace, diminishing rather than exceeding their powers. A dead body had been found in the house of the patrician Sestius; not only did the decemvir Julius follow up the prosecution, but though he had the right of judgment without appeal, he sent the case to the people's assembly. At the end of the first year, ten tables were set up in the Forum, that anyone might propose amendments, to be afterwards reviewed by the decemvirs, then approved by the senate, accepted in the comitia centuriata, and sanctioned by the curiæ under the presidency of the Pontifex Maximus. The gods seemed to give their assent by sending favourable auguries.

These ten tables were the old customs of Rome, or of primitive Italy, modified by some things borrowed from the legislation of the Greek cities, which the Ephesian Hermodorus had explained to the decemvirs.<sup>2</sup>

However, the code was not yet complete. In order to finish it, the powers of the legislative commission were continued, but with the aid of other men, in accordance with the spirit of the Roman constitution. Among the resigning decemvirs was Appius Claudius, who, during the first year had concealed his pride and ambition under popular appearances. Called upon to preside at the comitia of election he opposed the candidature of Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, whom he would not have been able to mould to his designs,

<sup>1</sup> I follow Dionysius; the list in Livy differs somewhat.

<sup>2</sup> As a reward, they erected a statue to Hermodorus in the Comitium. He had been exiled from Ephesus by the jealousy of the populace, who had caused this law to be passed: *Nemo de nobis unus excellat; sin quis extiterit, alio in loco et apud alios sit*. Heraclitus said that by reason of this decree: *universos Ephesios esse morte mulctandos* (Cic. *Tusc.* v. 36). Envy is at the root of every democracy.



and only allowed those to be nominated who were devoted to him. He did not fear to collect votes for himself, though, as president of the comitia, custom forbade his re-election. His new colleagues, obscure men, submitted to his ascendancy. Preceded by 120 lictors [an innovation], with the rods and axes, they seemed to be ten kings,<sup>1</sup> and they were so in pride.

Like their predecessors they were unanimous, for they had mutually promised that the opposition of none of them should not check the acts of his colleagues;<sup>2</sup> and this agreement consolidated their power. Henceforth, the fortune, honour, and the lives of the citizens were at their mercy. The senate might now have played a splendid part, that of defending the public liberties. It preferred giving way to the old spirit of rancour, and hailed this tyranny arising from a popular law. The patrician youth, for a long time accustomed, under Appius and Cæso, to violence, became for the city a sort of decemviral army, and the senators, deserting their posts in the senate house, retired to their country houses.

However, the decemvirs published two new tables, "filled," says Cicero,<sup>3</sup> "with unjust laws," and the year ended without their expressing any intention of abdicating. Rome had given herself masters. There existed, in fact, no legal means of depriving a magistrate of his *imperium*, if he did not, of his own accord, come to the Forum and declare that he resigned his office, and swear that he had done nothing contrary to the laws: *jurare in leges*. Fortunately, the Sabines and Æquians renewed the war. The senate had to be convoked.

Free states, which change character and sentiments by force of external or short-lived impulses, owe their stability to the existence of houses in which the principles and opinions of their forefathers are perpetuated, as a heritage transmitted to the latest posterity. The popular patricians did not on this occasion fall short of their name. A Valerius rose, as soon as the session was opened, and in spite of Appius, who refused to let him speak, he denounced the conspiracy formed against liberty. "These are the Valerii and Horatii who expelled the kings," said Horatius Barbatus, "their

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. (x. 58) pretends that three were plebeians; Livy (v. 7) makes them all patricians.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iii. 36: *intercessionem consensu sustulerant*.

<sup>3</sup> *De Rep.* ii. 37: *duabus tabulis iniquarum legum additis*.

descendants will not stoop their head under the Tarquins." The decemvirs interrupted and threatened him; they threatened to hurl him from the Tarpeian rock; but even the uncle of Appius declared against him. Still timid counsels prevailed and, at the end of a stormy sitting, ten legions were entrusted to the decemvirs. Two armies left Rome; being badly led, and disloyal to their chiefs, they were beaten. In one Dentatus served, who did not hide his hate. In order to get rid of him, the decemvirs sent him to choose a site for a camp, and gave him as escort some soldiers ordered to assassinate him. The Roman Achilles only succumbed after having killed fifteen of the traitors. The report was circulated that he had perished in an ambushade; but no one doubted that he had been sacrificed to the fears of the decemvirs. Another crime at last brought about their fall.

From the elevation of his tribunal, Appius had seen, several times, a beautiful young girl, hardly grown up, going to one of the public schools, held by freedmen in the Forum, and a criminal passion seized him. She was the daughter of one of the highest plebeians, Virginus, who was then with the army of Algidus, and the affianced of the former tribune Icilius. The decemvir suborned one of his clients, Marcus Claudius, and charged him to lay before him a suit which would bring Virginia into his power. The scene is very Roman, and well told by Livy. No seduction, no abduction, or open violence: the iniquity is accomplished with the observance of legal forms which disguise the violation of the law. A stranger, ignorant of the real motive of the suit, would have admired in Appius the imperturbable magistrate in the midst of popular clamour.

One day Claudius seized the maiden under pretence that she, being the child of one of his slaves, belonged to him. The tears of Virginia, the cries of her nurse, stirred up the crowd. Her father's friends protested against this insolent and false pretence; but Claudius called on Appius to have his rights respected, and the iniquitous judge, contrary to the very law which he had himself passed, adjudged provisional possession to his accomplice. Icilius cried out and the crowd grew agitated; Appius, with a hypocritical appearance of legality, consented to let Virginia free till the morrow, to hear the father's deposition and determine the question

of her paternity. But at the same time he despatched a secret emissary to the chiefs of the legions of the Algidus to enjoin them to prevent Virginius leaving the camp. The friends of Icilius forestalled the messenger, and in the morning, the father was at the Forum with his daughter and neighbours dressed in mourning. His presence did not stop Appius. All the available fighting men were in the armies; in Rome there remained only women, old men and infants, and the decemvir believed that his lictors and clients would be able to keep in check this timid crowd. So when Claudius had explained his case, he declared, without allowing the father to speak, that the proof was complete and that Virginia was a slave. Claudius wished to carry her off; the women who surrounded the damsel repulsed him, and Virginius, raising against Appius his arms menacingly, cries:—"It is to Icilius that I have affianced my child, and not to you; it is for marriage and not for shame that I have brought her up." And he added, pointing to the unarmed citizens:—"Will you permit it? Perhaps; but surely those who have arms will not!"

Appius, carrying out his part as magistrate, occupied only with administering justice and order in the city, deigns to answer. "Secret meetings," said he, "are held the whole night long in the city to stir up sedition; I know it, not by the insults of Icilius yesterday, by the violence of Virginius to-day, but by sure proofs. Therefore I am prepared for the struggle and have come down to the Forum with men-at-arms to check, in a manner worthy of my powers, those who disturb the public peace." And he ended by saying, "Citizens, keep quiet, it is the wisest course; and you, lictor, go, disperse the crowd and make way for the master to seize his slave."

At these threatening words, the multitude dispersed of its own accord. Then Virginius, despairing of aid, addressed the decemvir: "Appius," said he, "pardon the grief of a father and permit me, here in the presence of my child, to ask her nurse the whole truth." And he led Virginia towards a corner of the Forum where was a butcher's stall, he takes up from it a knife and strikes her to the heart, preferring to see her dead than dishonoured; then covered with her blood, he fled to the

army encamped on Algidus. The soldiers rose in revolt, marched upon Rome, where they seized the Aventine, and then, followed by all the people, united on the Sacred Mount with the legions of the Sabine army.

For some time the decemvirs hesitated, supported by a party in the senate who dreaded the results of a plebeian revolution. But, if it had been necessary to yield forty-six years before, when the patricians were still powerful and the plebeians without leaders, how was it possible to resist now when the people had the experience derived from their last struggles and the consciousness of their strength?<sup>1</sup> The decemvirs abdicated (449 B.C.).

Is this story of Appius in all parts credible, and has not Livy been, this time also, the echo of this bitterness, which for ten years had checked the great popular reform—the drawing up a code of written law? Appius has been represented as a friend of the people; in proof of this, it is asserted that he it was who gave three places to the plebeians in the second decemvirate; that he continued to hold office for the purpose of crushing the opposition of the irreconcilables in the senate who refused to accept the two last tables; in short, that the story aimed at perpetuating, by the blood of a virgin, the victory of the plebeians, as the blood of Lucretia, sixty years earlier, had perpetuated that of the nobles. This is possible; but, with such confirmed scepticism, no history at all can exist, and it being impossible to prove a negative, the old story preserves a part at least of its rights.

### III.—THE TWELVE TABLES.

The Twelve Tables made little change in the old rights of individuals. Aristocratic customs were too deeply rooted to permit them yet awhile to become modified by that spirit of equality and justice which the tribunes by degrees infused into the Roman constitution. The decemvirs preserved to the paterfamilias absolute power over his slaves, children, wife, and property.

If no will was left, the inheritance passed to the *agnati*,

if they failed to the *gentiles*; the law did not as yet recognize the *cognati* or relations of the wife.<sup>1</sup>

The Twelve Tables did not introduce, as has been sometimes maintained, any new law concerning the family, granting mere liberty to the wife and son. The emancipation of the son by these pretended sales freed him, it is true, from the paternal authority, but deprived him of his inheritance; for he suffered by emancipation a diminution of civil rights, *capitis diminutio*, which indicated certain disabilities, as for example, inheriting from his father, being guardian of his nephews, posterity etc., since the *capitis diminutio* destroyed the *jus agnationis*. Marriage on the contrary, by cohabitation or purchase, *coemptio*, was raised, so far as the husband was concerned, to the strictness of the patrician marriage: *usu anni continui in manum conveniebat*.<sup>2</sup> The plebeian had from this time, over wife and children, the paternal and conjugal power which the patrician had hitherto possessed, and which later on the provincial could obtain only by the gift of civic freedom. It is the *civil* marriage which receives the sanction of the law and which is placed, so far as its results are concerned, on a level with the *religious* marriage,<sup>3</sup> which will ultimately quite disappear. In four years, Canuleius made use of the rights recognized in the plebeian marriage to suppress the interdiction preserved in the Twelve Tables, of unions between the two orders. Thus the gates of the patrician city will open first to the plebeians of Rome, then to the Italian allies, and finally to their subjects in the provinces.

The ancient patrician *gens* must have been copied early in the families of rich plebeians; but the bonds of the *clientela* being gradually relaxed, the Twelve Tables tried to strengthen this social institution of old Italy. "If the patron does an injury to his client," it is said therein, "let him be accursed." It was a last effort to tie up to his condition the client, who finding in the law that protection which he had formerly sought from the great

<sup>1</sup> As regards property the omnipotence of the father was, in the 2nd century B.C., restrained by *lex Furia*, which forbade making a bequest of more than 1000 ases to the same person, in order to prevent the abuse of legacies which cut up properties and impoverished the old families.

<sup>2</sup> Gaius i. 111 and Cic., *pro Flacco*. 34.

<sup>3</sup> On the marriage by *confarreatio* (see p. 74 n. 2).

man, drifted away from the *gens* into the common crowd, where he found more liberty. Soon he espoused its interests and passions, as the clients of Camillus did who voted against him. This was an unfelt and yet profound revolution, for a part of the forces belonging to the aristocracy thus passed over to the plebeian camp.

Property remained also under the same conditions. It was either public or private. As to the first, there was never any freehold, because the State could not lose its rights; as for the second, two years sufficed to acquire it, for the State was interested in this that the land should not remain without culture. If it was a question of personal property or of slaves, one year was enough. But against a foreign possessor the law was always open: *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas*.<sup>1</sup> Hence the efforts of provincials, when Rome had extended her conquests to a distance, to obtain the title of citizen, which, among other privileges, gave, after an enjoyment for two years, the right of property over those uncertain lands, so numerous everywhere where the legions had passed.

In the heroic ages the law protected persons but little, because they knew how to defend themselves, and because courage was respected even to the extent of violence. The Twelve Tables have, then, comparatively light penalties for attacks on the person. But—and this is characteristic of Rome—attacks against property are severely punished. Theft becomes in them an impiety; for property is not only the power of the rich and the life of the poor, but all the goods which the house contains are a gift of the Penates, and the harvest is even Ceres herself. "Any one who shall have bewitched or used magical arts (*excantasset, pellexerit*) against another's crops, or who shall have carried off, during the night, the pasture of the flocks of his neighbour or cut his crop,<sup>2</sup> let him be devoted to Ceres, *Cereri necator*. At night let the robber be killed with impunity; during the day, if he make resistance. Let him who shall set fire to a shock of corn

<sup>1</sup> On the synonymy of *hospes* or *peregrinus* and of *hostis*, Cf. Cic. *de Off.* i. 12; Varr. *de Ling. Lat.*, v. 1. The stranger is an enemy. This was for the Romans the first principle of the law of nations.

<sup>2</sup> In the Twelve Tables, says Pliny (xviii. 3), it is a more serious crime than homicide.



be bound, beaten with rods and then burnt. The insolvent debtor shall be sold or cut in pieces."<sup>1</sup> Yet the Twelve Tables had moderated the severity of Numa's law respecting the removal of boundaries. It was no longer a capital crime;<sup>2</sup> soon it became simply a misdemeanour, and the Mamilian law (239 or 165 B.C.) limited the punishment of the offender to a fine. It was inevitable that time and the revolutionary spirit of the plebeians should alter the sacred character of property of former times.

For offences regarded as less grave two modes of punishment were in use among all barbarous peoples: the *lex talionis* or corporal reprisals and the private indemnity. "He who breaks anyone's limb shall pay 300 ases to the injured party; if he do not compound with him, let him submit to the talio."

Let us remark that this severe people yet had relatively speaking some very mild laws. It knew nothing as yet of torture, nor condemned either to imprisonment or penal servitude. All offences, even a good part of what we should call crimes, were compounded for by fine,—a punishment not liked by us because it affects not only the guilty but the family; a punishment which the Romans preferred because all the members of a family were conjointly responsible. In regard of crimes they troubled themselves only with those which affected the public peace, and they had only two forms of punishment for them: death and banishment. The condemned were thrown from the Tarpeian rock, strangled in the *Tullianum* or beaten with rods and beheaded. The Porcian law in the next century suppressed punishment by death for the citizen.

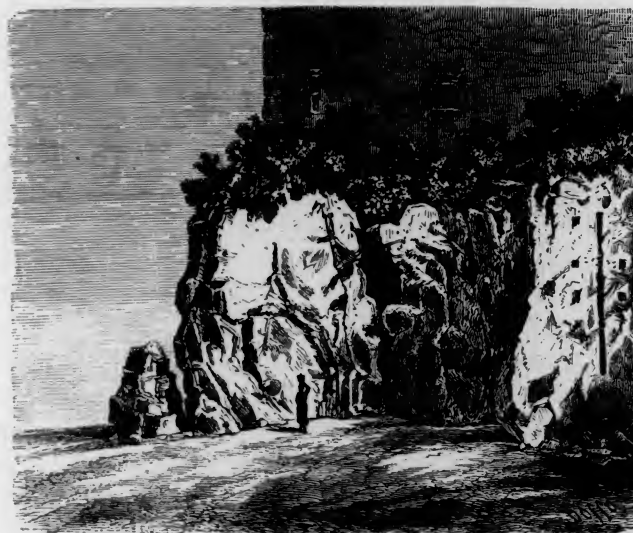
Cicero has preserved for us some curious directions about funerals. "You remember," says he, "that in our infancy we were made to recite the Twelve Tables, which now hardly any one knows." After having reduced luxury to three mourning robes, three bands of purple and ten flute players, they put down the lamentations: "Let the women no longer tear their cheeks; let them no longer use the *lessus* at funerals" . . . "praiseworthy

<sup>1</sup> See p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Trotz, *de Termino moto*. It is the establishment of the *iter limitare*. By means of this arrangement the need of applying Numa's law occurred but rarely, and this law fell into disuse.

<sup>3</sup> . . . *Neve lessum funeris eryo habento*. Cicero adds: *lessum quasi lugubrem ejulationem, ut vox ipsa significat*. (de Leg. ii. 23.)

directions, for they applied alike to rich and poor, which is very proper, since death effaces every difference. There are other regulations: "Let no one be buried within the city"—a religious prohibition which caused sepulture to take place in the country



The Tarpeian Rock.<sup>1</sup>

or along the high roads leading to the city. "Let no gold be put into the graves,"—a useless expense which the Etruscans incurred voluntarily, but which the Romans spared. However, "any one whose teeth are bound with gold wire may be buried or burnt with this gold,"—a respect for the corpse which the hand must not profane and which must be consigned to the flame of the pile or the earth of the tomb. "Let the pile be erected sixty feet at the least from the house of another,"—a

<sup>1</sup> "Travellers are shown a bare piece of rock at Rome and told: This is the Tarpeian rock, and they are astonished at its small height, not reflecting that the rock which is pointed out to them by the cicerone at random is only a small part of the Tarpeian rock. This name used to be given to the whole southern ridge. I live on this summit and understand very well what would happen to me if they threw me out by the window into Strada di Consolazione. It would be a fall of 100 feet. Besides, the side of the Tarpeian rock bristled with projections against which the bodies of those who were thrown down were mangled and smashed before reaching the bottom." Ampère (*Hist. rom. à Rome*. ii. 560 notes.)

precaution against fire, in order that the dead hurt not the living. "Let not the wood be polished with iron,"—a useless luxury.<sup>1</sup> "Let funeral feasts be suppressed as well as the throwing of perfumes into the flames; incense-boxes<sup>2</sup> and chaplets, except that which the deceased shall have gained by his courage, and which may, on the day of the funeral, be placed on his head,"—precautions to restrain the pomp used by the great in these ceremonies. "Let not the bones of the deceased be kept for the purpose of performing the obsequies later on,"—a prohibition against celebrating several times the obsequies of the same person, and of drawing, by this repeated show, the attention of the city to the same house.



A priest presenting the incense-box.

The greater part of these regulations were borrowed from the laws of Solon, who himself also had aimed at diminishing the influence of the Eupatridæ by restraining the show at funerals. But we shall see that the severities of the law will not prevail over manners. The funerals of the great were always at Rome among the most pompous ceremonies of the city, and by their tombs the Romans have created a kind of architecture, which we still copy.

Two questions of more importance from an historical point of view are: the introduction of several laws more favourable to the poor or the entire order of plebeians, and the general character which law takes in the Twelve Tables.<sup>3</sup>

Here were arrangements favourable to the plebeians: "Whoever shall lend money at more than 8½ per cent. shall restore it four-fold." That the *nexus* (the slave for debt) be not considered

<sup>1</sup> And perhaps a religious idea. We have seen that not a single nail was used in the construction of the Sublician bridge.

<sup>2</sup> *Acerra*, incense box; one of these is represented in the engraving, which has been copied from a painted vase in the Naples Museum, which represents the preparations for a sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> In the text, so far as it has been made out, there is much uncertainty in the order of the contents; but the order which has much importance for the juris-consult, has none for the historian.

infamous. This a protection for the debtor against the usurer. "In state matters let them adjudge provisionally in favour of liberty,"—a protection for the weak against the strong. "That it be permissible to form corporations or colleges provided that nothing be done against the laws and the public weal." This was the right to the lower classes to form associations. "Let the false witness and the judge who has taken bribes be thrown from the rock,"—a protection to the poor defendant against the rich suitor and the patrician judge. "That there be always right of appeal to the people from the sentences of the magistrates." This is a fresh sanction to the Valerian law, and a restriction put on the unlimited power of the dictatorship.<sup>1</sup> "That the people only, in the *comitia centuriata*, have the power of condemnation to death." This was a grant to the people of criminal jurisdiction, taken from the consuls, to whom the *lex Valeria de provocatione* had left the judgment in the first instance.<sup>2</sup> It was to the assembly of the centuries, where all patricians and plebeians are mingled according to scale of property, that the power passes. The Twelve Tables call it *maximum comitatum*, the true assembly of the Roman people.

This was the general character of the law: "No more personal laws; *ne privilegia inroganto*." The civil legislation of the Twelve Tables recognises Roman citizens only. Its regulations are made neither for an order nor a class, and its formula is always: *si quis*,—if any one; the patrician and the plebeian, the senator and the pontiff, the rich and the proletarian are equal in its eyes. *Forti sanatique idem jus esto*.<sup>3</sup> Thus by this blotting out of distinctions, formerly so deep, the final union of the two peoples is at last proclaimed, and this new people formed by the entirety of the citizens has now the sovereign authority which had till then remained in the hands of the patrician *populus*. "What the people shall have ordained finally shall be law."

<sup>1</sup> Fest., *Optima lex*. Livy, iii. 55; Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 31: *ab omni judicio penaque provocari licere*.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero said of this law: *admirandum, tantum majores in posterum providisse*. The senate declared in 310 B.C. *judicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse* (Livy, iv. 7). The elections and the laws were alone submitted to the *auctoritas patrum*.

<sup>3</sup> Let the strong and the weak have the same right. See in Festus v. *Sanates*, the explanation of this word.

Two remarks must be made on this axiom: the first is that the law is no longer the revelation of the nymph Egeria, or the inspiration of gods which should continue mysterious and unchangeable; the people who have made it can unmake it. The second is the clear and simple definition which is given of it. The Romans have not sought for it in philosophical considerations. They do not define a principle: they assert a fact—a new proof of that practical spirit which demands from life and society only those useful results which they may afford.

The people had also obtained by the Twelve Tables some material ameliorations, and, if not political equality—from which the poor could scarcely profit, at least equality before the civil and criminal law which gives even to the most wretched the feeling of dignity as a man.

The aristocratic spirit transpires, however, in this code drawn up by patricians: "Let the rich plead for the rich; for the poor anyone who will."<sup>1</sup> This is only contemptuous; but the law is very severe against authors of scurrilous verses, and those who meet secretly at night,<sup>2</sup> and in one of the last articles added by Appius it sanctioned the invidious exclusiveness of former days: "Let there be no marriages between patricians and plebeians." It is a protest of the old masters of Rome against the new character of the law, in the name of their ancestors, of the nobility of their race, the religion of their families and the special protection which the gods granted them. Let there be equality since they could not prevent it; let the same judges, the same law, the same penalty strike Fabius and Icilius; but no mésalliances; outside the tribunal let the one return to the crowd from which he came, the other to the *curia*, the temples of the gods, the hereditary atrium!

The patricians had in fact allowed nothing to be changed in the constitution; they remained consuls and senators, augurs and pontiffs, judges especially; and by the multifold forms of procedure of which the plebeians were ignorant, they were able to

<sup>1</sup> *Assiduo vindex assiduus esto; proletario quisvis volet vindex esto.*

<sup>2</sup> *Qui cetus nocturnos agitaverit, capital esto.* For all these citations from the Twelve Tables I have followed the text given by Reiske in his edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, pp. 2366-2381.

nullify this publication of the law and this civil equality which they had been compelled to proclaim.<sup>1</sup>

In the populous cities of Italy and Greece neither law nor custom would suffer that state of war in peace—the right of taking justice into one's own hands, which so long decimated the modern nobility, and public good sense was sufficiently strong, in spite of blind superstition, to prevent referring the decision of a cause to the judgment of God, as was the case in the trial by ordeal in the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> In every case human justice adjudicated. But at Rome the judges were not a class of men whose life was devoted to the religious duty of affording justice. For every trial, the consul named judges, always patricians, and these judges sat only on days fixed by the secret calendar of the Pontiffs, which changed yearly. They did not admit the litigants to set forth simply the matters in dispute;<sup>3</sup> mysterious formulæ, gestures, and *actions* were necessary. It was required to hold in one hand a bit of straw as a memento of the lance of the Quirites, to touch with the other the object at stake, to declare his right in the established terms, to throw the straw at the object; then to defy the adversary; if the question related to a theft, to enter naked into the house of the suspected thief, girt with a linen band, a dish in the hand, etc., and especially to avoid making any mistake, any error in this judicial drama, for then the suit could no longer proceed.<sup>4</sup> In this unknown labyrinth of legitimate acts and formulæ of action, the plebeian easily strayed from the legal road, at the least hint from the judges; and the judge was so often his political adversary!

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. ii. 27: *φανερὸς ἦπασαι*. As regards equality before the civil law it is still proved by these expressions *æquate leges* (Livy, iii. 31, 63, 67), *ισονομία, ισηγορία* (Dionys. x. 1), *νόμον κοινὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι* (x. 50). Appius says: *se omnibus, summis infimisque jura æquare* (Livy, iii. 34).

<sup>2</sup> [Nevertheless the legend of the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii is distinctly an appeal to the same principle, which we find in old Jewish history, and which was proposed by the Argives to the Spartans in Thucydides' time (Cf. Thuc., v. 41). The Spartans thought it folly (*μωρία*) but thought it politic to agree. Of course, the duel never came off. The Argives quoted the story of Othryades as an old decision in this way. In later Roman times a personal quarrel was settled characteristically by a sort of legal bet, *ni vir bonus esset*, where a man's character was investigated in court, and if cleared, his opponent lost his stakes.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic., *pro Murena* 12 and Gaius iv. 13-17. There were 5 formulas of actions: *sacramento, per judicis postulacionem, per conditionem, per manus injectionem, per pignoris captionem*; the *acta legitima* were numberless. Cf. Brisson, *de Formulæ*.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 149.



Still, the new legislation had founded the civil law of Rome; four centuries after Cicero still recommended its study, *carmen necessarium*,<sup>1</sup> and Gaius, under the Antonines, drew up a long commentary on the Twelve Tables. This reform did not satisfy all the hopes of the people; but the decemvirs had nevertheless given an impulse to the plebeian power, if not by their laws, at least by the acts of violence of their closing days.

*De Leg. ii. 4, 23.*



A woman holding a balance and a stick, which is doubtless a measure, the *pertica* or perch (=10 Rom. ft.=3 yds. 8 in.). Silver penny of Antoninus Pius.

## CHAPTER IX.

### EFFORTS TO OBTAIN POLITICAL EQUALITY (449-400).

#### I.—RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRIBUNATE AND CONSULATE.

THE revolution of 510 B.C., made by the patricians, had benefited the aristocracy; that of 449, made by the people, profited the people. The decemvirs had abdicated, and two popular senators, Valerius and Horatius, had gone to the Sacred Mount to promise the re-establishment of the tribunate and right of appeal, extended to all the citizens, with an amnesty for those who had taken part in the revolt. The people returned to the Aventine, and in order to be assured that these promises would be kept, occupied once more the Capitol.<sup>1</sup> But no one dreamt of disputing the victory. The Pontifex Maximus held the comitia for the election of ten tribunes, then they nominated as consuls Horatius and Valerius, who by several laws guaranteed the recovered liberty.

The first of these laws prohibited under pain of death the creation at any time of a magistracy without appeal.<sup>2</sup> The second gave the force of law to the *plebiscita*, i.e., that resolutions passed in the assembly of the tribes should no longer need the sanction of the senate, as did the resolutions of the centuries, to become general laws.<sup>3</sup> The third renewed the anathema pronounced against any who outraged the tribunitian inviolability.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *pro. Cornel. i. fr. 25.*

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς λοχίσιον ἐκκλησίαις τεθησομένοις (Dionys. xi. 45). M. Willems (*le Droit public romain*, p. 61) thinks that from this moment the patricians and their clients were admitted, if not by right yet at least in fact, to the *concilia plebis*. The centuries preserved judgments for capital crimes, election to the chief magistracies, the right of making the most general laws, and of deciding for peace or war. The legislative power of the tribes was put in force respecting questions of internal order, and especially for the maintenance

The fourth ordered that a copy of all the *senatus-consulta*, countersigned by the tribunes with the letter T,<sup>1</sup> to prevent all falsification, should be entrusted to the plebeian *ædiles* and kept by them in the temple of Ceres on the Aventine. Another copy was, without doubt, kept by the *quæstors* in the temple of Saturn. The tribune Duilius had this law passed: that the magistrate who neglected to hold the *comitia* at the end of the year, for the election of the tribunes of the people, should be punished with the rod and axe.<sup>2</sup>

Liberty was assured, but the blood shed called for vengeance. Virginius accused the *decemvirs*. Appius, their chief, killed himself in prison before the trial; Oppius, the second in unpopularity died in the same way. The others were exiled; their property was confiscated to the temple of Ceres. The people were satisfied with these two victims, and Duilius declared that he would oppose his veto to any further accusation.

However the two consuls had resumed military operations against the *Æquians* and *Sabines*, and the latter were so thoroughly beaten by Horatius that they remained at peace with Rome for a century and a half. On their return the consuls demanded a triumph; up to that time the senate alone had the right to grant it, and refused. The tribune Icilius had it decreed by the people, and "the consuls triumphed not only over the enemy but the patricians also." It was the tribunes also who, gradually bringing the people into the most important state affairs, decided in the debate between Ardea and Aricia.<sup>3</sup>

This matter is worth a moment's delay, for it has given occasion to one of those very rare stories which show us the interior of the Italian cities. Ardea, a very old Latin city four miles from the sea, and Aricia, celebrated in antiquity for its terrible temple of Diana and in modern times by its charming lake Nemi, disputed about the territory of the city of Corioli,

and extension of public rights. Aul. Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* X. xx. 6) defines the *plebiscitum*: *lex quam plebes, non populus, accipit.*

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. II. ii. 7; Livy (ii. 55) says: *senatusconsulta quæ antea arbitrio consulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque.*

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iii. 55; Diod. xii. 25. Another law, proposed by Trebonius, obliged ten tribunes always to be nominated, and forbade coöptation.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, iii. 71.



Lake Nemi.

destroyed in one of the wars against the Volscians. After many battles, they chose Rome as umpire. The senate referred the matter to the people, who, at the instigation of the nobles, played the part of judge in the fable of the Pleaders: they adjudged to themselves the contested territory. The Ardeates, more pleased with the discomfiture of Aricia than annoyed at having lost their case, or at least their nobles, who had need of a foreign alliance against the people of Ardea, made a treaty with Rome which gave some fertile lands to the Romans. Did this convention seem an act of treason to the plebeians of Ardea, or were they hurt in some other way? We know not; but, a little while after they left the city, and in place of observing, in this *secession*, the patriotic moderation which the Roman historians confess in the seceders of the Sacred Mount or the Aventine, they returned to Ardea with a Volscian army. The patricians and their clients, incapable of defending themselves, invoked the help of their new allies. Those whom they termed rebels were conquered by a Roman army, and their chiefs perished under the axe. To repopulate the city, now half desert, Rome sent there a colony; but the triumvirs put in charge by it of the division of the lands gave the best to their friends of Ardea; so the anger against them was so hot among the Roman people that, not daring to appear before them, they stayed in the colony, where doubtless they obtained a good number of *jugera* well selected. This history enables us to see in the Latin cities the same divisions as at Rome and, among all those peoples, modes of action which prove that the ancients understood justice differently from us, or at least otherwise than our moral treatises define it.

The year 449 had not taken from the patricians all their privileges. Rome has still two classes, but only one people, and the chiefs of the plebs, sitting in the senate, are meditating, after the struggle to obtain civil equality, to commence another to gain political equality.

In a revolution, in fact, the party which has conquered opposition cannot stop short; its momentum carries it beyond the goal, and it preserves for a long while an impetus by which its leaders know how to profit—sometimes in the public interest, more often for their ambition. After the victory, the tribunes



employed the rest of their energy to complete the work of the decemvirs and carry out the Terentilian law. The patricians had more than once tried to slip into the tribunate; the Trebonian law closed it against them for ever. They had reserved to themselves the judicial power, except in the case of a capital sentence against a citizen, and the administration of the finances, by leaving to the consuls the right of nominating quæstors of the treasury. The tribunes obtained in 447 B.C. that the *quæstores parricidii* et *quæstores ærarü* should be for the future nominated in the assemblies by the tribes, although these two offices remained patrician.<sup>1</sup>

Two things maintained the insulting distinction between the two orders: the prohibition of marriage between patricians and plebeians, and the tenure of all the magisterial offices by those who formed since the origin of Rome the sovereign people of the *patres*. In 445 B.C. the tribune Canuleius demanded the abolition of the prohibition relative to marriages, and his colleagues, a share in the consulate. This was a demand for political equality.

## II.—NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE YEAR 444.

We know now that every aristocracy which closes its ranks soon perishes, because time and power quickly exhaust political families. Without knowing it, the Roman patriciate acted as if it comprehended this truth, and this perception of public necessities made the greatness of Rome. After a resistance skilfully calculated for opposing to the popular torrent a dam which broke its force without exciting it, the nobles always yielded, but like a disciplined army which never becomes broken, they retreated in order to make a strong defence at the next point. Thus was prolonged this internal war which moulded the robust youth of the Roman people.

When the *patres* heard this new and audacious demand of the tribune their indignation burst forth. "Thus then," said Claudius, with his hereditary pride, "thus nothing will remain

<sup>1</sup> Tac., *Ann.* xi. 22.

unalloyed; plebeian ambition will soil everything, both the authority—rendered sacred by time, the religion, the family rights, the auspices, and the images of our ancestors." But the people used the method which had already been used twice before: they withdrew in arms to the Janiculum;<sup>1</sup> and the senate, thinking that customs would be stronger than law, agreed that henceforth there should be legal marriages between patricians and plebeians.

When this barrier was once broken down, it was not possible to forbid the access of the plebeians to curule offices. However, by mere adroitness, the patriciate, though half conquered, defended itself for forty-five years longer. For it had in this struggle the gods themselves as allies, from the belief deeply rooted in the people that the hand of a noble was alone able to offer favourable sacrifices for the State. The colleagues of Canuleius asked, in the name of the plebeians, one of the two consulships and two of the quæstors of the treasury. The senate granted that the quæstors of the treasury should be chosen without distinction<sup>2</sup> in the two orders; and, thanks to this latitude, for a long time patricians only held this office. As regards the consulate, they preferred to disinherit it. This royal power had already lost the right of performing certain sacrifices (*rex sacrorum*), the care of the treasure (*quæstores ærarü*), and the direction of criminal affairs, (*quæstores parricidii*); and two magistrates, *sine imperio*, that is to say, without military authority or jurisdiction, the CENSORS, created in 443 B.C., at first for five years, then for eighteen months (434), obtained the consular right of making the census, of regulating the classes, of administering the public domain, of farming out to the highest bidder the tax on the public lands, of watching over public morality, and, later on, drawing up the

<sup>1</sup> Flor., i. 25. *Tertiam seditionem . . . in monte Janiculo . . . duce Canuleio*. The patricians alone were able to take the auspices. This privilege, necessary for acquaintance with all the mysteries of religion and law, gave them a religious character, which the plebeians in the long run would share by the mixing of families. Hence the keen opposition of the senate to a law which would lead to the mingling of the two orders. When Clisthenes wished to strengthen, at Athens, the democratic element, he suppressed the *sacra privata* . . . *kai ta twn idion ieron synaktion eis dliga kai koina kai panta soφιστιον*, ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμειθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις . . . (Arist., *Pol.* VI. ii. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iv. 43; *promiscue*. The quæstors were treasurers of the public funds, they it was who opened and closed the treasury, in which were also deposited the standards of the legions.

list of senators and knights.<sup>1</sup> In this way they gradually attained the first rank in the State, and re-election to an office which became the highest honour in the city was presently forbidden.

There remained to the consuls their military functions, civil jurisdiction, the designation of new senators, the presidency in the curiæ and the comitia, the care of the city and the laws. These powers were given, but sub-divided, without curule honours, with six lictors in place of twelve, and under the plebeian name of tribune, to three, four or six generals. To these *military tribunes*, elected without auspices,<sup>2</sup> religion forbade at first one of the most important prerogatives of the consuls, viz., the nomination of a dictator.<sup>3</sup> Mere lieutenants, so to say, of an invisible magistracy, but which the senate knows and inspires, they did not fight under their own auspices, and never did they obtain the most envied of military rewards, the triumph.<sup>4</sup> What power they have is also divided among them according to their number. One marches at the head of the legions, another commands the reserve, another the veterans, another again watches over the arsenals and provisioning of the troops. One only is invested with the religious and judicial functions of the consuls, viz., the *præfectus urbis*, president of the senate and the comitia, guardian of religion, the laws and all the interests of the city.<sup>5</sup> Thus the senate took care that these prerogatives, which include also the duties given later on to the *prætors*, with the important privilege of naming the

<sup>1</sup> Pastures, woods, fisheries, salt mines, mines, harbour dues, etc. (Livy, xxxii. 7; xl. 51). On the duties of the censors see Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 3; Hist. Aug. *Valer.* 2. But all these duties were not theirs from the beginning. Livy says (iv. 8) *Res a parva origine orta*. The first mention of a *lectio senatus* by the censors is from the year 312 B.C. (Livy, viii. 29-30), which however does not mean that there had never been one before. [It appears from the researches of Soltau at the Carlsruhe Congress of Philologists (1882), that the censorate was directly imitated from the chief administrator (*ὁ ἐν τῇ δακτυλίῳ*) of the Athenian tributes. The direct influence of Greece on Rome is probably older and greater than is usually thought.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> This can be inferred from the speech of Appius (Livy, vi. 41), *nullus auspicato*. At least they had not the *maxima auspicia*. (Aul. Gell. xiii. 15). Livy even says (v. 18) that they were nominated in the profane assembly of the tribes; but he contradicts himself elsewhere (v. 13).

<sup>3</sup> *Religio obstat* . . . (Livy, iv. 31). However in 423 B.C. in a pressing danger the augurs removed this prohibition, and the consular tribune, *præfectus urbis*, Corn. Cossus, nominates a dictator.

<sup>4</sup> Zonaras, vii. 19 confirmed by the silence of the triumphal fasti. The triumph was accorded to those only who had conquered *suis auspiciis*.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, vi. 5. In 424 four tribunes, *e quibus Cossus præfuit Urbi*; the same in 431 B.C. in 383, etc.

judges, remained in the hands of a patrician.<sup>1</sup> When the plebeians ultimately gained entrance into the consular tribunate, one place at least was always reserved for a candidate of the other order.<sup>2</sup>

Out of the consulate three offices are formed: the quæstorship, the censorship and the consular tribunate. The two former are exclusively patrician. The military tribunes, in reality pro-consuls confined, with one exception, to the command of the legions, could now be chosen without distinction, from the two orders. But the law, in not requiring that every year a fixed number of them be plebeians, allowed them to be all patricians; and they remained so for nearly fifty years.<sup>3</sup>

In spite of such skilful precautions, the senate did not give up the consulate. It held in reserve and pure from all taint the patrician magistracy, hoping for better days. The dictatorship, which was not effaced from the new constitutional code, and the right of opposition from the *patres* remained as a last resource for extreme cases. Religion in fine always furthered the interests of the aristocracy; and if, in spite of the influence of the nobles in the assemblies, in spite of the arbitrary power of the president of the *comitia*, who had the right to refuse votes for a hostile candidate, the majority of votes were in favour of a new man, his election could still be quashed by an adverse decision of the augurs. If necessary, Jupiter thundered.



Jupiter.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Once, in 396, Livy names six plebeians. But in the place of P. Mælius the new fragments of the Fasti and Diodorus (xiv. 90) name Q. Manlius.

<sup>2</sup> As regards the frequent variations in the number of the consular tribunes, a thing so strange in Roman antiquity, they are explained by making the consular tribunes to be only generals. Their number grew according to the need. From 443 B.C. to 432 they are three, two for the legions, one to remain as prefect in the city. In 425, after the declaration of war against Veii, four are named. If the number reaches six in 404 it is still for the Veian war. When they are eight, it is perhaps, as Perizonius has maintained, because the censors were included.

<sup>3</sup> From 444 to 400 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Jupiter with the sceptre and thunderbolt. Antique *Entaglio* from the French national collection, No. 1420.

## III.—STRUGGLE FOR THE EXECUTION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Whatever cleverness may have been exhibited by the senate, the principle of political equality had just triumphed, and the division of the curule magistracies was only a question of time. This time was long, for the question here was no longer to satisfy general interests, but only the ambition of some chiefs of the people. Thus the attack, though spirited, was ill sustained; and the plebeians, content with the name of equality, neglected for a long time to grasp the reality.<sup>1</sup> We shall see them, at the crisis, ready to abandon Licinius Stolo and the consulate for a few acres of land.

The constitution of 444 B.C. authorized the nomination of plebeians to the consular tribunate; down to 400 B.C. none obtained it; and during the seventy-eight years that this office continued, the senate twenty-four times nominated consuls, that is to say, it attempted, and succeeded, one year in three, in re-establishing the ancient form of government.<sup>2</sup>

These perpetual oscillations encouraged the ambitious hopes of a rich knight, Spurius Maelius (439 B.C.). He thought that the Romans would willingly resign into his hands their unquiet liberty, and during a famine he gave very liberally to the poor. The



Coin of Serv.  
Ahala.<sup>3</sup>

The senate became alarmed at this alms-giving which was not at all in accordance with the manners of that time, and raised to the dictatorship Cincinnatus, who, on taking office, prayed the gods not to grant that his old age should prove a cause of hurt or damage to the republic. Summoned before the tribunal of the dictator, Maelius refused to appear, and sought protection against

<sup>1</sup> Livy says, it is true, *imperio et insignibus consularibus usos*; but all that precedes, shows without doubt the inferiority of the tribunes to the consuls. If the name alone had been changed the tribunes of the people would not have shown such obstinacy in demanding the consulate itself. "It was never a mere quarrel of words," says Madame de Staël.

<sup>2</sup> It was on the proposition of the senate that the centuries decided each year whether they would elect military tribunes or consuls. It did not generally propose tribunes except when they were threatened with war: the ordinary formula at the time of the election of consuls was, *par et otium domi forisque*.

<sup>3</sup> AHALA. Head of Servilius Ahala on a silver coin of the Servilian family.

the licitors amongst the crowd which filled the Forum. But the master of the horse, Serv. Ahala, managed to reach him, and ran him through with his sword. In spite of the indignation of the people, Cincinnatus sanctioned the act of his lieutenant, caused the house of the traitor to be demolished, and the *præfectus annonæ*, Minucius Augurinus, sold, for an as per *modius*, the corn amassed by Maelius.<sup>1</sup> Such is the story of the partisan of the nobles;<sup>2</sup> but at that epoch to have dreamt of re-establishing royalty would have been a foolish dream in which Spurius could not have indulged. Without doubt he had wished to obtain, by popular favour, the military tribunate, and in order to intimidate the plebeian candidates, the patricians overthrew him by imputing to him the accusation which Livy complacently details by the mouth of Cincinnatus, of having aimed at royalty. The crowd always can be cajoled by words, and the senate had the art of concentrating on this word *royalty* all the phases of popular hatred. The move succeeded; during the eleven years following the people nine times allowed consuls to be nominated.<sup>4</sup> There was, however, in 433 B.C. a plebeian dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, who reduced the tenure of censorship to 18 months.



Coin of  
Augurinus.<sup>3</sup>

These nine consulships gave such confidence to the nobles that the senate itself had to suffer from the proud want of discipline shown by the consuls of the year 428 B.C. Though conquered by the Æquians, they refused to nominate a dictator. To overcome their resistance the senate had recourse to the tribunes of the people, who threatened to drag the consuls to prison.<sup>5</sup> To see the tribunitian authority protecting the majesty of the senate was quite a new phenomenon. From this day the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iv. 16; Flor., i. 26; Cic., *Cat.* i. 1. For a different story Cf. a newly discovered frag. of Dionys. Hal. in Müller's *Fragg. Hist. Græc.* ii. p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iv. 12.

<sup>3</sup> C. AVG(urinus). Two persons standing hold one of them two loaves, the other, the augural *lituus*. In the midst a striated column, supporting a statue, between two corn-ears and two lions couchant. This silver coin of the Minucian family refers to some fact which has been lost. Livy (iv. 16) simply says: *Minucius bove aurato extra portam Trigeminam est donatus*. Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 3; xxxiv. 5.

<sup>4</sup> In thirty-five years, from 444 to 400 B.C., the senate obtained the nomination of consuls twenty times.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, iv. 26.



reputation of the tribunate equalled its power, and few years passed without the plebeians obtaining some new advantage.

Three years earlier the tribunes, jealous of seeing the votes always given to the nobles, had proscribed the white robes, which marked out from a distance, to all eyes, the patrician candidate:<sup>1</sup> This was the first law against undue canvassing.

In 430 a law put an end to arbitrary valuations of penalties payable in kind.<sup>2</sup>

In 427 the tribunes, by opposing the levies, obliged the senate to carry to the comitia centuriata the question of the war against Veii.<sup>3</sup>

In 423 they revived the agrarian law, and demanded that the tithe should be more punctually paid in the future by the occupiers of domain land, and applied to the pay of the troops.

They miscarried this time; but in 421 it seemed necessary to raise the number of quæstors from two to four; the people consented to it only on the condition that the quæstorship be accessible to the plebeians.

Three years later 3,000 acres of the lands of Labicium were distributed to fifteen hundred plebeian families. It was very little: so the people laid claim in 414 to the division of the lands of Bola, taken from the Æquians. A military tribune, Postumius, being violently opposed to it, was slain in an outbreak of the soldiery. This crime, unheard of in the history of Roman armies, did harm to the popular cause; there was no distribution of lands, and for five years the senate was able to nominate the consuls. The patrician reaction produced another against it which ended in the thorough execution of the constitution of the year 444. An Icilius in 412, a Mænius in 410 B.C. took up again the agrarian law, and opposed the levy. The year following three of the Icilian family were named as tribunes. It was a menace to the other order. The patricians understood it, and in 410 three plebeians obtained the quæstorship.

<sup>1</sup> In 431. Cf. Livy, iv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Rep.* ii. 35. Livy, iv. 30. The law fixed the value in silver of an ox and a sheep: an ox equalled 100 *asses*, a sheep 10.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, iv. 30. In 380 it was the tribes who decided that war should be made on the Volscians. (Livy, vi. 21).

In 405 pay was established for the troops, and the rich undertook to pay the larger portion of it.

Finally, in 400, four military tribunes out of six were plebeians.

The chiefs of the people thus obtained the public offices and even places in the senate, and the poor obtained an indemnity which supported their families while they served with the colours. All ambitions, all desires are at present satisfied. Calm and union returned to Rome; we can see it in the vigour of the attacks on external foes.



Rome followed by a Magistrate.<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre.

## CHAPTER X.

MILITARY HISTORY FROM 448 TO 389 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

### I.—CONQUEST OF ANXUR OR TERRACINA (406).

IN the middle of the fifth century B.C., at the period which precedes and follows the decemvirate, the Latin confederation was dissolved and the Roman territory open to all attacks. Every year the Sabines descended from the mountains of Eretum, the Æquians from Algidus, the Volscians from the Alban Mount, and the Etruscans disturbed the right bank of the Tiber. It seemed as if a last effort must be made to set Rome free from her enemies. But the people had just made in their turn a plebeian revolution. Confidence grew again; the leaders were popular; the war became successful. During half a century Rome fought only for existence; afterwards she fought for empire. She was helped by two powerful means which the kings seem to have already employed; military pay, which allows longer campaigns and stricter discipline; the colonisation of captured cities, which assured the possession of conquests and prepared the way for new ones. Thus, in the space of fifty years, the Sabines, the Æquians and the Volscians laid down their arms, Veii disappeared, and the Latins became the subjects of Rome.

The first expedition, after the re-establishment of liberty, was signalised by a victory over the Sabines, which confined them for a century and a half to the Apennines. Perhaps it was not the terror inspired by the Roman arms which deserves credit for this result, so much as the circumstances which offered to the Sabines more lucrative enterprises.

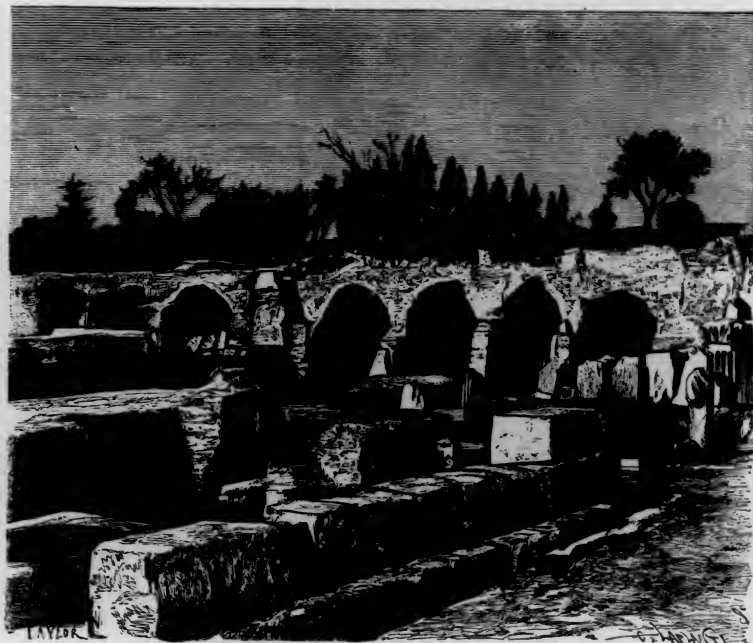
<sup>1</sup> It is necessary for all these wars to keep in view the map which we have given of the *Ager Romanus*, p. 184, and that of Central Italy.

The Samnites were at that time very disquieted in their mountains, and commenced against their rich neighbours those incursions which obtained for them Lucania and the Campanian plain. In 420 they took the large city of Cumæ. The Sabines were doubtless engaged, as were all the mountaineers of the Apennines, in this reaction of the old Italian race against the foreigners, and Rome, thankful to count one enemy less, boasted of the moderation of the Sabines.

These movements of the Samnites made a diversion more favourable to the Romans by drawing away to the Liris the attention and forces of the Volscians, who however in 443 came as far as the Esquiline Gate. But T. Quinctius destroyed their army, and established at the entrance of their country<sup>1</sup> a garrison which kept them in check for fifteen years. Then, as if these people relieved one another to wear out Rome, and exhaust it by a war without cessation, the Etruscans recalled the legions from the South to the North. Fidenæ, five miles from the Janiculum, on the left bank of the Tiber, was an advanced post of Rome or Etruria, according as the descendants of the Roman colonists, sent by the kings into that city, or the inhabitants of Etruscan origin were the stronger there. In 430 the aborigines drove away the colonists and placed themselves under the protection of the Veientes and Faliscans, after having massacred, at their instigation, four ambassadors from the senate. This war caused the nomination of two dictators—the one who took possession of Fidenæ in 435; the other, the cavalry general, Corn. Cossus, who slew Tolumnius, Lars or king of Veii, and offered up the second *spolia opima* (426 B.C.) To punish this second revolt the senate caused the whole Etruscan population to be massacred or sold. The terrified Veii begged a truce of twenty years (425). There is hardly another mention of the name of Fidenæ in history. In the last century of the republic might be seen in the forum the statues of the four assassinated ambassadors, and when Augustus restored the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he found there the armour of Tolumnius with his linen cuirass which bore an inscription.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At Verrugo, a city or position unknown which must be looked for in the environs of Signia. <sup>2</sup> Livy, iv. 20. CC

In the interval between these two Etruscan wars, the Æquians and Volscians had taken up arms and united their forces. A. Tubertus gave the first example of inflexible discipline, which neither victory nor age could warp, and which formed the best infantry in the world. His son had fought without orders and returned as victor, but he had him beheaded<sup>1</sup> (431 B.C.).



Ruins called those of the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

But he gained on Mount Algidus, over the allied army, a great battle which gave some respite to the Romans. A truce of eight years, and then intestine divisions which enfeebled the Volscian nation, suspended hostilities in this direction. The Æquians, left to themselves, lost several cities<sup>2</sup>—among others Labicum—where the senate hastened to send a colony of fifteen hundred men, which barred the way against these turbulent

<sup>1</sup> *Val. Max.* II. vii. 6; *Aul. Gell.* XVII. xxi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In 418 Labicum, where they sent a colony; in 414, Bola; in 413, Ferentinum, which the Hernicans re-entered.

mountaineers, and enabled the Romans to go to the valley of the Trerus and help the Hernicans, their faithful allies. Rome profited from this success to strike some decisive blows at the Volscians. In 406 three armies menaced at the same time Antium, Ecetra,<sup>1</sup> and Anxur or Terracina. Placed at the extremity of the Pontine marshes, on the slope of a hill at the sea, Anxur was one of the richest cities belonging to this people, and a military position, which commanded, at the same time, the Pomptinum and the passage from Latium into Campania. Tarquin had understood its importance, and the royal garrison which held it in 510 was sufficient to hold in check the whole country of the Volscians. While two armies marched with great ostentation towards Antium and Ecetra, a third, led by Fabius Ambustus, advanced rapidly upon Anxur and took the place before the inhabitants—a long distance from the ordinary seat of war—had time to realize the attack.<sup>2</sup> The two divisions which had covered this skilful and bold march joined with the soldiers of Fabius in dividing the plunder. A garrison was left in Anxur, and Fabius returned to inform the senate that the republic had reconquered the frontier held by Rome under the kings eighty years before.

The plebeians deserved recompense for this brilliant conquest; besides, the truce with Veii expired the following year, and that people showed hostile intentions. The senate decreed that the infantry should receive payment from the public treasury.<sup>3</sup> The legionary, being consequently in no hurry to return to his own fields, remained longer under arms. The war might be extended, operations be prolonged, and the generals demand greater efforts and obedience from their soldiers.

Large operations now succeed the numerous skirmishes, whose repetition would fatigue by its monotony, did not the glory which this people attained in maturity throw an illusion of splendour over the obscure years of its youth.

<sup>1</sup> The position of this city is uncertain; perhaps not far from Ferentinum. Abeken (*Mittel-Italien*, p. 75) places it on Monte Fortino.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iv. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet.* (Livy, *ibid.*)

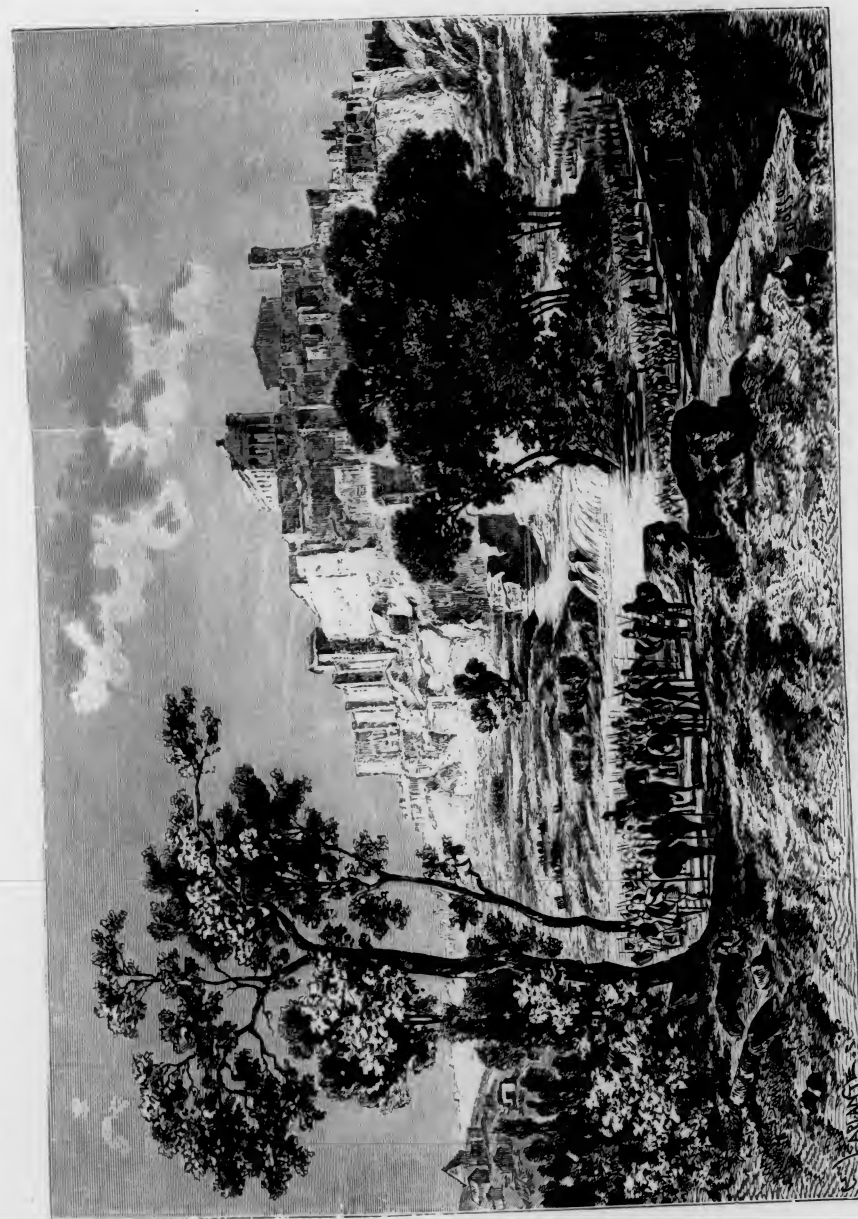


## II.—CAPTURE OF VEII (395 B.C.)

The siege of Veii began in 405. The city was only four leagues from the Servian walls, and from the top of its walls could be seen the seven hills. So long as it remained standing on its escarped rock, overlooking and threatening the right bank of the Tiber, the Romans could not live in peace and security. Therefore they employed all their strength and all their perseverance in the enterprise from which nothing succeeded in turning them aside.

This war was their Iliad; the heroes of it, its prodigies, the intervention of the gods, a resistance for ten years, great misfortunes after the victory—nothing failed to ennoble the struggle which made Rome the preponderating power of Central Italy. From the first year the war was centred about Veii. Two Roman armies encamped under its walls—the one to reduce it to starvation, the other to prevent all succours. But Veii was abandoned; the Etruscans assembled at the temple of Voltumna and declared the league dissolved; the Faliscans and the Capenates, being nearer to the danger, made some isolated efforts; they broke up one of the two camps, and opened up, for some time, communications between the besieged and the country. The Tarquinians also invaded the Roman territory, but were repulsed with loss.

The capture of Anxur had been a terrible blow to the power of the Volsci. Rome now had a fortress, from which to attack in the rear this people whom the Latins faced, and the Hernicans threatened in flank. In 402 the garrison allowed itself to be surprised, and the Romans having re-entered the place, the Volscians came to besiege them whilst the Æquians were attacking Bola. It was the critical time of the siege of Veii; Rome was unable to spare a soldier; fortunately, the Latins and Hernicans succoured the places threatened, and, on the news that the great Etruscan city had fallen, the two hostile nations begged for a truce. In order to ensure their position at Anxur, the senate sent a colony to the neighbouring



The city of Veii. (Restored by Canina.)

Circei; a second, established at Vitellia, in the chain of high hills which separates the valley of the Anio from that of the Trerus, closed finally against the Æquians the issue from their mountains.

For the first time the Romans had continued hostilities during the winter. But their success did not equal their perseverance. The divided command among the military tribunes caused defeat or chilled the ardour of the troops. In 400, B.C., the people, suspecting some treason, at last chose four plebeians to the consular tribunate. Fortune did not change; two tribunes, one of whom died on the field of battle, were again overcome, and the senate thought all Etruria would rise; it nominated as dictator a patrician who had held with distinction the highest offices—M. Furius Camillus (396). Camillus called out all the citizens able to bear arms, summoned contingents from the Latins and Hernicans, and led them against the victorious enemy. After a bloody struggle, the Capenates and Faliscans withdrew to their cities, and the Romans were able to press on actively the siege of Veii.

Tradition preserves the story of a mine dug silently under the walls, and which had led the Romans right to the midst of the city. But it records many other marvels—the overflow of the Alban Lake in the middle of a scorching summer, and the thousand canals dug to prevent the water reaching the sea;<sup>1</sup> the fatal imprudence of the Tuscan haruspex—who betrayed his people's secrets—and the menacing prophecy of an Etruscan chief respecting the Gallic invasion. At the taking of the city the recorded prodigies continue. The mine led to the sanctuary of Juno, the guardian divinity of Veii. In the midst of the din of a general assault, Camillus penetrated, by the tunnel, right to the temple. The Veian king was consulting the gods. "The victor," cried the haruspex, "will be he who shall offer on the altar the entrails of the victim." At these words Camillus and the Romans

<sup>1</sup> The outlet of the Alban lake, cut through the volcanic rock for a length of 2730 yards, 5 feet wide and high enough for a man to pass along it, is a very ancient work, probably anterior to Rome. They may have been made, at the time of the siege of Veii, some repairs shown to be necessary by the severe winter of 400 which accumulated deep snow on the mountains, and the scorching summer which followed. This canal is still in use, and the stream which escapes by it falls into the Tiber below Rome. Sir Wm. Gell's *Topography of Rome*, pp. 39 and 53.

burst into the sanctuary and finished the sacrifice. The plunder was immense; Camillus had called together the whole people to the pillage. The small number of inhabitants who escaped massacre were sold. Meanwhile, from the top of the citadel, Camillus was proudly contemplating the grandeur of the city thus become his conquest, and the richness of the spoils; but he remembered the frail nature of the most brilliant prosperity, and, veiling his head, he prayed the gods to turn from him and the republic the ills in store for mortals of exceeding good fortune. In turning round, according to the ritual prescribed for solemn prayers, he struck his foot against a stone and fell. But he rose full of joy. "The gods are satisfied," said he; "this fall has expiated my victory."

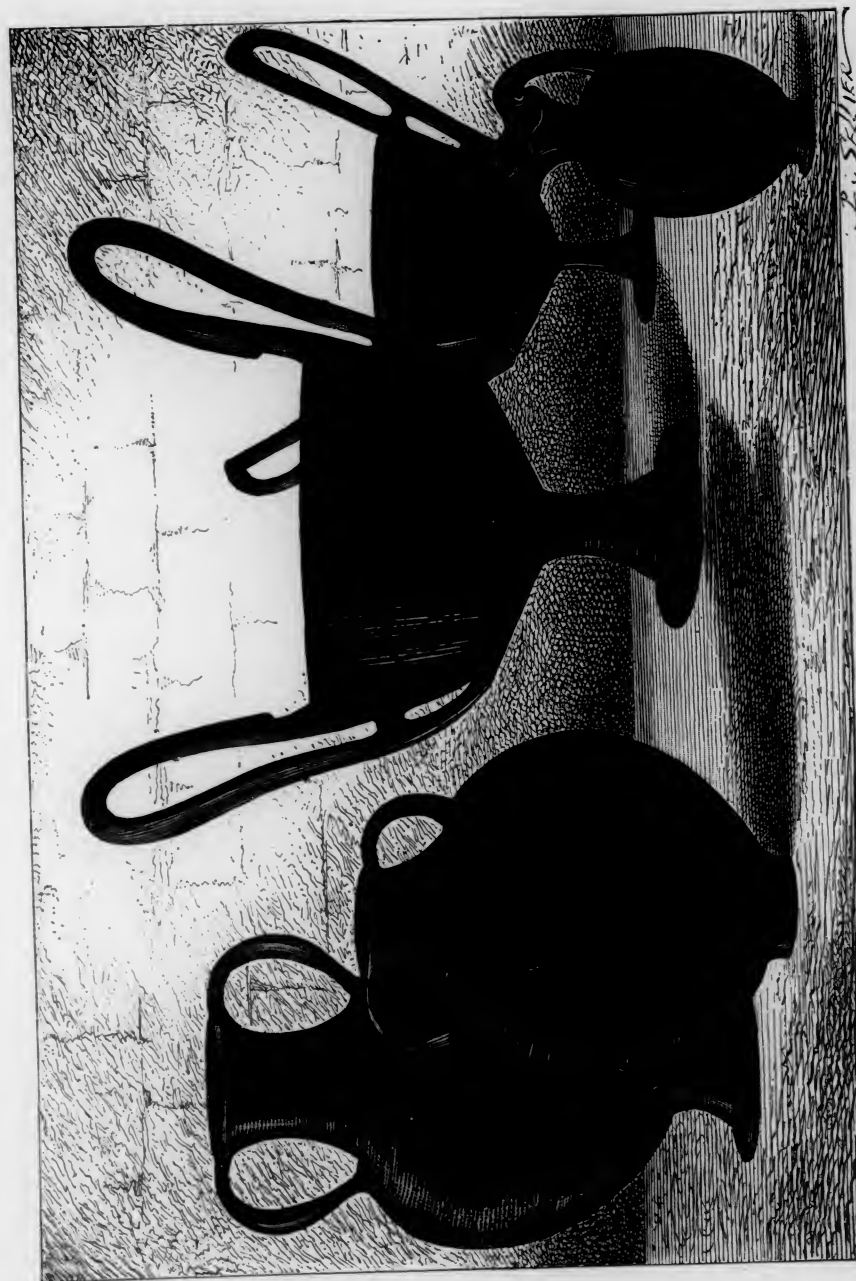
Rome, in conquering cities, also conquered their gods.<sup>1</sup> Camillus had promised to the Veian Juno a temple on the Aventine, on condition that she consented to leave the hostile city to follow him to Rome. But no one dared to touch the sacred image. Some young knights, purified according to the rites, and clothed in their festal dress, came to the temple to ask the goddess if she consented to go to Rome. "I will do so," said a voice, and the statue appeared to follow of itself those who were to move it.

The credulous Plutarch does not know what to think of such prodigies. He says: "Others allege similar marvels—that images formerly perspired; that they have been heard to breathe; that they moved, or made signs with their eyes; but there is danger in believing too easily such things, as well as in not believing them, because of the frailty of human nature. Hence, to be cautious, and to go to neither extreme, as in everything else, is still the best."<sup>2</sup> In this matter Livy cannot contain himself like the cautious Plutarch. He treats the miracle as a fable<sup>3</sup>—which, however, does not prevent him from promising Juno Regina that her temple at Rome shall be an eternal abode—*æternam sedem suam*.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v. 21; Virg., *Æn.*, iii. 222; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5, 9; Macrobius, *Sat.* iii. 9. *Evocare deos.—Solere Romanos religiones urbium captarum partim privatim per familias spargere, partim publice consecrare* (Arnob. iii. 38).

<sup>2</sup> Cam., 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Inde fabulæ* . . . (v. 22).



Vases found at Veii (Campagna Museum, room of black vases).



Of this eternity there remain, perhaps, some old marble columns which adorn the temple of another god—the church of Santa Sabina.

The territory of Veii was divided among the citizens, but the city continued to be an inhabited site during centuries. Propertius could still write—in the time of Augustus—"O Veii, thou wast a kingdom, and in thy forum stood a golden throne! To-day the pipe of the idle shepherd resounds within thy walls,



Old Gate of the Citadel of Falerii.

and in thy fields the harvest covers the bones of thy citizens!"<sup>1</sup> It recovered under the empire only to fall once more. In the time of its power, its walls contained a hundred thousand souls; at present the space which is occupied by its citadel—so long the rival of the Roman Capitol—would be far too large for the eighty inhabitants of the Isola Farnese.<sup>2</sup>

The fall of Veii brought that of Capena (395), and Falerii was gained, they say, by the generosity of Camillus—who had sent back to their fathers the children of the principal people of the city whom the schoolmaster had given up to him (394).

<sup>1</sup> *Carm.*, IV. x. 27.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 188, the plan of Veii.

Two or three years after, the capture of Nepete and Sutrium carried the Roman frontier, towards the north, up to the dark Ciminian forest—which was thought at Rome to be impassable. The legions ventured, however, to cross it to attack the Salpinates and Vulsinians, who obtained a truce of twenty years, by the indemnity of a year's pay to the Roman army (391).

So from 450 to 390 B.C. the Romans have resumed the offensive. They are established in the midst of the Volscians by means of colonies or the garrisons of Circei and Anxur; by those of Bola and Labicum they have guarded their territory against the Æquians. But the latter continue still in possession of Algidus, and have destroyed Vitellia—which might have barred their way to it. If the result is not yet settled between Rome and its two indefatigable enemies, the position is at least the reverse of what it was at the commencement of this period. Fear and caution are transferred to the Volscian side. Besides, Rome has exercised an increasing ascendancy over what remains of the thirty Latin tribes. Accustomed to be defended by her, they have learnt the habit of obedience. Their ancient equality was forgotten, and Rome united to her own territory that of the Latin cities which she recovered from the enemy. To the north of the Tiber she could boast of a brilliant triumph, and the conquest of the Veian territory had doubled her own territory. But, in this direction, her victories produced a great danger, since they brought her face to face with the Gauls, and she had just lost her best general—Camillus was an exile.

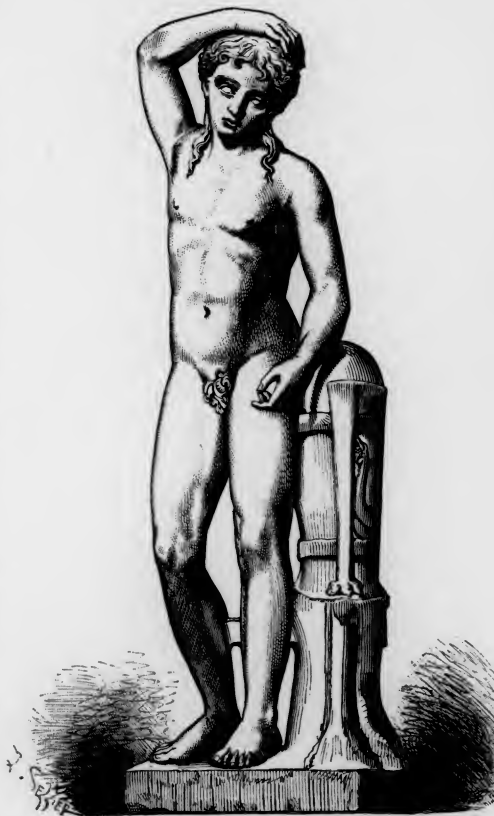
What was the cause of this exile? The proud magnificence of his triumph, when he ascended the Capitol in a car drawn by four white horses, the equipage given to the Sun-god, his pride, and the vow that he had secretly made to consecrate to the Pythian Apollo the tithe of the booty of Veii, and finally, his opposition to the project of the tribunes to transfer to that city a part of the senate and people,<sup>1</sup> had, it is said, excited against him the people's hatred. The last proposition was very dangerous, since it would thus have set up again the antagonism which had only been destroyed by desperate efforts.<sup>2</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 263.

hard to see how they could have dared to do it, and the whole matter may be more easily explained. A part of the Veian lands was certainly divided among the plebeians, who thought that the senate intended to recompense them for their long efforts by the concession of the absolute freehold.

Camillus may have proposed to charge this property with a rent for the revenue, as was the case with all the *ager publicus*; hence the popular resentment, and the accusation brought against him under the pretext of embezzlement.<sup>1</sup> His own clients refused to give him their votes: "We cannot acquit you," said they, "but we will pay the penalty for you." He did not desire an act of devotion which saved his fortune at the expense of his honour, and he went into exile without awaiting the trial. It is



Pythian Apollo.<sup>2</sup>

related that, after having passed the Ardeatine gate, he turned towards the city and prayed the gods of the Capitol, if he were innocent, to make his fellow-citizens soon repent his exile—hard and egoistic words, which recall by contrast the touching prayer

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Statuette from the Louvre, No. 73 in the Fröhner catalogue.

of Aristides, but which the Greeks have invented to bring out the true grandeur of their Athenian hero, and to presage the terrible drama of the Gallic invasion.

For the same year the Gauls entered Rome.

### III.—CAPTURE OF ROME BY THE GAULS IN 390 B.C.

Nearly two centuries had elapsed since the Gauls had made a descent into Italy, and they had not dared again to entangle themselves in the Apennines; but the most venturesome of their bands, by keeping close to the Adriatic shore, went to gain, in the service of the cities of Magna Grecia, large military pay, or to pillage on their own account this beautiful country. Yet we can hardly believe that the Senones—who had since the time of Tarquinius Superbus reached the banks of Æsis—continued more than a century without coveting Etruria, to which they were so near, and with whose opulence they were well acquainted. Here are still the two principal routes which lead from Tuscany into the Romagna. To the east of Perugia the Apennines sink, and over several ridges offer easy passages; the Gauls learnt early to cross by them, and this circumstance explains why the Etruscans of the north and east, being menaced by these turbulent neighbours, abandoned those of the south when attacked by Rome. The siege of Clusium was only the most important and best known of these expeditions.

Clusium, built on a height, over an affluent of the Tiber, the Clanis (la Chiana) had been in Porsenna's time the most powerful of the Etruscan lucumonies. It was still flourishing and rich with a thousand objects of art; vases, candelabra, bronzes of all sorts, some of which have been recovered, and which excited the covetousness of the Gauls as much as did the fertility of the lands. Thirty thousand Senones demanded a share of its territory. The Clusians shut their gates, and begged succour from Rome. The latter sent three ambassadors, Fabii, to offer the mediation of the Romans. "When they had explained their message to the Gallic council," says Livy, the latter replied: "Though they had never heard the Romans mentioned before, they

must conclude them to be brave men, since the Clusians had begged their aid. Nor would the proposed peace be rejected, if the Clusians, who had too much land, would yield a part to the Gauls, who had too little; otherwise peace will not be granted. Let them answer us in the Romans' presence; if not, we will fight under their eyes, and they will be able to go and tell at Rome how much the Gauls surpass other men in bravery."—"But, by what right do you attack the Etruscans?" asked Q. Ambustus. "This right," replied the Senonian Brennus, "we carry, as you Romans do, at the point of our swords; everything belongs to the brave." The Fabii were annoyed at the haughtiness of this barbarian who dared to assert that their native city had made so little noise in the world, that its name had not yet reached the plains of the Po. Forgetting their character of ambassadors, they joined the besieged in a sortie; and Q. Ambustus, slew, in sight of the two armies, a Gallic chief, whom he despoiled of his arms.



Candelabrum of bronze found at Chiusi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Atlas of the Inst. archéol. of Rome for 1851. Chiusi has preserved none of the splendour



The barbarians immediately ceased hostilities against Clusium, and demanded reparation at Rome. The whole college of *fetiales* insisted, in the name of religion, that justice should be done. But the credit of the *gens Fabia* prevailed; the guilty were absolved, and the people, as if struck with madness, gave them three out of the six appointments as military tribunes.

On hearing this, the Senones, reinforced by some bands come from the banks of the Po, commenced their march on Rome,

Gauls.<sup>2</sup>

without attacking a single city, without pillaging a village. They descended along the Tiber, when, being then eleven miles from the Capitol, near the stream of the Allia,<sup>1</sup> they saw on the other bank the Roman army extended in line, their centre in the plain, their right on the heights, their left covered by the Tiber. The attack commenced from the side of the hills, where the left wing, composed of veterans, kept firm, but the centre, frightened by the shouts and savage aspect of these men, who seemed to them of gigantic proportions, and who advanced, striking their bucklers with their arms, broke their ranks, and threw themselves in disorder on the left wing. All who could not swim across the Tiber, and take refuge behind the strong walls of Veii, perished in the plain, on the banks, and in the bed of the river; the right wing, unbroken, beat a retreat to Rome, and without manning

of Clusium, except a number of tombs with a quantity of sepulchral urns and bronzes decorated with figures in relief and monsters of an Oriental character. By the side of these objects which have nothing in common with Greek art, have been found some painted vases of Hellenic production or imitation. Cf. Dennis, *Etruria* ii. p. 325-384. [The candelabrum in the cut shows a thoroughly Greek and well designed chair adapted to an absurd purpose, the support of a pillar on a sitting woman's head.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> According to Le Rio del Morso or M. Rossa, the Scannabecchi, which comes down from the Crustumian hills.

<sup>2</sup> Group taken from a bas-relief found at Rome, decorating the sarcophagus, called that of Ammendola villa.

the walls, without closing the gates, hastened to hold the citadel on the Capitoline Mount (18th July, 390 B.C.). Happily the barbarians stayed to pillage, they cut off the heads of the dead, and celebrated with orgies their easy victory. Rome had time to recover from its paralysis, and to take measures, which might save the Roman name. The senate, magistrates, priests, and a thousand of the bravest of the patrician youth, shut themselves up in the Capitol. They carried thither all the gold of the temples, all the provisions of the city; as for the bulk of the people, they soon covered the roads, and dispersed among the neighbouring cities. Cære (Cervetri) afforded an asylum to the vestals and the sacred vessels.

On the evening of the second day which followed the battle, the Gauls' advanced guard appeared in sight, but, astonished to see the walls bare of soldiers, and the gates open, they feared some snare, and the army put off its entrance till next day. The streets were silent, the houses deserted: in some the barbarians saw with astonishment old men seated on curule chairs, covered with long robes edged with purple, and resting, with calm air and fixed eye, on a long ivory staff. They were consulars, who offered themselves as victims for the republic, or who had no desire to beg an asylum among their former subjects. The barbarians at first looked at them with a childlike wonder, quite disposed to take them for supernatural beings; but one of them having softly passed his hand along Papirius' long beard, the latter struck him with his staff, and the irritated Gaul slew him; this was the signal for massacre. Nothing living was spared; after the pillage the houses were set on fire.

The barbarians saw soldiers and warlike preparations only on the Capitol, and desired to mount it; but on the narrow and steep acclivity which led up to it the Romans had little difficulty in repulsing them, and the siege had to be changed into a blockade. For seven months the Gauls encamped in the midst of the ruins of Rome. One day they saw a young Roman descend at a slow pace from the Capitol clothed in sacerdotal garments, and carrying in his hands some consecrated things; it was a member of the *gens Fabia*; without being disturbed by shouts or threats, he crossed the camp, ascended the Quirinal, and there

performed expiatory sacrifices. Then he returned calmly and slowly by the same way he had taken. Admiring his courage, or struck with superstitious fears, the Gauls had allowed him to pass.<sup>1</sup>

The gods were appeased, fortune was about to change. In their want of foresight, the barbarians had provided neither provisions nor shelter; a rainy autumn brought diseases which decimated them, and famine obliged them to scour the country in bands. The Latins and Etruscans, who at first rejoiced at the misfortunes of their too powerful neighbours, were in their turn affrighted. The best general of Rome was then an exile in Ardea; this city gave him some soldiers with which he surprised and massacred a Gallic detachment. This first success encouraged resistance; on all sides the peasants rose, and the Roman refugees at Veii proclaimed Camillus dictator. The sanction of the senate and of the curiæ was needful to confirm the election, and restore to Camillus the civic rights which he had lost by his exile. A young plebeian, Cominius, crossed the Tiber by night, swimming or floating on the bark of a cork tree, escaped the enemy's sentinels, and by the aid of some briars and shrubs, which clothed the escarped slopes, he reached the citadel. He returned with the same good fortune, and brought to Veii the nomination which put aside all the scruples of Camillus. But the Gauls had observed his footprints; on a dark night, they climbed to the very foot of the rampart; they had already touched the battlements when the cackling of some geese, sacred to Juno, awoke a patrician renowned for his strength and courage, Manlius, who hurled from the top of the wall the foremost assailants. The garrison soon manned the rampart, and but a small number of Gauls regained their camp. The Capitol was saved, thanks to Manlius; but the provisions were exhausted, and Camillus did not appear. The military tribune Sulpicius treated with Brennus, whom an attack of the Veneti summoned to his country,<sup>2</sup> and whose army the malaria

<sup>1</sup> The act of this Fabius was perhaps less wonderful than Livy would make out: the Quirinal was then joined to the Capitol by a ridge which later on was cut, and which Fabius followed. The enterprise was not less audacious, and might have ended badly but for the religious astonishment of the Gauls at this act of courage and piety.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., *Hist.*, ii. 18.



Geese of the Capitol.

was now destroying. It was agreed that the Gauls should receive as ransom 1,000 lbs. weight of gold (about 800 lbs. *Av.*); that provisions and means of transport should be furnished them by the allies of Rome,<sup>1</sup> and that one of the city gates should always stand open.

When the gold was being weighed, the barbarians brought false weights. When Sulpicius protested, "*Vae victis*," said the Brenn—"Woe to the conquered," and he threw into the scales his great sword and his baldric.

The barbarians went off: but Camillus annulled the treaty by his authority as dictator. He ordered the allied cities to close their gates, to attack stragglers and isolated bands. During the blockade, in which 70,000 Gauls were engaged, numerous detachments had quitted the siege to scour the country; they had reached as far as Apulia. When they returned, the mass of the army was gone, all Latium in arms, the Roman legions reorganised; thus, very few of them escaped. The Cærites massacred a body of them which fell by night into an ambuscade; and another was crushed by Camillus near a city the name of which is lost.

This narrative by Livy is plainly legendary; it is a poem in honour of Camillus. At the epoch we have reached, the basis of history is true, the ornaments with which it is decked, are not so.<sup>2</sup> Diodorus knows nothing of the dictatorship of Camillus; Polybius relates that the Gauls regained Umbria with their booty; Suetonius, that Livius Drusus recovered a century later the ransom of Rome; others, in fine, that hard conditions were imposed by the conquerors. It is impossible to conceal the defeat of the Allia, the capture and burning of the city. The terror with which the mere name of the Gauls filled the minds of the Romans till Cæsar's day, witnessed for more than two centuries that it was simply the heedlessness of the barbarians which had saved Rome from complete annihilation. The annalists made amends for this painful admission, by making,

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Cam.*, 28., Livy, v. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Against the story of Livy, see Polyb. *Hist.*, ii. 22; Suet., *Tib.*, 3; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 24, and *Hist.*, iii. 72; Polyæn. *Strat.*, viii. 25, who mentions this gate which the Romans were to keep always open; but says that they opened in an inaccessible place, on the Capitol itself, the gate Pandana; lastly, Frontinus, who speaks of the provisions and means of transport in Chap. II. vi, 1, where he shows that one should make for the enemy a golden bridge.



out of some slight successes over stragglers, so complete a victory that not a barbarian escaped the avenging sword of Camillus.



After a gem in the national collection of France, No. 2622, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

## CHAPTER XI.

## MILITARY HISTORY FROM 389 TO 343.

## I.—REBUILDING OF THE CITY; THE ROMAN LEGION.

IF the Capitol was safe, Rome was in ruins. Several tribunes brought forward again, it is said, the proposition of transferring a part of the plebeians to Veii, whose thick walls and houses were still standing. But to abandon places where so many records stirred patriotism, where were living the civic divinities and the household gods, where the empire had been founded, from whence domination was extended over the surrounding peoples; to quit the sovereign city for the conquered town, would not *this* have been a shame, a crime towards the gods, and a great political blunder? Camillus said so, and so the senate thought; a fortunate omen, the "Let us stay here," of the centurion who was crossing the Forum, determined the still irresolute people to rebuild the city. A year sufficed, for the senate gave the bricks, the wood and stones, taken doubtless from Veii which was demolished to furnish materials. These means were cleverly chosen to prevent the people from ever conveying thither their Penates. Once more, the steadfastness of the senate saved the destinies of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of the ruins, they had found the augural staff of Romulus, the Twelve Tables, some fragments of royal laws and some treaties. This was all that seemed to remain of the old Roman society. Rebuilt at random, without plan, without direction, at the caprice of everyone, Rome presented in its material aspect the confusion which soon appeared in its political state. In passing

<sup>1</sup> The project of transferring Rome to Veii is probably only an oratorical invention in which was found a pretext for eloquent speeches, like the story that Julius Cæsar thought of transferring it to Ilium. All religion, all rites, were totally opposed to it: what would Terminus and Jupiter Capitolinus have said?

over the soil, the Gallic invasion had levelled it; when the torrent had disappeared, a new city and almost a new people appeared.

The sword of the barbarians had made some great gaps in the population;<sup>1</sup> to fill them up and prevent a dangerous revolt of their subjects, the freedom of the city was granted to the inhabitants of the territory of Veii, Capena and Falerii, and the first censors nominated after the retreat of the Gauls formed of them four new tribes.<sup>2</sup> It was a very serious step to call at once so many men to a share of the sovereignty, and to give former subjects four votes out of twenty-five; but it was impossible for Rome otherwise to escape from the perilous situation in which the Gauls had left it, and the senate did not hesitate to make the necessary sacrifice. It was at once rewarded, for doubtless this concession greatly helped the success of the Romans, now left without allies by the defection of part of the Latins and Hernicans,<sup>3</sup> and attacked, before they were fairly out of their ruinous state, by almost all their neighbours.

In refusing to go to Veii the Romans took upon themselves the work of reconstituting both their city and their empire, and in spite of contrary appearances the double work of reconstruction was not beyond their strength. Their neighbours and enemies had also suffered from the invasion, especially the Æquians, through whose country the Gauls had perhaps passed to reach Apulia, and who seemed to have lost their accustomed boldness. Besides, these wars were always merely partial or badly organized attacks. Whatever in certain cases might be the superiority in number, the Romans had that unity of feeling in the soldiers and of command in their chiefs which doubled the strength of their armies.

Still the circumstances were very critical. Rome had never passed through a more dangerous moment. Camillus, who appears constantly at the head of the legions, then gained, but with more justice than in the Gallic war, the title of second founder of Rome.<sup>4</sup> At home, he stimulated all parties to union by his patriotic counsels, or he sought, by his firmness, to impose on them peace.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν πλείστων πολιτῶν ἀπολωλῶτων (Diod., xiv. 116, 8.)

<sup>2</sup> Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arniensis (Livy, vi., 5) in 387.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, vi., 2 . . . defectione Latinorum Hernicorumque.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, vi., 35-42.

In the camp his skilful reforms prepared the victory which his talents assured on the field of battle. Before the impetuous attack of the Gauls the Roman legions had fled; he armed the soldiers with long spears, which stopped the impetuosity of the barbarians, and with bronze helmets, with bucklers edged with an iron plate, against which their badly-tempered swords were blunted. He did more: he entirely changed the Roman tactics.

We know not the name of the man who created this animated and living body known as the Roman legion; who knew how to combine in it so well different kinds of weapons, that it was prepared for conquering in all lands, and for triumphing over all forms of troops and tactics; staunch and united before the swift riders of Mount Atlas or the disorderly bands of barbarians; divisible and light before the Macedonian phalanx or the scythed chariots and elephants of Antiochus; the name of the man who thus constituted the legion into a complete army, is unknown. Daily experience, a guerilla warfare, and continual skirmishes, doubtless taught the advantages of the division into maniples over the old organisation of the phalanx. But if any general contributed to this change, to whom, more than to Camillus ought we to assign the honour? The records fail in enabling us to fix the date; it is only known that after the Gallic wars, at the battle of Vesuvius, this division was definitively established. Camillus owed, perhaps, to it the numerous successes which saved Rome the second time.

He repeatedly beat the Volscians, the Æquians, and Tarquinians, who could not prevent the Romans from placing two colonies in Nepete and Sutrium, and he did not leave an enemy between the Tiber and the Ciminian forest.<sup>1</sup> But on the left bank, Antium, protected by its maritime position, Præneste, a rich and populous city, strongly placed and almost impregnable, were in arms, and received numerous volunteers from Latium. A victory of the dictator Corn. Cossus seemed yet more to increase the defections. Velitræ, Circei, and Lanuvium revolted; Camillus, raised for the seventh time to the military tribunate, had difficulty

<sup>1</sup> Nepete was thirty miles from Rome, Sutrium thirty-two, and the *saltus Ciminus* is the wooded chain, now called the mountains of Viterbo. At Sutrium can be seen the very picturesque remains of an amphitheatre, cut in the rock. It seems to belong to the imperial epoch; yet some antiquarians think it Etruscan.—Cf. Dennis, *Etruria*, i. p. 94-97.

in warding off great disasters. In 379 the Prænestines penetrated to the Colline gate, and ravaged all the country between the Tiber and Anio. Overtaken and beaten on the banks of the Allia by the dictator T. Quinctius, they lost eight cities, and begged for peace. Three years after, a two days' battle ended the war against the Antiates, and the military tribune Servius Sulpicius relieved the faithful Tusculans, who had been attacked by the



Amphitheatre of Sutrium.

Latins. These were important successes; but Velitræ and Circei had not been punished for their defection; Præneste, Antium, and the Volsci did not acknowledge their defeat: Rome was not at that time sure of the Latin plain.

To these wars belongs a legend which perhaps covers an historic fact which the Roman writers refrain from telling us. After the retreat of the Gauls, the Fidenates, in league with some other peoples, had penetrated to the edge of the Servian walls, and as the price of withdrawal, they demanded that the most noble matrons should be delivered up to them. Shame and anxiety filled

the city; a female slave, whose devotion procured for her the name Tutela, offered to give up herself together with the most beautiful of her companions, clothed as matrons, to the enemy's camp. The senators agreed, and the Fidenates, full of boasting at this humiliation of Rome, celebrated it by orgies which continued for some time. When drunkenness had closed their eyes, Tutela, having climbed to the top of a wild fig tree,<sup>1</sup> called the Romans, who triumphed easily over their unarmed adversaries. This Latin Judith and those who had followed her were emancipated, and dowered at the public expense. Every year, on the nones (7th) of July, the women slaves, dressed in the matron's stola, and carrying branches of the fig tree, celebrated, by a sacrifice in the temple of Juno Caprotina, the memory of those who had saved the honour of the Roman ladies.<sup>2</sup>

## II.—RETURN OF THE GAULS INTO LATIUM, MANLIUS, VALERIUS CORVUS.

The Senones, who had returned to their own country with the plunder of Rome, had very soon recommenced their adventurous expeditions. In 376 they took the important town of Ariminum and we have *ases* of that city representing a Gallic head, easily recognisable by the moustache and the necklace that it bears. Of their exploits on the Adriatic coast we know nothing; but they had not forgotten the route through the Latin district, which they had with impunity ravaged for seven months. Twenty-three years after the siege of the Capitol they reappeared, and reached the



As of Ariminum.

<sup>1</sup> *Ex arbore caprifico.*

<sup>2</sup> *Macr., Sat., I, xi, 35—40.*



environs of the Alban Mount, where Camillus gained a great victory over them, thanks to the changes he had effected in the equipment of the soldiers (367). Polybius does not speak, it is true, of this last triumph of the octogenarian dictator; but he is quite ignorant of many others which Roman vanity gives in detail. In 361, say the annalists, the Gauls encamped on the *via Salaria*, near the Anio. A bridge separated them from the legions, and every day a warrior of gigantic stature came there to insult the Romans. The legionary tribune Manlius accepted the challenge, slew the Gaul, and snatching from him his gold necklace (*torques*, whence *Torquatus*) put it, all covered with blood, on his own neck. However, the barbarians, apparently invited or supported by Tibur, Præneste, and the Hernicans, who were frightened by the increasing strength of Rome, ravaged all the country to the east of the city, and passing between two consular armies, reached the Colline gate.<sup>1</sup> A dictator was appointed; the whole body of youth were armed, and the barbarians were thrown back in disorder on to the army of the consul Pœtilius, who pursued them as far as the environs of Tibur, whose inhabitants, having gone to the help of the Gauls, were involved in their flight. The consul, at his triumph, obtained leave to mention among the names of the vanquished that of the Tiburtines. This brave population of one of the smallest cities in the neighbourhood of Rome protested the following year by insulting the walls of Rome, against this honour, decreed at its expense, and the Gauls, established in a strong position around Pedum,<sup>2</sup> behind an entrenchment formed by their war chariots, set out from there for incursions into Latium and Campania. So also, in the middle ages, the Northmen threw themselves audaciously into the midst of the enemy's country, and, making a camp of their ships stranded on the shore of the rivers, went forth to pillage far and wide.

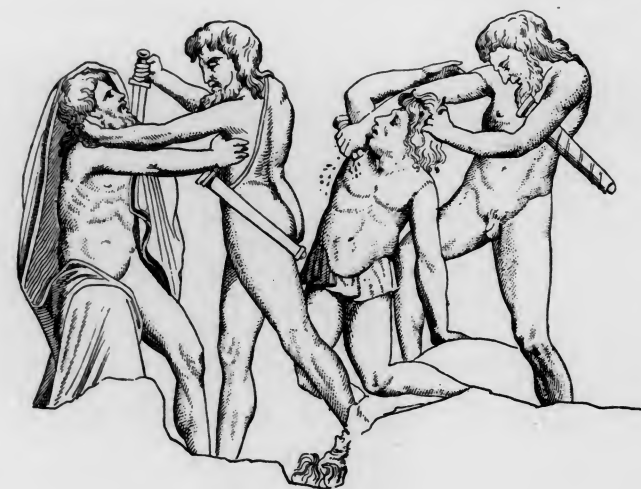
To this Latin and Gallic war was added another more terrible, called forth by religious fanaticism and political hate; the people of Tarquinii declared war (358 B.C.).

All was in a state of conflagration around Rome. For three years, the Gauls were encamped in the midst of Latium, and Tibur,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, vii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Gallos . . . circa Pedum* (Livy, vii. 12). He says elsewhere of Tibur, *arx Gallici belli*.

Præneste, Velitræ, Privernum seemed in league with them; the Hernicans remembered having recently slain the plebeian consul Genucius, and of having yielded the dictator Appius a victory very dearly bought. Then lastly, the Tarquinians had inherited the hate of Veii against their neighbours of the seven hills, and they forced Cære into alliance with them, in spite of the bond of guest-friendship which it had contracted with Rome during the



Human sacrifices.<sup>1</sup>

Gallic war. Joined in addition by the Faliscans, the Tarquinians went to the fight, conducted by their priests, who brandished, like the Furies, burning torches and serpents. Fabius' army was terrified by their awful appearance and their hundred and seven legionaries were made prisoners and sacrificed by the Tarquinians to their gloomy divinities.

In the midst of so much peril and terror, the renewal of the ancient alliance with the Latin cities, broken up by the Gallic invasion, was some consolation (358).<sup>2</sup> Worn out as much as Rome by the prolonged stay of the barbarians, the Latins united

<sup>1</sup> Taken from a painting on an Etruscan tomb. (Atlas of Noël des Vergers.)

<sup>2</sup> *Inter multos terrores solatio fuit . . . magna vis militum ab iis accepta* (Livy, vii. 12). The principal cities which composed the new alliance were Aricia, Bovillæ, Gabii, Lanuvium, Laurentum, Lavinium, Nomentum, and Tusculum.

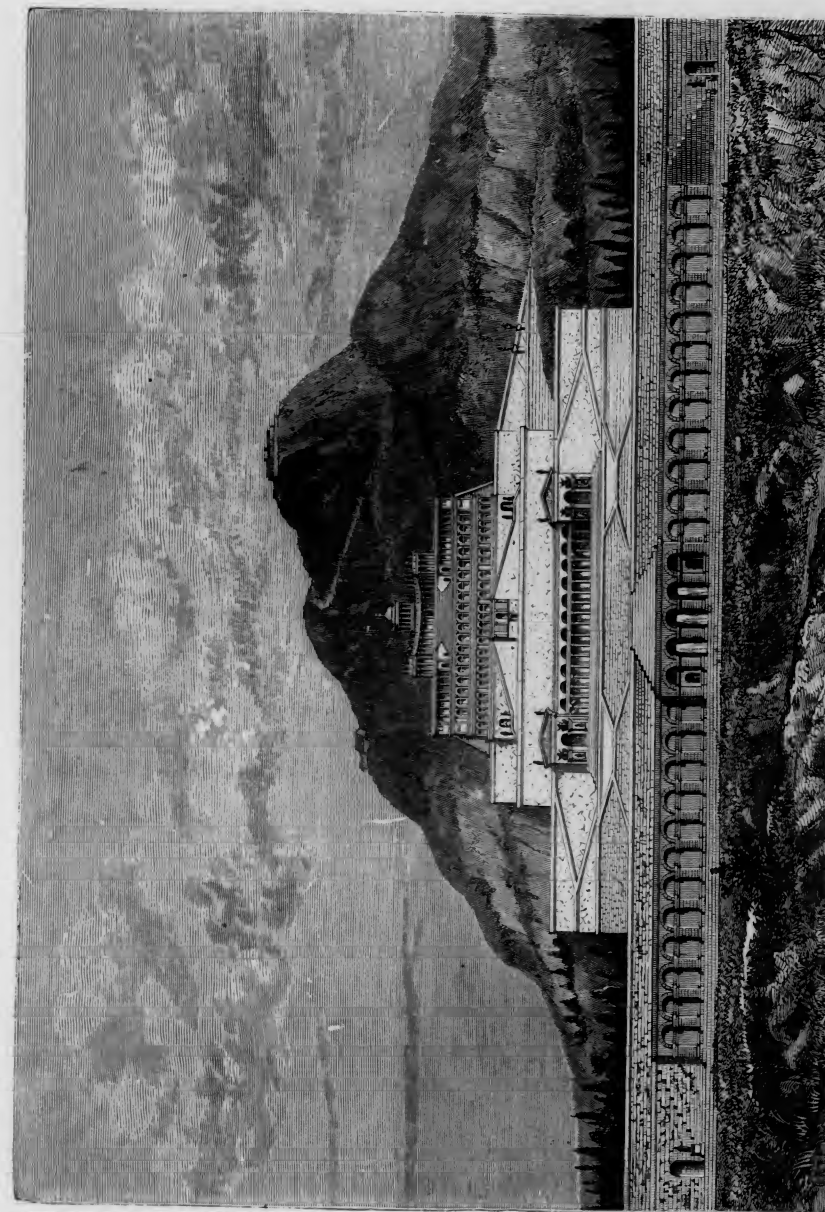
their forces to the legions, and the Gauls were crushed. In their joy the Romans regarded this victory as equal to that of Camillus. Fortune returned; the Hernicans were this same year beaten and subjected; the Volscians crushed so completely that this brave people who had for so long a time arrested the future of Rome now disappears from history. In order to preserve these advantages and to prepare new resources for the future, the senate formed of all the inhabitants of the Pomptine country between Antium and Terracina, two new tribes. It was a policy which had so well



Wounded Gaul.<sup>1</sup>

succeeded in 386 B.C.; it had the same success. The Privernates whose city was situated on the Amasenus, which comes down to Terracina, were annoyed at seeing Roman colonies so near them; but their defeat assured the tranquillity of the ancient Volscian country. The inhabitants of Tibur and Præneste, trusting to their rocks and walls preserved a threatening attitude. In 354 they decided to treat for peace on the condition of keeping their independence, which the senate thought it best to respect. From Rome to Terracina all was at peace.

<sup>1</sup> This beautiful statue from the Capitoline Museum was long called the *Dying Gladiator*. It is a Gaul, as is easily seen by the collar he wears.



Temple of Fortune at Præneste (Restoration of Canina).

Yet on the north of the Tiber the Etruscans had again ravaged the Roman territory as far as the salt-works of Ostia. In order to drive off these pillagers Martius Rutilus was appointed Dictator (356). He was a *new man*. The patricians would fain have avoided a plebeian triumph at any cost; but the people eagerly assembled under a general who had risen from the ranks. Martius repulsed the enemy, and, in spite of the senate, by the votes of the tribes he re-entered Rome in triumph.

Some youths from Cære had taken part in the raids of the men of Tarquinii into Roman territory. The senate, which never left desertion unpunished, declared war on these old allies. Cære did not close its gates, its ramparts were not furnished with engines, and none of its citizens took arms; deputies went to Rome, and before the assembled people in the Forum, invoked the memory of their ancient services; the pure and religious hospitality which they had afforded to the flamens and vestals; and how their town had become in the time of the Gallic invasion the sanctuary of the Roman people, the asylum of its priests, a secure refuge for the holy things. The Roman people, usually so hard-hearted, were softened by their prayers and the confidence shown towards them; they granted the Cærites a truce of one hundred years, which kept up the memory of both of the transgression and of its pardon.

In 353 the defeat of Fabius was avenged, and three-hundred and fifty-eight Tarquinians of noble family were beheaded in the Forum.<sup>1</sup> Three years later that people asked and obtained a truce of forty years.

Men now looked for a period of repose; but the Gauls re-appeared (349). One of them, remarkable for his tall stature, challenged the Romans to single combat. The legionary tribune M. Valerius, having obtained leave from the consul to accept the challenge, renewed the exploit of Manlius, to which the annalists added marvellous circumstances. A raven, said they, swooped down on his helmet during the combat, and troubled the Gaul by striking him on the face with its wings and beak; when the

<sup>1</sup> Livy vii, 19. These little wars were very bloody. "Many were slain on the field of battle," says Livy, "and a great number were made prisoners. The nobles were beheaded at Rome, *vulgus aliud trucidatum*."



barbarian fell, the bird resumed its flight and disappeared towards the east. The soldiers bestowed the surname of *Corvus* upon the



Etruscan Warrior.<sup>1</sup>

victor, and fell upon the enemy in full assurance of victory. This battle gained by the son of Camillus, put an end to the Gallic invasions. The barbarian army, driven out of Latium, boldly threw itself into Campania, and pushing forward, without thinking of its return, penetrated as far as Apulia. Eight centuries later the Franks renewed these daring raids with the same careless confidence, and starting from the banks of the Meuse went straight

before them till they were stopped by the Straits of Messina.

The hero of this last contest, Valerius Corvus, was chosen consul at the age of twenty-three (in 346) to suppress some



Etruscan Archer.<sup>2</sup>

movements among the Volscians. He burned Satricum, which the Antiates had rebuilt. In the following year the taking of Sora on the Liris,<sup>3</sup> at the extremity of the Volscian country, and a victory over the Aurunci, who inhabited a group of volcanic mountains on the left bank of the same river,<sup>4</sup> opened the road to Campania to the Romans.

These wars are as toilsome to read about as they were to fight, and even the art of Livy has not succeeded in making them interesting.

But a great nation has a right to the same curiosity as is accorded to the obscure origin of a great man,

<sup>1</sup> Taken from Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from a painting on an Etruscan tomb at Cære.

<sup>3</sup> Four miles below Sora, after its junction with the Fibrenus, the Liris forms, near the village of Isola, one of the most beautiful cascades in Italy. The river there falls from a total height of more than 100 feet. (Craven, *Abruzzi* i. 93). Cicero had a house near the spot, on the isola San Paolo, which is surrounded by the Fibrenus. He was born there (*de Leg.* iv. 1.), and it was about this villa that he uttered the beautiful words we have quoted on page 88.

<sup>4</sup> On one of these mountains, now called monte di Santa Croce, the highest peak of which rises to a height of nearly 3,300 feet above the sea, the Aurunci had built their first capital, *Aurunca*, which the Sidicini destroyed in 337.



Fall of the Liris, near Sora.

and we must not show ourselves more indifferent than Carthage and Athens were to the phenomenon of such tenacious perseverance. Already the blows struck at the foot of the Apennines were heard afar, Greece grew interested in the defeats of the Romans as well as in their victories,<sup>1</sup> and Carthage had recently renewed the treaty which she had concluded with them a century and a half earlier. A hundred and sixty-five years of fighting were needful for them to regain the frontiers and alliances of which the abolition of royalty had deprived them. The power of this people had grown very slowly. But in the midst of these dangers and miseries its sturdy youth had been formed, and it is by slow growth that men become strong and greatness durable.

<sup>1</sup> The capture of Rome by the Gauls was known in Greece shortly after the event. Aristotle, who mentions it, names one Lucius as the saviour of the city. Niebuhr thinks that this Lucius was the son of the great Camillus and the victor of 349.



Taken from the museum of Saint-Germain.

## CHAPTER XII.

### ACCESSION OF THE PLEBEIANS TO CURULE OFFICES.

#### I.—THE LICINIAN LAWS; DIVISION OF THE CONSULSHIPS.

WHILE Rome was making such persevering efforts to re-establish her power without, within the city the tribunes continued the struggle against the patriciate. As it had been a century earlier, so now debts were the cause of new dissensions. The land-tax being the principal revenue of the State, the misfortunes of war, especially when it drew near to Rome, had the double result of obliging the treasury to make greater demands on property and of diminishing at the same time the value of the land and its produce. The tax became heavier, and the resources which served to pay it smaller. Hence came debts, as numerous after the Gallic invasion, as they had been after the royal wars, and the two revolutions which they occasioned; the one giving rise to the tribuneship, the other which resulted in the sharing of the curule offices.

In 389 B.C. it became necessary to rebuild the burned town. Doubtless the house of a plebeian cost but little to reconstruct. But whence was a man who had lost everything, furniture and flocks, to draw the means of getting his little field under cultivation again, sheltering his family, buying a few cattle and paying the war tax, the tax for the Capitol,<sup>1</sup> the tax for re-building the temples and walls, unless he drew it from his patron's purse? The *assignments* made to the plebeians on the territory of Veii had been another cause of borrowing. As the State only gave the

<sup>1</sup> New constructions were erected there to render it inaccessible from the Tiber, on which side it had been considered, until the Gallic invasion, that the river sufficiently defended the approaches.

land, it was often necessary for some rich man to advance the funds for the agricultural implements, flocks and seeds necessary to stock the seven *jugera*. But the rate of interest was heavy, the creditor pitiless: the *ergastula* were again crowded; Camillus himself was distinguished for his cruelty.

Here we come upon an obscure story. Livy, the unconscious but constant echo of patrician hatred, relates that Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, jealous of the glory of Camillus, and irritated at being overlooked in the distribution of offices, constituted himself the patron of the poor and delivered as many as four hundred debtors from prison. Every day the crowd increased around him and his house on the Capitol. "The great, oppress and ruin you," he urged, "not satisfied with appropriating the State lands, they embezzle the public money; they are hiding the money recaptured from the Gauls, and while you are exhausting your last resources in restoring to the temples their treasures, they reserve for their pleasures the money which they receive for a sacred work." Against him as much as against the Volscians a dictator was appointed, Cornelius Cossus, who on his return from the campaign, cast him into prison. A *senatus-consultum* having restored him to liberty, two tribunes, won over by the patricians, or themselves jealous of his popularity, accused him of high treason. In the *comitia centuriata* Manlius recalled his exploits, he displayed the arms of thirty enemies slain by him, eight civic crowns, thirty-two military rewards, the wounds which covered his breast, and the Capitol which he had saved! This sight, these words excited the compassion of the people, and he would have been acquitted, when—the assembly was broken up and the judgment deferred till another day. In a meeting of the people held in a place whence the citadel of Rome could not be perceived, or according to others by the sentence of the *Duumvirs*,<sup>1</sup> he was condemned to death. By Dion's account Manlius having occupied the Capitol with his partisans, was precipitated from the Tarpeian rock by a traitor whom he trusted.<sup>2</sup> His house on the Capitol was razed to the ground,

<sup>1</sup> *Duumviri perduellionis*.

<sup>2</sup> See page 221.



it was forbidden for any one to ever build on that hill, and the *gens Manlia* decided that none of its members should henceforth bear the prænomen of Marcus (384).<sup>1</sup>

Manlius, who shared the fate of Cassius and Mælius, must have been sacrificed like them to the hatred of the nobles,<sup>2</sup> but he was doubtless only a vulgar agitator: C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius were true reformers. They were rich and noble plebeians, to whom the equality of the two orders through the military tribuneship only appeared a political lie: from 400 to 367 B.C. there had been only fifteen plebeians elected to the military tribuneship. Livy, who like so many other historians is fond of assigning great events to small causes,<sup>3</sup> relates "that a senator, Fabius Ambustus had married the elder of his two daughters to the patrician Serv. Sulpicius, and the second to a rich plebeian, Licinius Stolo. One day the two sisters were conversing in the house of Sulpicius, when he, at that time military tribune, returned from the Forum preceded by his lictor, who, according to custom, knocked at the door with his rod. At this noise the young Fabia grew disturbed, then she expressed astonishment at the numerous retinue which followed the tribune. The elder laughed at both her astonishment and ignorance, and her raillery showed the wide gulf placed between her and her sister by marriage, which had led the latter into a house wherein honours could never enter. Fabia was so hurt by this, that her father noticed her vexation, and promised her that she should one day see in her own home the dignities which she had seen at her sisters. From that time he began to concert plans with his son-in-law and another young man of strong energy, L. Sextius.

It is a pretty incident; Livy is never loth to scatter a few flowers through the severe history of the least romantic of nations; and we do the same, but without any belief in them. The young Fabia had often at her father's home or at the houses of family friends heard the lictor's knock, and had often seen the retinue which always followed magistrates and persons of importance.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, vi. 14—20.

<sup>2</sup> . . . inimicorum oppressus factione (Serv., in *Æn.*, viii. 652).

<sup>3</sup> Parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem molivundi causa intervenit. (Livy vi. 34).

Nothing of all this could have surprised her then, and she well knew, in marrying Licinius, in what condition that plebeian would place her. The revolution which was preparing no more arose from the jealousy of a woman, than, the Trojan war was caused by the abduction of Helen; it was the last act of a struggle carried on for one hundred and twenty years, and which had never stayed its course for one single day.

Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, being appointed tribunes of the people in 376 B.C., formally demanded the division of the consulship, and in order to compel the plebeians to take an interest in this question, they presented the following resolutions:—

In future no more military tribunes shall be appointed, but two consuls, of whom one must always be a plebeian. No one shall possess more than 500 *jugera* (about 312 acres) of public land. Interest already paid shall be deducted from the principal, and the remainder shall be repaid in three years by equal instalments.<sup>1</sup>

The moment for the final struggle had then arrived. It was worthy of its earlier stages. There was no useless violence, but on both sides admirable perseverance. For ten successive years the tribunes obtained their re-election. In vain did the senate gain over their colleagues, whose veto suspended their action, and in vain did they twice have recourse to the dictatorship. Camillus, threatened with a heavy fine, and perhaps with a second exile in his old age, abdicated, and Manlius, when proclaimed after him, chose a plebeian, Licinius Calvus, as Master of the Horse. The sanctity of religion was employed as a means of opposition to the tribunes; there was not a plebeian in the priesthood.

In order to destroy this movement and avert the intervention of the gods which the senators would have claimed to read in the oracles of the Sibyl, they added this fourth rogation, which the senate accepted in order to invest its own side with an appearance of justice: "Instead of duumvirs for the Sibylline books, decemvirs shall in future be appointed, of whom five shall be plebeians."

The people, however, wearied with such prolonged debates,

<sup>1</sup> Livy vi. 35: Colum., i. 3. Dionys. viii. 73.

were on the point of betraying their own cause; they no longer demanded more than the two laws concerning debts and land, which the patricians were disposed to yield. But the tribunes declared the three propositions inseparable; they must be adopted or rejected together. The comitia of tribes voted for them, the senate accepted them, and the centuries proclaimed Lucius Sextius one of the two tribunes, consul. In their curiæ the patricians refused the *imperium* to the plebeian consul, and the battle, which was on the point of ending, began again more fiercely than ever. The details of this last struggle are little known. There is vague mention of terrible threats, and of a new secession of the people. Camillus interposed. He had just won his last victory over the Gauls; five times dictator, seven times military tribune, full of glory and honours, he desired a repose worthy of his sixty years of service. Won over by his counsel and example, the senators yielded, the election of Sextius was ratified, and Camillus, closing the age of revolutions for a century and a half, vowed a temple to Concord (366 B.C.).<sup>1</sup>

The gates of the political city, then, were at last forced; the plebeians now in turn take their seat on the curule chair. In token of the admission of these new comers into the real Roman people, there was added to the three festal days of the great games held in honour of the three ancient tribes, a fourth day for the plebeians.<sup>2</sup>

## II.—THE PLEBEIANS GAIN ADMISSION TO ALL OFFICES.

The adoption of the Licinian laws marks a new era in the history of the republic. But were these laws faithfully observed, and what were the consequences to the great, to the populace, and to the fortune of Rome? These are the questions which

<sup>1</sup> The magnificent ruins which still remain of the Temple of Concord do not belong to the edifice erected by Camillus, which appears to have been built at the Capitol (Ovid, *Fast.*, i. 637.), and of which nothing is left, nor to that of Flavius, which, according to Pliny (xxxiii. 6, 3), was only a bronze chapel raised on the Vulcanal, above the comitium; they formed part of a temple of Concord of which mention is often made in the last days of the republic, and which was situated at the foot of the *Tabularium*.

<sup>2</sup> Dionys., vii. 41.



Temple of Concord (restoration of Canina).

we are about to examine; separating, for greater clearness, the political laws from social, or such as related to debts and property.

The patricians never frankly accepted popular victories. On the morrow of their defeat they began again disputing step by step the ground they had lost on the preceding day, multiplying obstacles in order to put off the evil day, when the equality which they looked upon as sacrilege must be finally achieved. This time they yielded the consulship itself, but the consulship dismembered. Two new patrician magistracies were, in fact, created at its expense, the *prætorship*, for the administration of justice, the formulæ of which were unknown to the plebeians, and the *curule ædileship*,<sup>1</sup> for the city police (366). Class interest was, for this once, in accord with public interest. The patricians gave their own order three new offices, but they gave the republic three necessary magistracies.

The great pre-occupation of modern governments is or ought to be to protect the fortune and life of citizens, to develop instruction and commerce, to diminish misery and vice. The Romans of the early times had no such cares; they considered their task ended, when they had provided for internal peace and the security of the frontiers. The rest concerned only individuals. The Romans of the time of which we are now speaking, began to understand that their public edifices, as they multiplied, required a supervision that might be exercised in the interests of the treasury, that the city as it grew larger needed a street police to prevent fires, markets to prevent fraud, baths, taverns, and [licensed] places of evil resort to prevent street brawls. Finally, in times of scarcity it was necessary to buy wheat abroad, and sell it to the people at a low price.<sup>2</sup> The plebeian ædiles no longer sufficed for this work, and it was well to double their number. "The senate having decreed," says Livy, "that in order to thank the Gods for the re-establishment of concord between the plebs and the patriciate

<sup>1</sup>...*Quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricios magistratus...nobilitas sibi sumpsisset* (Livy, vii. 1). The curule ædileship formed a college composed, like the plebeian ædileship, of two members; at first there was only one prætor.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero (*de Leg.*, iii. 3), names the ædiles: *Curatores urbis, annonæ, ludorumque solemnium*.



a fourth day should be added to the Roman games, the plebeian ædiles refused to sanction this expenditure, and in order to avoid the omission of this honour towards the immortal gods, some young nobles offered to take the expense upon themselves, on condition that they should be appointed ædiles.<sup>1</sup> Here again we find anecdote taking the place of history. We have just seen the serious reasons which led to this creation. Moreover, the new magistracy became almost immediately common to the two orders.

The prætorship was in like manner a necessary duplicate of the consulship. As the State became greater, more frequent and more distant wars left the first magistrates of the republic but little time to occupy themselves with civil justice, and the recent agrarian law of Licinius Stolo was sure to multiply law suits to an extraordinary degree. Although the division of power was not a very Roman idea, men saw the utility of ensuring the regular course of justice by always having at Rome a magistrate charged with its administration, to supplement the absent consul. In order to mark the subordinate character of the prætor, only six lictors were allowed him;<sup>2</sup> but he was elected like the consul in the comitia centuriata and with the same auspices; he presided, in the consul's absence, at the meetings of the people and the senate, and the *imperium*, which he possessed from the outset, allowed him in later times to assume the functions of leader of the army and of provincial governor. His judicial competence was summed up in three words; *Do*, I give the judge and the mode of procedure; *Dico*, I declare the right; *Addico*, I adjudge the object of the suit. On his entry into office the prætor gradually fell into the habit of publishing an edict, in which he indicated the rules of jurisprudence which he intended to follow; we shall see that this *edictum prætorium* by degrees transformed all the Roman legislation.

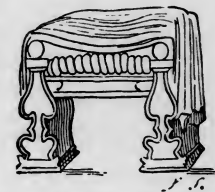
So much good resulted from this institution that twenty years later there was appointed a second prætor for disputes between citizens and foreigners, the *prætor peregrinus*. He must,

<sup>1</sup> Livy vi. 42; vii. 1. . . . *postea promiscuum fuit.*

<sup>2</sup> There were two prætors in 342 B.C., four in 227, six in 197, eight under Sulla. We shall see later the reasons for these different augmentations.

by reason of his office, be versed in foreign customs, *jus gentium*, as well as national usages, *jus civile*, and his edicts prepared the way for the fusion of these rights. Rome possessed then, from this time forth, the two workmen who were slowly collecting the numberless materials wherewith the juris-consults were to construct the magnificent monument of the *Pandects*.

The consuls retained the command of the armies, the presidency of the senate and the raising of troops. These were still too high prerogatives for the patricians not to seek to recover them. The dictatorship was left them; they made use of it either to preside over the comitia and influence the election of consuls, or to snatch from a plebeian general the honours of a successful war. Between 363 and 344, a period of only twenty years, there were fourteen dictators.



Seat for a *lectisternium*.<sup>1</sup>

The one who stood at the head of this long list was Manlius Imperiosus. The plague was raging with murderous intensity and had carried off Camillus; the Tiber overflowed its banks; an earthquake had opened in the midst of the Forum an abyss into which Curtius is said to have leaped fully armed. In order to appease the angry gods, new games, drawn from Etruria, had been celebrated, mingled with songs and dances to the sound of the flute; then the statues of the great gods had been laid on beds and invited, as a pledge of reconciliation, to a sacred banquet (*lectisternium*). Manlius having been appointed dictator in order to drive the sacred nail into the temple of Jupiter, refused, when the ceremony was ended, to resign his powers; he retained his twenty-four lictors and announced a levy against the Hernicans. This prolonged suspension of the consular power coincided too well with the views of the senate, which was ready to respect the dictatorial power under such circumstances. But the tribune Pomponius accused the dictator. Among other grievances he reproached him with his conduct towards his own son, banished from the domestic penates, exiled to the fields and condemned to servile labours. "This Son of a dictator

<sup>1</sup> Marble seat, preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich, on which was placed the statue of a god in the ceremony of the *lectisternium*.

learnt, by a daily punishment, that he was born of a father worthy of his surname (*Imperiosus*). And what was his crime? He had a difficulty in expressing himself. Instead of correcting this natural defect by education, Manlius aggravates the evil; he retards still further this dull spirit, and whatever vivacity and intelligence remain to his son will be extinguished by the rustic habits which he imposes on him." A singular reproach in the mouth of a tribune! But every kind of weapon was employed. Moreover the Romans, like the English of our own day, were proud of their nobility, and were unwilling that any young patrician should be brought up in a manner unworthy of his birth.

While all the people were indignant with Manlius, the victim, grieved at being a subject of prosecution to his father, conceived a project which set an example, to be commended indeed, but not without danger in a free city. Unknown to any one, with a dagger hidden under his robe, he came to the house of Pomponius one morning, gave his name, and insisted on being admitted. Everyone retired in order to leave him alone with the tribune. Then he drew his dagger, and threatened to stab Pomponius, who was still in bed, unless he swore, in terms which he dictated to him, "never to convoke an assembly of the people to accuse the dictator. The tribune, finding himself at the mercy of an armed man, young and powerful, grew frightened, and repeated the oath imposed on him. The people were dissatisfied to see their victim escape, but they willingly rewarded the young man's filial piety by appointing him legionary tribune."<sup>1</sup> The chiefs of the plebs, who knew how to profit not only by their hatred, but by their affections, seized this opportunity to claim for the comitia the nomination of six of those officers (362 B.C.).

Four times more, in the four following years, the senate had recourse to the dictatorship. But this supreme office was itself invaded. In 356<sup>2</sup> the danger of the war against the Etruscans caused the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, vii. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding year was marked by the establishment of a tax of 5 per cent. on enfranchisements. This tax was established in connection with Privernian prisoners, released on ransom by the soldiers of the consul Marcius. His colleague, Manlius, had caused it to be voted by the army encamped near Sutrium. The tribunes accepted the law, but instituted the punishment of death for any one who should renew this dangerous precedent of calling on his army to discuss public affairs. (Livy, vii. 16.) Let us notice that this tax must be paid in gold, and

proclamation of Marcius Rutilus, one of the most illustrious plebeians, as dictator, who four years later also became the first censor of his order.

The plebeian consulship was the door as it were, which gave access to the sanctuary. The patricians tried to close it; from 355 to 341 they managed to have the two consuls taken from their ranks on seven occasions. Three years earlier the Pœtelian law had forbidden canvassing (*ambitus*), in order to diminish the chances of success of new men, who, being little known among the rural tribes, travelled through the country soliciting votes (358). Yet the plebeian consulship had not been the reward of the seditious or of demagogues. Licinius and Sextius were only once honoured with this office, and for a long time after them no tribune succeeded in obtaining it, for in order to restrict the number of consular plebeians, the patricians combined in favour of the same candidates, preferring to see the same men consul four times rather than the consulship be given to four new men.<sup>1</sup> In twenty-seven years they had permitted only eight plebeians to arrive at the consulship. Even this was much. What did the ability of Marcius and Popilius matter? Could their services efface the stain of their birth? This imprudent attempt on the part of the patricians completed their defeat. The rich plebeian families grew angry at being deprived of what the perseverance of Licinius had gained for them. As for the poor, ruined then as always by usury, they were then as always, disposed to insurrection.

After the first Samnite war the Romans had placed a garrison at Capua. In that lovely country the legionaries remembered the creditors who awaited them at Rome, and also the means employed by the Samnites twenty-four years before to obtain possession of the town, when, having been received by the Campanians as friends, they had one feast-day fallen upon them unarmed and butchered them all. The plot was discovered. To avert the execution of it, the consul Marcius Rutilus sent the soldiers away

all lodged in the treasury, where it constituted a reserve fund which it was forbidden to touch, save in cases of extreme necessity.

<sup>1</sup> Marcius and Popilius were four times consuls, Plautius and Genucius three times, etc. It seems, too, that a single magistrate might unite several offices. (See next page.)

by cohorts. But they reassembled at the defiles of Lautulae, *passo di Portella*, a narrow pass between the sea and the mountains, which it was necessary to traverse in going from Fundi to Terracina, that is to say from Campania into Latium.<sup>1</sup> When their bands reached the proportions of an army, they marched upon Rome to the number of twenty thousand, calling on all who were enslaved for debt to join them. Near Bovillae they fortified a camp, ravaged the neighbouring lands, and having found a patrician, T. Quinctius, in his villa near Tusculum, they compelled him to put himself at their head. A revolt of the plebeians responded to that of the soldiers. They marched out of Rome and camped four miles from its walls. A popular dictator, Valerius Corvus, was appointed; but his soldiers, instead of fighting, sided with their comrades, and all together demanded and obtained:<sup>2</sup>

1. A general amnesty and complete forgiveness of the past.
2. A military regulation providing that the legionary serving under the standard should not, without his own consent, be erased from the registers, that is to say, be deprived of the advantages attached to military service,<sup>3</sup> and that one who had served as tribune should not be enrolled as centurion.
3. A reduction in the pay of the knights. The plebeians on their part, having returned into the city, voted, on the proposal of the tribune Genucius, the following laws, which had the double object of relieving the poor and preventing offices becoming the hereditary patrimony of a few families (342 B.C.).
4. No one should be re-eligible for the same office till after an interval of ten years, and no one should be invested with two magistracies at the same time.
5. Both the consuls might be plebeians.
6. Loans on interest and debts to be abolished, the *nexi* to be released.<sup>4</sup>

In these grave circumstances the senate had shown a spirit of

<sup>1</sup> The passage is so narrow that a tower and a gate are enough to close it. It was, not long since, the boundary between the States of the Church and the Neapolitan Kingdom.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, vii. 38, 42: *Lex sacra militaris*.

<sup>3</sup> The legionary serving under the standard could not be pursued by his creditors, and if the campaign was successful, he found himself able, with his share of the booty, to pay or diminish his debts.

<sup>4</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 16.

conciliation, of which it again made proof two years later, when it allowed the plebeian dictator, Publilius Philo, to strike the last blow at the old régime by the suppression of the legislative veto of the senate (339 B.C.).

1. The plebiscita should be binding on all.<sup>1</sup>
2. Every law presented for the acceptance of the comitia centuriata should be approved beforehand by the senate.<sup>2</sup>
3. One of the censors must be always chosen from the plebeians; both consuls might belong to that order.

The last of these laws was the application to the censorship of the Licinian law on the consulship. By means of the other two, Publilius Philo wished to concentrate the legislative power in the centuries and tribes, in order to avert the possibility of a conflict between the two sovereign assemblies and the senate. The latter no longer retained any sign of its ancient power, save the *preliminary approbation* of the plebiscita and laws of the centuries; and this obligatory approbation appeared to be a mere formality. But the senate made arrangements with the consuls for drawing up the list of consular and prætorian candidates presented to the centuries, and for improving beforehand the projected laws to be carried before them. On a future day, when the tribunes made common cause with the nobles, there arose the same agitation on the subject of plebiscita; and the senate then again became for a time master of the republic.<sup>3</sup>

Let us note, at the moment when the reciprocal rights of the assemblies and the senate are being determined, that if a subject was discussed in the curia before the vote, it must be voted upon in the comitia without deliberation. For popular assemblies the Romans had wisely separated discussion and decision—a useful precaution against the passionate impressions

<sup>1</sup> The law of Horatius and Valerius had given the force of law to the resolutions of the tribes, by submitting them to the sanction of the senate, *patrum auctoritas*. Publilius freed them from the sanction *post eventum*, by submitting them, like the laws of the centuries, to the *preliminary approbation* of the senate. As an electoral power, the comitia by tribes appointed the ædiles, quæstors, and tribunes.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . *Ut legum quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.* (Livy, viii. 12.)

<sup>3</sup> This new development will be explained in vol. ii. of this work.



that a glowing speech might produce just before the ballot.<sup>1</sup> Yet the resolutions of the centuries and tribes were not taken till the citizens had been enlightened by a controversial debate at a *contio*,—a free assembly presided over by a magistrate, and which a magistrate of superior rank might forbid.<sup>2</sup> It was there that the measures to be proposed to the comitia were discussed. In our (French) assemblies there is always a right of replying to a minister; in the *contio* the magistrate spoke last.<sup>3</sup> This means that with us more liberty is allowed for an attack on the government; whereas, at Rome, it was rather sought to defend it. This single fact shows the difference between the two States as regards public feeling.

The consequences which followed the revolt of the Campanian legions prove that the rebels had no intention of committing the lawless violence which some have supposed; but that they were carrying out a plan formed by the popular leaders to complete the revolution to which Licinius Stolo had given an irresistible impulse. In 339, indeed, ends the political strife, which the secession of the people to the Sacred Mount had commenced a century and a half earlier. If the plebeians are still excluded from some offices, they gain access to them gradually—without commotions, without struggles—by the sole force of its new constitution—the spirit of which is liberty, as that of the old was privilege. Thus Publius Philo obtained the prætorship in 337, and in 326 the pro-consulship—which office was consequently open to plebeians from its foundation. At an uncertain date, after 366 but before 312, the Ovinian plebiscitum threw the senate open to plebeians;<sup>4</sup> and in the year 300, the Lex Ogulnia decreed that

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *pro Flacco*, 7: *O morem præclarum disciplinamque, quam a majoribus accepimus. . . . Nullam illi . . . vim contionis esse voluerunt, etc.*; and he compares all the precautions taken by the ancient Romans with the tumultuous assemblies of the Greeks where men voted by show of hands as soon as the orator had finished speaking.

<sup>2</sup> Aulus-Gellius, xiii. 15. I need not add that it often happened, in the last centuries of the republic, that the deliberative assembly immediately preceded that in which the votes were taken, which much diminished the value of the precautions taken in older times.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, xxxix. 35 . . . *τοὺς ἰδιώταις πρὸ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἱερῶν ὁ λόγος ἰδιότρο.*

<sup>4</sup> This law transferred from the consuls to the censors the right of drawing up the list of senators, but obliged them to choose the new members, *ex omni ordine optimum quemque*, from among the old curule magistrates, quæstors, plebeian ædiles and tribunes. Thus, in the space of a lustrum there were 50 tribunes and 10 ædiles, so that the plebeians were not long in finding

thenceforth four pontiffs and five augurs should be taken from the second order.<sup>1</sup> This was the division of the priesthood, and the abolition of the patrician veto of the augurs. Four years later the son of a freed-man, Flavius, clerk to the censor Appius, had, by the publication of the calendar<sup>2</sup> and the formulæ connected with law suits, deprived the patricians of the only advantage left them, the knowledge of civil and sacred law.

The consuls had always appointed the legionary tribunes. In the year 362 the people took upon themselves the right to choose six of them; fifty years later they appropriated a larger share of the appointments, and decided, by the Atilian plebiscitum, that they would name sixteen. As each of the four legions raised annually had six tribunes, democratic jealousy deprived the generals of the choice of two thirds of them. Fortunately, among this military nation, where every citizen must have served in at least ten campaigns, it was difficult for the popular vote to appoint to any command men incapable of exercising it.

To this work of popular levelling belongs the Mænian law,<sup>3</sup> established towards the end of the Samnite war, which suppressed the right, hitherto left to the curiæ, of refusing the *imperium* to magistrates chosen by the centuries. Deprived of all influence over elections and the making of laws, this ancient assembly of the Roman people fell into disuse. There was no longer patrician caste, nor comitia curiata. But this nation, whose life was a perpetual revolution, was more tenacious than any other of the worship of the past. Like the citizens who proudly displayed the images of their ancestors, it religiously preserved the memory and semblance of things which time or man had destroyed. Even the

themselves a majority in the senate. Cf. Livy, xxii. 49: . . . *senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent.*

<sup>1</sup> The salii, the fratres Arvales, the fetiales, and the *rex sacrorum*, who played no political rôle, were always taken from the patricians.

<sup>2</sup> The calendar showed the days and hours in which it was legal to plead. As these days varied each year, it was necessary, before the time of Flavius, to consult the pontiff, or those patricians who were initiated into these mysteries of these calculations . . . *a paucis principum quotidie petebat.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 6.) The Tables of Flavius, in which were revealed the *legis actiones*, the *actus legitimi*, the *dies fasti*, *nefasti*, and *interdicti*, formed the *jus Flavianum*. The patricians having devised new formulæ, Sextus Ælius Catus again disclosed them in 202. To his work the name of *jus Ælianum* was given.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *Brut.*, 14.

empire did not make a clean sweep of them. Three centuries after Augustus there was a senate which at times resumed its political character in earnest, and Justinian still appointed consuls. Thus the curiæ still continued, preserved, like the statues of the kings, by the respect in which men and things of ancient times were held by all; but reduced to insignificant civil and religious prerogatives, and represented by thirty lictors, under the presidency of the high pontiff.

By this abdication of the curiæ, all the aristocratic strength of the government was concentrated in the senate, into which a greater number of plebeians entered daily through the medium of office.

From 302 to 286 came renewed confirmation of the fundamental laws which were the Magna Charta, as it were, of plebeian liberties.

In 302 there was a confirmation of the Valerian law, which, by the right of appeal, gave the accused his peers as judges.

In 299 a confirmation of the Licinian law for the division of the consulship, and consequently of every office.

In 286 the laws of the plebeian dictator, Hortensius, which ratified all former victories, confirmed the Publilian law relative to the obligatory character of plebiscita, and freed them from the preliminary authorisation of the senate.<sup>1</sup>

Grave circumstances had led to this last dictatorship; the people, having again risen in revolt on the subject of debts,<sup>2</sup> had withdrawn to the Janiculum. They only demanded the re-enforcement of the laws against creditors; but their chiefs desired more. Interested as they always are in causing political revolutions by which they profit, they turned the attention of the multitude from their misery to their offended dignity. The Hortensian laws had thus quite a different bearing from what the first leaders of the crowd had intended. Debts were abolished or diminished, it is true, but the plebeian rights were also confirmed again; and in order to efface the last distinction which still separated the two orders, the *nundinæ* were declared not to be holy days. It was

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Itaque eo modo legibus plebiscita exæquata sunt* (Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 3).

<sup>2</sup> See pages 303-305

on the *nundinæ*, or market days, that the tribes assembled, because on those days the country people came to Rome. The patricians, unwilling in their pride to have anything in common with the plebeians, and in order that the latter might not be able to count their small number in the curiæ, or await the decisions of the senate, or in a menacing crowd attend the judgments of their tribunals, had consecrated the *nundinæ* to Jupiter, and had forbidden themselves during them all deliberation and all business.<sup>1</sup>

Another arrangement is, however, attributed to the dictator Hortensius, which would show a sincere desire to prevent excesses among the democracy by strengthening the aristocratic element in the constitution; *senatus-consulta* were to be raised to the rank of general laws, and, like the plebiscita, to be binding on all orders.<sup>2</sup> The thing is not certain, but henceforth the legislative power of the senate is seen to extend more and more.

There is a creation of this period which has no political character, but which ought to be placed at its proper date. About the year 292 B.C. there was instituted a magistracy of secondary rank, the *triumviri capitales*,<sup>3</sup> who replaced the *questores paricidii*. Appointed in an assembly of the people presided over by the prætor, they were charged with the investigation of crimes, the receiving of evidence against the guilty, and, after the trial, the supervision of the carrying out of the sentence. They assisted the ædiles in acting as street police, and in obtaining the payment of the fines which the latter had inflicted, and they could have slaves and common people beaten for any offence. Plautus in his time knew of them: "If the triumvirs met me at this hour of the night," he makes Sosia say,<sup>4</sup> "they would clap me into prison, and to-morrow I should be dragged out of their cage, and they would give me the stirrup-leathers without listening to my reasons. Eight strong fellows would beat the anvil on my back." We know that

<sup>1</sup> *Nundinas Jovi sacras esse.* (Macr., *Sat.* i. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus, one of the lawyers of Justinian, in Bk. i. tit. 2, § 5, of his very useful Greek paraphrase of the Institutes, speaks of Hortensius as a true friend of his country, who put an end to the century-long quarrels of the two orders.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.* xi., and Dig. I. ii. 2 and 30: *Triumviri capitales qui carceris custodiam haberent ut, cum animadverti oporteret, interrentu eorum fieret.*

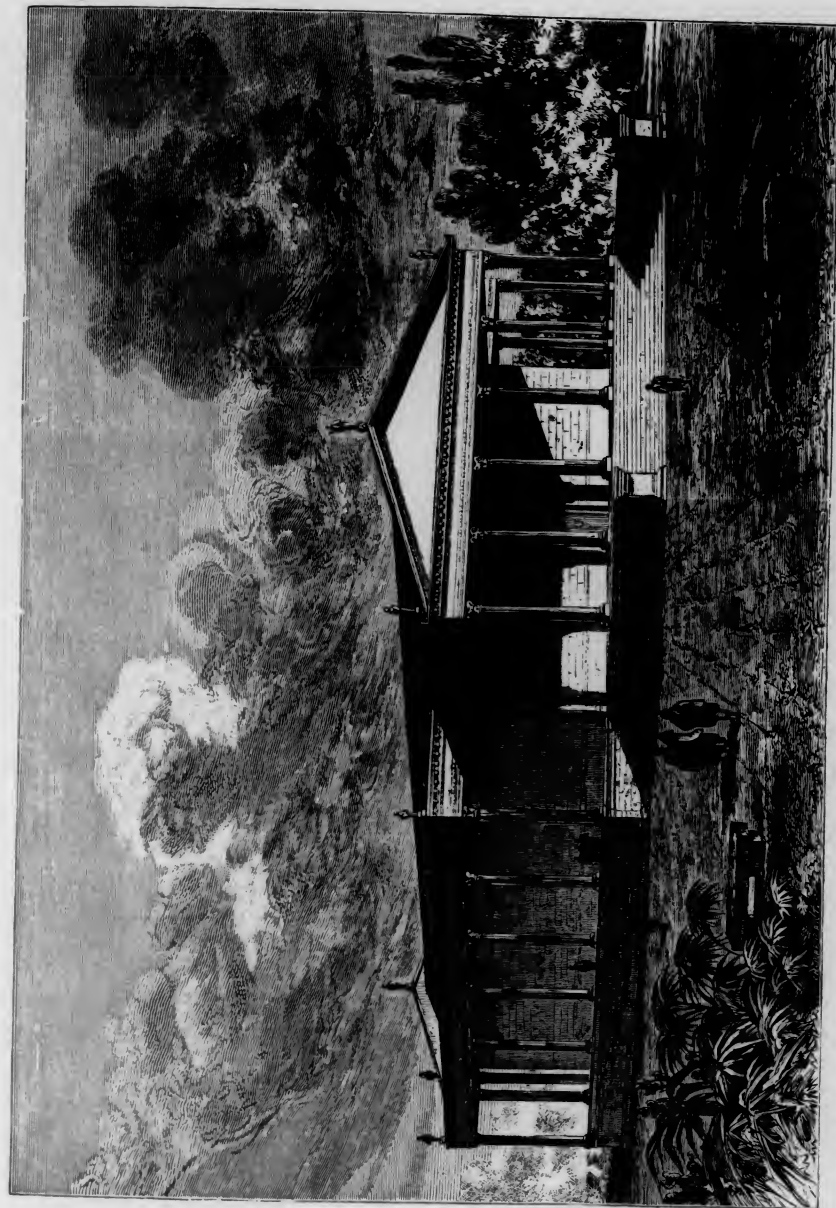
<sup>4</sup> *Amphitr.* I. i. 3-6.

they had Nævius put into fetters to punish the boldness of his verses.<sup>1</sup>

By the aggregate of laws promulgated since the year 367 B.C., not only had political equality been won, but the advantage was now on the side of the plebeians. Eligible for all magistracies, with the right of occupying at once both the posts of consul and censor, they kept exclusively plebeian the offices of tribune and plebeian ædile. The tribunes could, by their veto, arrest the decrees of the senate, the acts of the consuls and legislative proposals; by their right of accusation they placed unpopular magistrates under the threat of an inevitable condemnation. The assemblies of curiæ were annulled, and the comitia of tribes bound all the orders by their plebiscita. Yet even the aristocracy itself, and, above all, the fortune of Rome were to gain by this equality so unwillingly yielded. The aristocracy was indeed thrown open to all; but it was in order to attract and to absorb into its bosom, to the profit of its power, all talents—all ambitions. Separated from the people, it would soon have fallen into weakness; henceforth the best plebeian blood rose to the summit; like a branch grafted on a vigorous trunk, it was nourished by a fertilizing sap, and the tree, whose roots reached deep into the soil, was strong enough to spread its branches afar.

An obscure fact shows that, if the law had decreed equality by allowing a man of talent and courage to aspire to anything, which is one great force in a State, society preserved its family traditions, which are another. In the year 295, the senate, in order to avert the effect of evil omens, had prescribed two days of public prayers. On this occasion a dispute arose among the Roman ladies in the little temple of patrician *Chastity*. A patrician woman, named Virginia, had married a plebeian, the consul L. Volumnius. In order to punish her for this mésalliance the matrons forbade her to join in their sacred ceremonies. She, angry at this affront, built a temple to plebeian Chastity, established the same rites, and assembled all the matrons of her order there, saying to them: "Let there be henceforth no less emulation among the women in chastity, than there is among the

<sup>1</sup> Aulus-Gellius, iii. 3. He lampooned the Metelli, who were powerful patricians.



Temple of Chastity (Restoration of Dubut).



men in courage, and let this altar be honoured more devoutly than the other." "The right to sacrifice here," adds Livy, "was only granted to women of acknowledged chastity, and who had been only once married."<sup>1</sup>

This story is edifying, and the virtue of the matrons is conspicuous; but there are also jealous rivalries disclosed, which the women at least did not forget for a long time, and that respect for blood and race which always prevented Roman society from falling a prey to demagogues. Moreover, the leaders of the plebs, having no longer anything to appropriate or destroy, now became conservatives, in accordance with the logic of the passions and of history.

From the laws concerning the State, let us pass to those which relate to private fortunes.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, x. 23.



The coin above represents an altar on which is the statue of Chastity, standing on a curule chair. Reverse of a denarius of Plotina, wife of Trajan. The legend bears these words: "Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, father of his country, for the sixth time consul;" which fixes the coining of the piece between 112 and 117 A.D.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE AGRARIAN LAW AND THE ABOLITION OF DEBT.

#### I.—AGRARIAN LAW OF LICINIUS STOLO.

CIVIL equality gives, even to the poorest, new and noble sentiments,<sup>1</sup> but wealth is not one of the good things which it assures. Those whom the law declared equal in the Forum, remained classed in ordinary life according to their fortune; the rich above, near to the honours, the poor below, in misery. Accordingly the tribunes had always had in view a double object: to attain by a share in offices, political equality, and by grants of land, to mitigate the distresses of the poor.

As the workman now demands work and remunerative wages, so the poor man formerly demanded land. The agrarian laws which so long troubled the Roman republic, are thus the ancient form of the social questions which agitate modern society.<sup>2</sup> Since the problem is the same—to diminish misery, and consequently to diminish the evil passions which misery too often sows in the minds of the poor against the rich, we are led by more than mere curiosity to study this history of the old Roman proletariat more closely.

In a country overspread with small republics, as Italy was,

<sup>1</sup> Everywhere where civil inequality exists, whatever greatness it may develop among a few by the aid of privilege, it entails a corruption peculiar to itself, which disfigures the most admirable societies, and spoils the best and most generous natures." De Remusat, *Essais de philosophie*. [The distinction of free-men and slaves introduced this inequality into all ancient States, however completely the free-men may have equalised the privileges among themselves. Thus the purest ancient democracy was really an aristocracy ruling a population greater than itself which had no civil rights.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [This form, however, still exists in Ireland, and will presently reappear in Southern Italy, where great estates have monopolised the means of living in a country without manufactures, or else where manufactures have been suppressed.—Ed.]

the strength of the State was augmented by increasing the number of citizens. This principle, which was recognised and put into practice by the kings, and after them by the senate, made the fortune of Rome. But, for the sake of safety, the State dare not arm those who might possibly be tempted to employ arms against herself. Accordingly the Roman law had provided that the proletariat should never be called to the standards. Shut out of the Forum and the army, these proletarians must become dangerous as they increased, and this was continually the case; the stranger deprived of his land, and who had come to Rome to seek the means of subsistence, the craftsman, the ruined farmer, the insolvent debtor, the citizen degraded by the censors, the freedman whose fortune could not make men forget his birth, all who were miserable and hostile to a government to which they attributed their miseries or their civic degradation, fell into this abyss, which, gaping wider day by day, threatened to engulf the city.<sup>1</sup> In this there lay, as was proved in the last days of the republic, a great danger to liberty: it was true foresight, and the act of a good citizen to strive to diminish this danger by diminishing the number of the proletariat, and by providing the State and the legions with useful citizens. From this patriotic idea, with which there were naturally mingled some selfish motives, among the leaders of the people sprang almost all the agrarian laws.

From the time of Cassius to the decemvirs, that is to say, so long as the misfortunes of the times left only the lands bordering on the wall of Servius to be distributed, the patricians energetically repelled all agrarian laws. When the frontier receded, they consented to give up to the poor a few acres of land round the conquered towns, in order to free Rome from a certain number of poor, and to favour the increase of the population available for bearing arms,<sup>2</sup> but more especially with the object

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to distinguish between the *proletarius* or *capite census*, who had not the *census* necessary to enter a class, and the *æriarius*, whose fortune was sometimes considerable (Cf. § iii. p. 308), but who, on account of his origin, was deprived of certain rights. Practically the proletariat suffered under the same civil disabilities, and might consequently be disposed to make common cause with the *æriarii*. But it was only for the proletarians that the tribunes spoke.

<sup>2</sup> After the taking of Veii the gratuity was more liberal, *septena jugera . . . ut vellent in eam spem liberos tollere* (Livy, v. 30)

of occupying in the interests of their empire strong military positions. But this exile amid conquered races and the dangers which the colonist ran of being driven out or massacred by the ancient inhabitants,<sup>1</sup> rendered these gratuities far from popular. "They preferred," says Livy, "asking for lands at Rome, to possessing them at Antium." Deprived of a portion of his rights as citizen, the colonist would have left the city with regret, even though he might find on the two or four *jugera*,<sup>2</sup> assigned to him so far away, ease and safety.

Accordingly, although colonies multiplied with fresh conquests, the tribunes well understood that something more was needed to uproot the evil of pauperism, and Licinius Stolo proposed to distribute among the poor a portion of the State land which had been usurped by the nobles.

His *rogatio* appears to have been thus conceived:—

No citizen shall possess more than 500 *jugera* (312 acres) of State land;<sup>3</sup>

None shall keep on the public pastures more than 100 head of neat and 500 head of small cattle;

Of the lands restored to the State, there shall be taken sufficient to distribute to every poor citizen seven *jugera* (four acres, one rood);

Those who remain in possession of public land shall pay to the public treasury a tithe of the fruits of the earth, a fifth of the produce of the olives and vines, and the rent due for each head of cattle. At each lustrum these taxes shall be farmed out to the highest bidder by the censors, who shall apply the proceeds to the pay of the troops.

Each proprietor shall be obliged to employ on his land a certain number of free labourers in proportion to the extent of the estate.

It has been shown (p. 168) that the agrarian laws among the Romans, since they only applied to public lands,<sup>4</sup> were as

<sup>1</sup> As at Sora (Livy, ix. 23); at Fidenæ (iv. 17); at Antium (iii. 4); and at Velitræ (viii. 3).

<sup>2</sup> As at Labicium 2 ( $1\frac{1}{4}$  acre); at Anxur,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  (2 acres). (Livy, viii. 21.) The *jugerum*=2 roods, 19 poles (0.252 hectares).

<sup>3</sup> We give this reconstruction of the Licinian law according to Niebuhr, but believe he has introduced into it too many traces of the law of the Gracchi.

<sup>4</sup> All the agrarian laws denote by the word *possessio* the portion of the *ager publicus*

just as they were necessary; but their execution almost always injured rights consecrated by time. How was a public estate to be recognised when the landmarks had been displaced, and the tithe was no longer paid? How was a State property to be discovered amid lands that had been handed down as private property for more than a century, or sold, bequeathed, given as dower, left by will, twenty times over? The rich knew well what insuperable difficulties would be found in applying the Licinian law, when after ten years they at last accepted it. They knew, too, how to evade it, by emancipating their sons before they came of age, so as to assign them the 500 *jugera* allowed, or by retaining under an assumed name what they should have returned to the State. The example of Licinius, who was himself condemned, in 357 B.C., to pay a fine of ten thousand ases, for having in his possession 1000 *jugera* (624 acres) of public land, 500 of which he held in the name of his emancipated son, proves how numerous the evasions were, since the author of the law, a man of consular rank, could elude it without feeling any shame. The domain continued, then, to be encroached upon by the nobles, who, by appropriating Italy to themselves, laid the foundations of those colossal fortunes, which can only be understood now by comparison with the English aristocracy. Even in 291 B.C. two thousand workmen were needed by one consul to clear his woods.

The provision of the Licinian law relative to tithes appears to have been better observed, since from this time forth we hear no more of those complaints against income tax which were formerly so rife, and henceforth Rome is able to bear the expenses of the longest wars. But it was not so with that which limited the quantity of cattle to be sent to the public pastures. These pastures grew daily larger, for from the end of the fifth century of Rome there comes a fatal change in agriculture, namely, the substitution of

occupied by any individual, and the Digest establishes the difference between *possessio* and *proprietas*. *Quicquid apprehendimus cujus proprietas ad nos non pertinet, aut nec potest pertinere, hoc possessionem appellamus.* (Digest, L. 16, 115.) At Rome (Livy, iv. 48) as almost all lands were those which had been conquered, the *heritages* were only small fields. Accordingly those who did not wish to encroach on the public domain have only 4 to 7 *jugera*, like Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Coruncanius, Æmilius Papus, M. Curius, Regulus, Fabius Cunctator, etc. Cf. Val. Max., iv. 4 and 8. It was certainly only at the expense of the public land that the greater part of the *possessions* of 500 *jugera* and more could have been formed.



grazing for arable land.<sup>1</sup> How, indeed, was it possible to sow, plant, or build far from Rome, and beyond the protection of the legions or fortresses during that Samnite war, which seemed as though it would never end? Where were hands to be found to bring all the conquered land under cultivation? Slaves were scarce, and military service retained the free labourers under the standards. There was nothing to be done, then, but leave these lands for pasture, since it was impossible to prepare them for seed, or to wait a year for the harvest. If the enemy appeared the flocks dispersed among the mountains, and instead of crops and farms, nothing was left to burn or pillage but the poor hovels of the shepherds. To have grazing lands, or to have flocks feeding on the public ground, was a clear and sure source of revenue, which dreaded neither the enemy nor bad seasons, and which all wished to enjoy. Accordingly the Licinian law was soon forgotten,<sup>2</sup> notwithstanding the fines inflicted by the *ædiles*. But large flocks drive out small ones; moreover, the poor man's cow could not go 30 or 40 miles from Rome every day to pasture; even without any violence the State grazing lands were only of use to those who could afford to pay shepherds, and build on the heights castles or strong houses which served as a refuge in case of hostile invasion.<sup>3</sup>

The new aristocracy, however, while it appropriated the best lands for itself, did not forget that the surest means of preventing trouble about its usurpations was to do something for the welfare of the people. During the Samnite war numerous colonies were founded; into the three towns of Sora, Alba, and Carseoli alone there were sent as many as fourteen thousand plebeian families;<sup>4</sup> and Curius Dentatus twice, in his first consulship and at the end

<sup>1</sup> Cato (*de Re rust. i.*), placing the lands in order of their value, puts the corn-bearing lands only in the sixth rank; Varro (*iii. 3*) puts meadows in the first.

<sup>2</sup> In the year 298, there was pronounced a condemnation against those who *plus quam quod lege finitum erat agri possiderent*. (Livy, x. 13; Cf. x. 23, 47.) New fines were imposed, in 296 and 293, on *pecuarii*. These fines were so numerous and so heavy, that they serve to build temples, celebrate games, and make precious offerings; pateræ of gold to Jupiter, brazen gates for the Capitol, the wolf of Romulus, the temple of Concord of Flavius, the paving of the Appian Way, etc. Those quotations would be far more numerous, had we not lost the second decade of Livy.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, v. 44. [The same change has taken place, from economical causes in Scotland, and is taking place in Ireland.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> The older colonies were far smaller, usually 300 families. (Dionys. ii. 35, 52.)

of the war against Pyrrhus, distributed seven acres of land per head among the people.<sup>1</sup> The laws of the dictator Hortensius perhaps contained a similar provision.

Other laws relieved debtors.

## II.—LAWS ON DEBT.

The rate of interest, which was at first arbitrary, had been fixed by the decemvirs at the twelfth of the capital ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum). Licinius had deducted from the capital the interest already paid, and allowed three years for the repayment of the rest. But, mindful only of the present ill, he had not lowered the legal rate of interest for the future. In 356 B.C., the ravages of the Gauls and the dread which they left behind having rendered money scarce, and loans burdensome to the borrower, two tribunes again put into force the provisions of the Twelve Tables. The evil continued. The price of land fell under the continual threat of invasions, and the debtor who owned a field would only sell it at an enormous sacrifice.

The senate grew frightened at the increasing number of slaves for debt. In the year 352, in the consulship of Valerius and Marcus Rutilius, five commissioners established in the name of the government a bank, which lent money at very low interest. At the same time they fixed the prices at which lands and flocks might be given in repayment of the loans. This measure caused the paying off of many debts. Five years later the rate of interest was reduced to one twenty-fourth of the capital ( $4\frac{1}{4}$  per cent.). Finally, the revolt of the garrison of Capua (342) led to an abolition of debts, which was a general bankruptcy, and the suppression of loans on interest,<sup>2</sup> a measure more humane than efficacious, since the law cannot control in transactions for the most beyond its cognizance.

There remained the cruel provisions of the Twelve Tables

<sup>1</sup> There were also great distributions at the end of the first Punic war.

<sup>2</sup> Tac., *Ann. vi. 16*: *unciario fenore, uncia, semuncia*, etc., signify not only an ounce, etc., but also  $\frac{1}{12}$ ,  $\frac{1}{24}$ , etc., of any sum. Thus, *Hæres ex uncia* was heir to  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the whole. The *unciarium fenus* brought in  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the capital. At Athens, the usual interest was 12 per cent.

against insolvent debtors. In 326 B.C. the violence of Papirius towards the young Publius excited such indignation, that in order to appease it, the senate were obliged to revive the old law, attributed to Servius, that the goods and not the body of the debtor should answer for his debt. This was a real benefit. "From that day," says Livy, "there commenced for the people a new liberty."<sup>1</sup>

But in purely agricultural States, whatever precaution the law may take, small properties are always devoured by usury. Taxes take the little money the husbandman possesses; and should there come a bad season, should a harvest be lost, he must necessarily, since he has no reserve fund, have recourse to the usurer.<sup>2</sup> At the close of the Samnite war, after sixty campaigns, there were very many poor at Rome—prisoners whose all had been swallowed up by the payment of their ransoms; the sick, the wounded, who were unfit for work; and lastly, those who had squandered their share of the plunder while their fields remained untilled.

Misery reached even some of the great families. One Venturius, the son of a man of consular rank, not having been able to pay for his father's funeral ceremonies, was kept in the *ergastulum* by C. Plautius, his creditor. One day he managed to escape from prison and ran to the Forum, all covered with blood, like the centurion in the year 493, where he implored the protection of the tribunes.

This period is little known to us; it seems, however, that the tribunes proposed an abolition of debts,<sup>3</sup> that the rich resisted, and that there were long disturbances; but the people marched out of Rome and settled on the Janiculum (286). For the last time this means succeeded, for the frontier was still so near the town that the nobles dare not risk a civil war, of which the enemy would not have failed to take advantage. At this moment, too, Etruria began to bestir itself: a dictator was appointed, a plebeian

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Quod necei desierunt*. (Livy, viii. 28.) Yet the insolvent debtor, if he remained free, was none the less *infamis*, expelled from his tribe and deprived of all political rights. Cf. Cic., *pro Quinctio*, 15.

<sup>2</sup> This is still the state of the farmers of Rome, who have been often known to sell the harvest before seed-time. The population became too numerous for large farms, and when reduced to small plots were subject to all the distresses of the small farmers round ancient Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Val. Max., VI. i. 9; Zonaras, viii. 2; Livy, *Epit.*, xi.: *post longas et graves seditiones*.

named Hortensius. We know his political laws,<sup>1</sup> the following provisions are also attributed to him:—

Abolition or diminution of debts;

Distribution of seven acres to each citizen;

A renewed confirmation of the Lex Papiria Poetelia which had (in 326) forbidden slavery for debt.

Debtors were thus protected against their creditors, since the usurer, who was counted the most dangerous of robbers, was condemned, says Cato, to pay a fine of fourfold, whereas the robber only paid double of what he took. Thus usury must die out, at least the law has said it; but the law declares that all citizens of Rome are equal, which is a legal fiction. The poor citizens are no more guaranteed against usury than they are likely to become consuls and senators. The usurer, driven from the public place and punished by the laws, hides himself, and becomes more exacting than ever,<sup>2</sup> for he must now be paid, beyond the price of his money, the risks that he runs, and the dishonour which falls on him.

But these are evils which human wisdom cannot cure. Inequality is too marked in nature for society to avoid its impress. At Sparta, where equality was pursued with savage energy, even at the expense of morality and liberty, the most glaring inequality resulted from the laws of Lycurgus.<sup>3</sup> Let us not, therefore, accuse these upstart nobles of having forgotten, in their curule chairs, the people from whom they sprang. By giving land to the poor, by proscribing usury, and especially the detention of the person, they had done all that the law and political wisdom could do to ameliorate the lot of the plebeians. The latter bore it in mind for more than a century, and that century was the golden age of the republic.

<sup>1</sup> See page 202.

<sup>2</sup> Even the law fell into disuse. The ancient usages reappeared: *veteri jam more fœnus receptum erat*. Appian, *de Bello civ.*, i. 54. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 16, 17. Moreover the Latins, the allies, served as nominal debtors. (Livy, xxxv. 7.) Brutus lent at 48 per cent. with compound interest. (Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21.) The prætor Sempronius, being desirous of putting the laws into force again, was slain by his creditors. (App., *ibid.*) The abolition of debts and of loans on interest was a revolutionary measure which could not last. It failed at Rome; it will fail everywhere, because it is against the nature of things.

<sup>3</sup> [That Lycurgus established equality of property is more than doubtful.—Ed.]

III.—THE *ÆRARI*; CENSORSHIP OF APPIUS (312).

The two orders, however, had not yet terminated their ancient quarrel, when there appeared on the scene those who were to overthrow the patriciate, the plebeian nobility, and liberty. Beneath the plebeians who had become Quirites, outside the pale of the centuries and tribes, lived the freedmen, who were already multiplying, the craftsmen, the merchants, the inhabitants of municipalities *sine suffragio*, who had settled at Rome, and lastly the *æarii*,<sup>1</sup> all of them citizens, but living under political disabilities, excluded from the legions, disqualified for holding office, and never allowed to vote. Organised into corporations,<sup>2</sup> having assemblies, and doubtless having leaders too counting among them wealthy, active, and intelligent men, they formed a class so much the more dangerous as they represented more truly than the real plebeians—by the diversity of their origin and the stain of their birth or professions—the revolutionary principle, which was to throw Rome open to all nations. In 312 B.C., they nearly obtained possession of power.

Appius was then censor. He was one of the most distinguished men of his time, a great orator, a great lawyer and poet; but he was also the proudest of the haughty race of the Claudii, who counted among them five dictatorships, thirty-two consulships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations, and who ended with four emperors. Contrary to custom, Appius had canvassed for the censorship before the consulship. This irresponsible office, which gave into a man's power the moneys

<sup>1</sup> *Æra pro capite præbebant*. They were only armed in cases of extreme peril, and they were subject to an arbitrary tax, heavier in proportion than that of the citizens. (Cf. Dionys. iv. 18; ix. 25; and Livy, iv. 24; viii. 20; ix. 46; xlii. 27, 31.) The inhabitants of towns which had the right of citizenship, *sine suffragio*, the Italians who had settled at Rome, after having received the *jus commercii* and even the *jus connubii*, were in the same category.

<sup>2</sup> We have spoken of the corporations of Numa, which we again found in the centuries of workmen of Servius. See page 119, seq. Fortunes are now estimated according to the sum total of property movable or immovable. At Rome the only property allowed by the censors in their estimates was Quiritary estate, that is to say, all the *res mancipi* (coined bronze, houses, fields, slaves, beasts of burden). Many merchants, usurers, creditors, ship owners, artizans, indirect holders of the domain (for the *æarius* had no direct share in the conquered lands, since he did not serve), might be very rich, and yet find themselves counted among the *æarii*.



Appian Way: in its actual state, and restored by M. Ancelet.



of the republic and the honour of the citizens, was the true royalty at Rome. When he had obtained it he kept it, it is said, five years, in spite of the laws, the senate, and the tribunes. He overruled his colleague, who finally abdicated, and he did not allow any successor to be appointed. His ambition was great. In an age of military glory, he preferred that which civil works confer. During his consulship he left the other consul to make war against the Samnites, while he remained at Rome to finish his aqueduct, 7 miles long, and the Appian Way, *viarum regina*. The pride of his answer to Pyrrhus is well known; before the Samnites were yet conquered, he declared that Italy was the domain of the republic.

Traditional history makes Appius one of those ambitious patricians who ask power from the mob. It was hateful to him, it is said, to see plebeians in office; and in detestation of that burgher class which the patricians no longer dared resist, he flattered the populace, which, in spite of its demagogic instincts, often yields to the ascendancy of great names and great fortunes. In drawing up the list of the senate, Appius put into it the sons of some freedmen. There was a general indignation among the plebeian nobility.<sup>1</sup> The consuls and tribunes refused to accept the senate of Appius. To this refusal he replied by a far more dangerous innovation: he distributed through the tribes the *cerarii*, the *libertini*, in short, the masses or the lowly (*humiles*), as Livy says.<sup>2</sup> This was simply placing the votes in their hands, to shake the constitution, and Appius thought it would be easy to lead this populace and gain its voice.

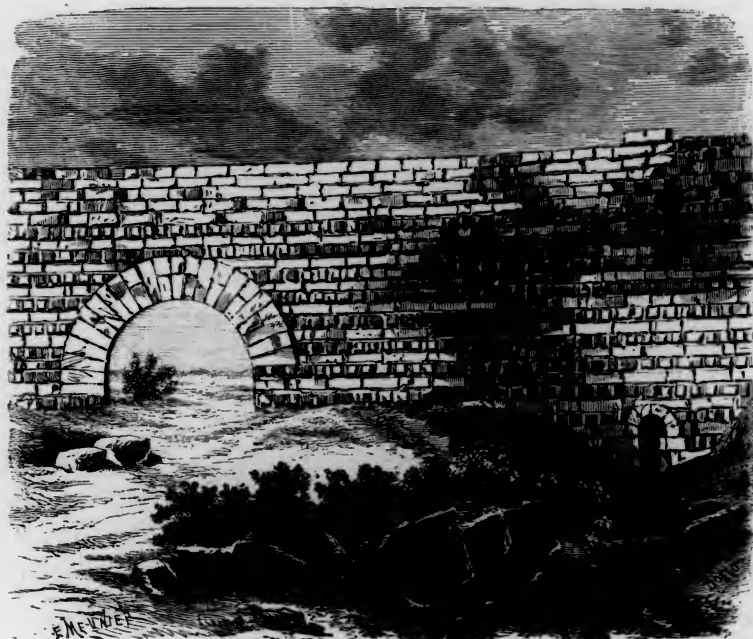
A simpler explanation offers itself, and is justified by his character, and by the two consulships which he gained after his censorship,<sup>3</sup> which the nobles could easily have hindered him from obtaining. The Samnite war, commenced twenty years before, had just broken out again with murderous violence, and the plague had raged fiercely in the preceding year. In order to fill up the gap

<sup>1</sup> They accused Appius of overturning religion, as well as the constitution, by allowing the Potitii and Pinarii to leave to slaves the care of the sacrifices which they owed to Hercules. The god punished him by striking him blind. (Livy, ix. 29.)

<sup>2</sup> *Humilibus per omnes tribus divisit.* (Id. ix. 46.)

<sup>3</sup> In 307 and 296 B.C.

made in the population, Appius inscribed on the register of the census the *æuarii* who were exempt from military service. This policy was hateful to those who, through their fathers or themselves, had striven against all novelties; but it caused the greatness of Rome by proclaiming the spirit of assimilation with foreign races instead of a narrow and jealous patriotism. As for the sons



Causeway in the valley of Aricia for the passage of the Appian Way.<sup>1</sup>

of freedmen called to the senate by Appius, they must have been very few, for there is nothing said about their expulsion by the succeeding censors, though, of course, this may have taken place without any noise.

The law allowed the censors, who were appointed every five years, to retain office for only eighteen months, and Appius is accused of not having abdicated till the end of five years. He could only have committed this breach of law by the support of a powerful party in the senate and among the people, but it is

<sup>1</sup> *Atlas of the Bull. archéol.*, vol. ii. pl. 39.

more than probable that in order to allow him to complete his immense works, he was furnished with a commission which was looked upon as the continuation of his censorship. Whatever may be the truth about these accusations and our hypotheses, posterity owes honour to the man who, after having taught the Romans the importance to empire and commerce of rapid means of communication, built the first of those aqueducts which led the water of the neighbouring hills to Rome "on triumphal arches." His was subterranean, but most of the other thirteen, which were built later, were not so, and their colossal ruins give to the desert of the Roman Campagna that solemn and grave aspect which reminds us that a great people has lived there.

With Appius and his reforms is associated the clerk Flavius, himself the son of a freedman, and made a senator by Appius. The publication of the calendar of the pontiffs and of the secret formulæ of legal proceedings (*jus Flavianum*) which he had managed to discover by attending law-suits, had gained him the gratitude of business men, who forced him into the tribuneship, had him twice appointed triumvir,<sup>1</sup> and promised him their voices for the curule ædileship. The whole nobility, those who were already called "the better classes," were moved at this strange novelty, and the president of the elective comitia tried to refuse votes given for him (304). When his election was known, the senators, in grief and shame, took off their golden rings, the knights the ornaments of their warhorses, and the first time he entered his colleague's house,<sup>2</sup> no one rose to yield him a place. But he had his curule chair brought in, and those who scorned the upstart were obliged to bend before the magistrate.

These bravados might stir up passions; but Flavius displayed the temper of a statesman, and not that of an ambitious upstart. He spoke of peace, of concord, and like Camillus, vowed a temple to the reconciliation of all the orders. As the senate would not give him the money necessary for the building of the temple, he employed upon it the proceeds of fines, and the people forced

<sup>1</sup> *Triumvir nocturnus* and *triumvir colonie deducendæ*. (Livy, xi. 46.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *ibid.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 6; Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 41; *Ep. ad Att.*, vi. 1. His colleague, Q. Anicius of Præneste, had only been a Roman citizen for a few years. Their competitors were two plebeians of consular family, Postellius and Domitius. (Pliny, *ib.* xxxiii. 6.)

the chief pontiff, who had at first refused, to consecrate the building.

The measure taken by Appius in respect to the *cerarii* was a just and good one, but the manner in which it had been carried out rendered it dangerous. If spread through the thirty-five tribes, the populace would have become masters of all the votes. When, in 304, Fabius, the most illustrious of the patricians, and Decius, the chief of the plebeian nobility, had been appointed censors, they allowed the *cerarii* to retain the rights which Appius had given them, but they enrolled them in the four city tribes, where, notwithstanding their number, they had only four votes against thirty-one. This measure gained for Fabius among the patricians the surname of Maximus, which his victories had not conferred on him, and the city tribes were thenceforth held to be debased; it became a punishment to be enrolled in them by the censors. Appius was right in doing away with the civic degradation of a numerous class, and Fabius in taking precautions lest the "new social stratum" should stifle the old.

In order to increase the external splendour of the nobility, the same censors instituted an annual review of knights. On the 15th of July they proceeded on horseback from the temple of Mars to the Capitol, clad in white robes striped with purple, wearing olive crowns on their heads and bearing the military rewards accorded to their valour. Thus, every year this brilliant array of youth passed, proud and glorious, before the eyes of the people, inspiring them with respect and awe. This was the festival of the Roman nobility.<sup>1</sup>

We did not wish, by the narration of the complicated wars of this period, to draw off attention from the development of the Roman constitution from the time of the tribune Licinius to that of the dictator Hortensius (367—286).<sup>2</sup> Now that we know the

<sup>1</sup> [It was probably a direct imitation of the Panathenaic festival at Athens, which we see in the frieze of the Parthenon.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> There have been reckoned for the fifth century nearly two hundred patricians who had borne office; for the fourth not more than half this number are found, and more than forty plebeians obtained magistracies. In 295 the former still have a majority in the senate (Livy x. 24), but their number continually diminishes, whereas that of the plebeians, after the Ovinian law, increases unceasingly. (See p. 236.) In 179 out of 304 senators, M. Willems, in his remarkable essay on the "Sénat de la république romaine," page 366, finds eighty-eight patricians and two hundred and sixteen plebeians.

state of this society, so happily blended of aristocracy represented by the senate which retained the daily government of the republic, and of democracy, represented by the people who had the last word in all grave affairs;—now that we have seen how out of so many diverse elements there grew this city, in which the nobility, whether of ancient or recent origin, is devoted to the interests of the State, in which small landowners fill the legions and the Forum, conquer provinces by their discipline, and protect liberty by their wisdom, we may revert to the tedious history of the long-continued struggle of the Italians against Rome.



P. CRASSUS M.F. Roman knight holding his horse by the bridle. Reverse of a silver coin of the Licinian family.



THIRD PERIOD.  
WAR OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE, OR CONQUEST  
OF ITALY (343-265).

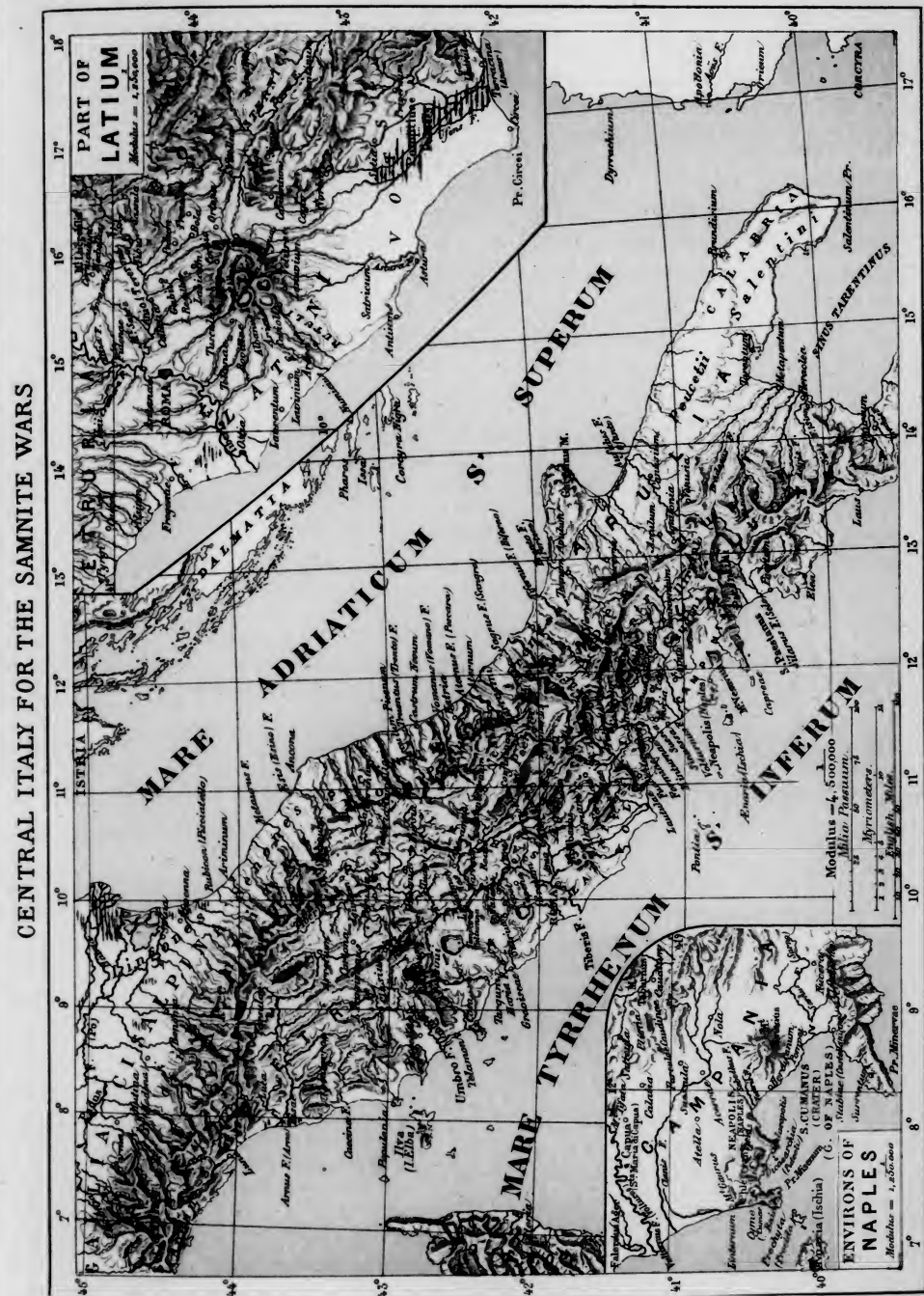
CHAPTER XIV.

WARS WITH THE SAMNITES AND LATINS (343-312).

I.—FIRST SAMNITE WAR; ACQUISITION OF CAPUA (343-341).

SINCE the Licinian laws had re-established concord in the city, Rome displayed a formidable energy abroad. In the space of twenty-three years she had freed herself from the Gauls for more than half a century; the only Etruscan towns which had dared to attack her had learned fatal evidence of their weakness, and the whole plain of Latium was occupied by Roman citizens and allies. If there still remained in the mountains any independent and secretly hostile Latin or Volscian cities, the senate kept them surrounded by the garrisons established at Terracina on the sea, and at Sora in the valley of the Liris. Within the city the patricians had failed in their counter-revolutionary attempts, and the laws of Genucius and Publilius were about to complete the plebeian revolution.<sup>1</sup> Nothing, however, foretold, except perhaps the strong organisation of this little nation, that its fortunes would ever extend beyond these narrow limits. It was the battles against the Samnites that decided the future of Rome. Hitherto, from the time of the kings, she had with difficulty defended herself. The new struggle, in which her very existence is at stake, and at the end of which she finds herself mistress of Italy,

<sup>1</sup> See chapter xiii.



must needs make her a conquering State. The fight on Mount Gaurus is the first battle of a war which ends on the summits of Atlas and the banks of the Rhine, the Danube and Euphrates.

We have seen<sup>1</sup> what the country of the Samnites was; snowy peaks, wild valleys, where life was hard and manners warlike, and the need of putting under contribution the plains at the foot of the Apennines ever pressing. They loved war, and in order to succeed in it, they had reached a pitch of military organisation scarcely inferior to that of the Romans. But, being scattered among the mountains, they had neither any great town to serve as a citadel, nor a political organisation which might unite the inhabitants of the territory in close bonds. Sometimes a temporary league united their forces, and for any enterprise once determined they chose a chief to lead their warriors; but of any executive power like that of the consuls, or permanent council like the senate, or any sovereign assembly like the comitia of Rome, that is to say, of one of the most vigorous political constitutions of antiquity, they knew nothing.

While Rome advanced towards Latium, Southern Etruria and the Sabine country, securing every step by the occupation of all strategic positions, and leaving as little as possible to chance, the Samnites went in search of adventures. Now they conquered Campania; again Magna Grecia; but no tie attached these new settlements to the mother country, and their colonies soon forgot the people whence they had sprung; so that, though Samnite bands made rich captures and took possession of fertile lands, the Samnite State increased neither in size nor strength. Strictly speaking, it did not exist. And yet these turbulent mountaineers had great ambition. When they saw the Romans established at Sora, a few steps from their territory, they wished to take up a position between Campania and Latium, by seizing the country of the Sidicini. Teanum, the capital of this people, was situated on a group of mountains, shut in between the Liris and the semicircular course of the Volturnus; from its walls might be seen Capua, beyond the Volturnus, and Minturnæ, at the mouth of the Liris. These two places, and the road between Latium and Campania, would

<sup>1</sup> Page xcix. and following pages.

have been at the mercy of the Samnites, if they had made the conquest of the country of the Sidicini. Accordingly the Capuans promised aid to Teanum; but their enervated troops could not withstand the active mountaineers; they were twice beaten and driven back into Capua, which the Samnites, encamped on Mount Tifata, a mile from its walls, held as it were besieged.<sup>1</sup> In this extremity the Campanians sent an embassy to Rome (343). Eleven years before a common hatred of the Volscians and the fear of the Gallic bands had drawn the Romans and Samnites together; a treaty had been concluded. This was the pretext which the senate used to reject the first demands of the Campanians, and making them buy aid at a high price. "Well!" said the deputies, "will you refuse to defend what belongs to you? Capua gives herself to you with her lands, her temples, everything sacred and profane." The senate accepted, but when its envoys came to bid the Samnite generals desist from attacking a town which had become Roman property, the latter replied by ordering the ravaging of the Campanian lands, and a war of sixty-eight years began.

State reasons were doubtless invoked to break off the treaty so recently concluded with the Samnites. It was impossible to allow the enfeebled nations of the Volscians and Auruncians, of the Sidicini and Campanians, to be replaced at the very gates of Latium by a brave and enterprising people; if this torrent were not confined to the mountains, soon no dam would be able to restrain it. The Latins believed it. Accordingly the war was for them a national one, and they entered into it with more ardour than the Romans had desired. Three armies were set afoot. One under the command of Valerius Corvus went to relieve Capua, another, led by Cornelius, penetrated into Samnium, while the Latin allies crossed the Apennines in order to attack the Samnites in the rear, through the country of the Peligni.

The historians of Rome have, of course, preserved no record of the operations of the Latin army. Regarding the Roman legions, on the other hand, details are given in abundance.<sup>2</sup> Let

<sup>1</sup> Livy, vii. 20, *seq.* . . . *imminentis Capuæ colles*, now called *monte di Maddaloni*. Hannibal established his camp there in 215.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, vii. 32, *seq.*

us not complain of this, for they offer us examples of devotion, which are always good to contemplate, and they show us the Roman in that camp-life in which he learned the secret of conquering the world. Cornelius, entangled among steep mountains, had allowed himself to be shut up in a narrow gorge; when he became aware of it, it was already too late to force a passage. A military tribune, Decius Mus, then approached the consul, and showed him a hill which commanded the hostile camp, and which the Samnites had neglected to occupy, and said to him: "Seest thou yonder rock? It will be our safety if we can manage to gain possession of it immediately. Give me the *principes* and *hastati* of a single legion;<sup>1</sup> as soon as I have climbed the summit with them, march immediately; the enemy will not dare to follow thee. As for us, the fortune of the Roman people and our courage will carry us through." The consul accepted the offer, Decius set out; and it was only



Decius Mus.<sup>2</sup>

as they gained the summit that the Samnites perceived them. The danger was now transferred to their side. Whilst their attention was drawn to this quarter, and they were turning their standards against Decius, the consul escaped. Decius, meanwhile, disguised in the cloak of a legionary, took advantage of the last rays of daylight to reconnoitre the position. When night had fallen, he called the centurions, and ordered them to assemble their soldiers in silence at the second watch. They had already traversed half the enemy's camp, when a Roman, in stepping over a sleeping Samnite, made his shield clash. At this noise the Samnites were alarmed. Decius then ordered his men to shout and to strike all whom they met. The uncertainty, the darkness, the shouts of the Romans, the groans of the wounded, caused confusion among the enemy, and Decius brought back his detachment safe and sound to the consular army. This success was not enough for him; he advised the consul to take advantage

<sup>1</sup> On the composition of a Roman legion, see below, at the end of chapter xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Pallas, with X, the mark of a denarius; on the reverse, ROMA, and the Dioscuri on horseback: under their feet a Gallic shield and trumpet. Silver coin of the Decii, as is proved by a coin restored by Trajan, of which a unique specimen is found in the museum of Denmark, and on which the same symbols exist accompanied by the legend: Decius Mus.



of the disarray of the enemy. The Samnites, attacked before they had recovered from their surprise, were defeated, their camp was taken, and the Romans inflicted a fearful slaughter on them.

On the morrow the consul commended Decius in the presence of the whole army. Besides the customary military presents, he gave him a golden crown, a hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilded horns; and to each of his soldiers an ox, two tunics, and a double ration of wheat for his whole life. After the consul, the legions which Decius had saved from death or dishonour, and the detachments which he had drawn out of a dangerous position, were also anxious to reward their deliverer, and amid universal acclamations the *obsidional* crown was placed upon his head. It was only made of grass or wild herbs, but it was the greatest military honour that a citizen could obtain, and the army alone had the right to bestow it. Decorated with these insignia Decius sacrificed the bull with the gilded horns before a rustic altar of Mars, and presented the hundred oxen to the *principes* and *hastati* who had followed him. To each of these same soldiers the other legionaries gave a pound of meal and a measure of wine. What wonderful men they were, to whom gratitude was as natural as devotion! It is easily understood how the memory of that glorious day coloured the whole life of Decius, and inspired him with the idea of his crowning sacrifice.

All the honour of this campaign was reserved for the other consul, Valerius Corvus. He, with Manlius, of whom we shall see more presently, was the hero of the Gallic wars. Beloved by the people, as were all of his house, he bore amid the camp and under the consular *paludamentum* his popular manners, affable with the soldiers, sharing their privations and fatigues, and setting all an example of courage. Six times he obtained the curule ædileship, the prætorship and consulship, twice the dictatorship and a triumph.<sup>1</sup> He had seen Camillus die, and the Romans trembling before a few Gallic bands; he saw the close of the Samnite war, which gave Rome the rule of all Italy, and he almost saw the commencement of the Punic wars, which left in her hands the empire of the world. And during the course of this century-

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 48.

long life he never failed the republic one day, in action or in council. In 343 he was in his third consulship. Being charged to drive the Samnites out of Campania, he went to seek them near Mount Gaurus, and inspired his troops with such ardour, that after the fight the prisoners acknowledged, says Livy,<sup>1</sup> that they thought they saw the eyes of the legionaries dart flames from under their helmets. All Capua came out to meet the conqueror. At Rome a triumph awaited him, gained by a second victory near Suessula. These successes resounded far and wide, the Faliscans asked to change the truce into an alliance, and the Carthaginians, friendly towards a power which was rising between their rivals the Greeks and Etruscans, sent an embassy to congratulate the senate, and to place a crown of gold in the Capitol.

When winter came on, the Romans, at the request of the inhabitants, placed garrisons in the Campanian towns. We have related the revolt of these legionaries and its consequences.<sup>2</sup> When the sedition was pacified, the senate, who felt that the State was shaken, and that the Latins threatened trouble, renounced the Samnite war, only requiring a year's pay and three months' provisions for the army of the consul Æmilius (341). For this price they abandoned Teanum and Capua to the Samnites. The Latins continued hostilities on their own account, in league with the Volscians, Aurunci, Sidicini, and Campanians; and when the Samnites came to Rome to complain, the senators replied with a blush that they had not the right to prevent their allies from making war on whomsoever they chose.<sup>3</sup>

## II.—THE LATIN WAR (340-338).

Since the first Gallic invasion, Rome had always found enemies in Latium. Though common dangers had drawn several cities closer to her in 357, these did not accept her supremacy with the same resignation as in the days when the legions yearly

<sup>1</sup> Livy, vii. 33, 38.

<sup>2</sup> See page 218.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . *In federe Latino nihil esse, quo bellare cum quibus ipsi velint prohibeantur.* (Livy, viii. 2).

came to defend them against the Æqui and the Volsci. The enfeeblement of those two nations and the departure of the Gauls having removed the fears of the Latins, their jealousy awoke; an alliance with the Sidicini and Campanians, whom Rome had abandoned, increased their confidence, and the successful issue of the revolt of the cohorts in Campania led them to believe that their own defection would also be successful. Soon there arrived at Rome two Latin prætors, Annius of Setia and Numicius of Circeii. They demanded what the plebeians had just obtained, equality of political rights, that is, that one of the two consuls and half the senators should be taken from among the Latins. On these conditions Rome would remain the capital of Latium. The national pride revolted. "Hear these blasphemies, O Jupiter!" cried Manlius; and he swore to stab the first Latin who should come to take his seat in the senate.

Annius replied with insulting words against Rome and her Jupiter Capitolinus. But the lightning flashed, says tradition, peals of thunder shook the curia, and as Annius quitted the Capitol to descend the flight of a hundred steps, he missed his footing and rolled to the bottom, where he lay lifeless. The god had avenged himself.<sup>1</sup>

War was declared (340). Rome was now, by the defection of the Latin towns, obliged to fight with men accustomed to her discipline, her arms, and her tactics.<sup>2</sup> The danger was immense, but men's courage rose with the danger. The consuls at that time were Manlius, whose severity gained him the surname of Imperiosus, and Decius Mus, of that noble plebeian family, in which devotion to their country became hereditary. While the consuls raised the best levies, strengthened discipline, and made all preparations with the activity and resources which a centralised power afford, the senate kept up its alliance with Ostia, Laurentum, Ardea, the Hernicans, and perhaps Lanuvium, and secured the neutrality of Fundi and Formiæ, and the favourable regards of the Campanian aristocracy. But the most important aid reached it from Samnium, the treaty of peace between the

<sup>1</sup> Livy (viii. 6), who wishes to reconcile this legend with the conditions of history, only speaks of a fall followed by a swoon.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, viii. 12, 13.

two nations being changed into a treaty of offensive alliance. In the first days of spring the Roman army quietly crossed the country of the Marsians, Pelignians, and Samnites, reinforced on the way from the forces of their new allies, eager with the hope of plunder in the rich valleys of the Campanians. While the consular army was arriving secretly by this bold march in the neighbourhood of Capua, another, under the prætor, Pap. Crassus, protected the city, and held in check the Latins who had not joined on their way through Campania the forces destined to invade Samnium.

The battle took place at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, near a brook called Vesperis. All the nations of central Italy met there, the Romans with the Hernicans and Sabellian tribes; the Latins with the Oscan nations who dwelt between the Numicius and the Silarus. It might have been called a struggle between the two ancient Italian races. Before the battle a Tusculan, named Geminus Metius, challenged to a single combat the consul's son, whom he had recognised at the head of a troop of knights. "Wilt thou," he cried, after the exchange of some boasts on either side, "wilt thou measure thyself with me. It will then be seen how much the Latin horseman excels the Roman."

Manlius accepted, and conquered. He returned, surrounded with soldiers rejoicing in this happy omen, to offer the spoils of the vanquished to his father; but he had fought without orders, and for this war in which the combatants had so much in common—arms, tactics, and language—in which so many soldiers had ties of family and military comradeship with both sides, an edict of the consuls had strictly forbidden any one to leave the ranks, even in the hope of striking a lucky blow. Discipline had been violated. Like Brutus, the consul overcame the father, and the young Manlius was beheaded. The army bent beneath this iron hand.

On the day of battle, the left wing, commanded by Decius,



Priest of Bellona.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a funeral stele, with the cage and bird which served to take the auspices.

began to give way. The consul called the high pontiff to him, and with veiled head and a javelin under his foot he invoked Janus, Mars, and Bellona,<sup>1</sup> and pronounced the sacred formulæ which, for the safety of the legions, dedicated himself and the hostile army to the gods of the lower world. Then, mounted on his war-horse, and clad in all his armour, with his body wrapped in his toga,<sup>2</sup> he rushed into the midst of the enemy's ranks, where he soon fell pierced with many blows. This religious preparation, this heroic devotion, witnessed by both armies, the belief that the blood of this voluntary victim had redeemed that of the Roman army, inspired the consular legions with the certainty of victory, and the Latins with as great a certainty of defeat. Three-quarters of the Latin army were left upon the field of battle, and Campania was reconquered at a blow. A skilful manœuvre on the part of Manlius, who brought up his reserves after the Latins, deceived by a stratagem, had engaged all their forces, had decided the victory. The remnant of the beaten army rallied at Veseia among the Aurunci. Numicius led thither some levies hastily raised. But a second victory, which threw open Latium, broke up the league; several towns tendered their submission, and on the 18th of May Manlius entered Rome in triumph (340).

The war was not yet finished: the senate hastened, however, to award the punishments and rewards. Capua lost the country of Falernum, so noted for its wine; but sixteen hundred Campanian knights, who had remained faithful to the cause of Rome, received the rights of citizenship, with an annual pay of 450 denarii each, levied on the rest of the inhabitants. This was about £20,000 of English money, paid annually by the Campanian people for the treason of its aristocracy. The Latin cities which had just submitted were also deprived of a portion of their land. This was distributed among the citizens, giving 2 *jugera* a head in Latium, and 3 in the Falernian country.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile Manlius, having fallen sick, appointed Crassus

<sup>1</sup> Janus, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi, quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, Diique Manes. The gods named by Decius are the old Italian divinities, with Janus at their head: the divi Novensiles are the new gods. Cf. Cincius ap. Arnob., iii. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ipsæ incinctus cinctu Gabino.* (Livy, viii. 9.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, viii. 11.

dictator to complete the reduction of Latium. An expedition against Antium, which led to no results, was an encouragement for the towns which had remained in arms. A victory gained by Publius Philo did not efface a check sustained by his colleague at the siege of Pedum. The republic, it is true, was at this period disturbed by troubles which led to the dictatorship and



Temple of the giants at Cumæ.<sup>1</sup>

laws of Publius; but it was the last act of this long drama. Revolution, successful at home, was successful, too, abroad, and the first event of the new era was the total submission of Latium.

Antium, on the coast, and Pedum, situated in front of Mount Algidus, were the two last bulwarks of the league. The consuls of the year 338 divided between them the attack on these two places. Manlius marched against the first and beat the Latins in the plain near Asturia; Furius took the second, in spite of all the efforts

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the *Bibliothèque nationale*. It should rather be called the temple of the Giant, for these ruins belong to a small edifice from which was taken a colossal statue of Jupiter seated, which is now in the museum at Naples.



of the Latins of the mountains. From this time resistance ceased, and all the towns one after another opened their gates.

It was necessary to decide on the fate of the vanquished. This was the first time the senate came to settle matters of such grave interest. They did it with such prudence that the measures taken on this occasion ensured the fidelity of the Latins for ever, and were invariably repeated for three centuries in all countries conquered by the republic. In the first place the inhabitants were forbidden general assemblies, leagues, to make war, contract marriage or acquire landed property outside their territory.<sup>1</sup> The Latin confederation was thus dissolved, and Rome had now before her nothing but small towns condemned to isolation; the senate, moreover, awakened by an unequal distribution of offices and privileges those rivalries and municipal jealousies always so rife in Italian cities. The towns nearest Rome were attached to her fortunes by the concession of the rights of citizenship and of



The serpent of Juno Sospita.<sup>2</sup>

voting. Tusculum got the first of these rights, not the second. Lanuvium, Aricia, Pedum, Nomentum, and doubtless Gabii had both, and in the year 332 two new tribes, *Marcia* and *Scaptia*, were formed of their inhabitants. With Lanuvium the consuls stipulated that they should have free access to the temple of Juno Sospita, in which the consuls came yearly to offer solemn sacrifices. In this sanctuary was nourished a serpent, which is often represented on the coins.



The Rostra.<sup>4</sup>

Beyond this first line of towns, which had become Roman, and which protected the capital from the sea to the mountains of the Sabine country, Tibur and Præneste<sup>3</sup> retained their independence, but lost a part of their territory, Privernum lost three quarters, Velitræ and Antium the whole. Antium delivered up her

<sup>1</sup> *Ceteris Latinis populis connubia commerciaque et concilia inter se ademerunt.* Livy, viii. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> Girl approaching the serpent of Juno Sospita; below, FABATI. Reverse of a silver coin of the Roscian family. For the worship of Juno Sospita, see page 78.

<sup>3</sup> Roman citizens condemned to exile could retire into these two towns.

<sup>4</sup> The coin which represents them is a denarius of M. Lollius Palicanus, who, being tribune in the year 71, restored to the tribuneship the powers of which Sulla had deprived it. The *gens Lollia* consecrated this memory by a coin bearing on one side a head of liberty, and on the other the platform for speeches, the *rostra*, which was in some sort raised by Palicanus.

war-ships, the beaks<sup>1</sup> of which went to ornament the platform of the Forum, and was forbidden to arm others in future. At Velitræ the walls were razed and their senate removed beyond the Tiber. The important position of Sora had been for some time occupied by a Roman garrison; Antium, Velitræ, Privernum, and a few years later Anxur or Terracina and Fregellæ, which commanded the two roads from Latium into Campania, received colonies. Thus old Latium was guarded by towns henceforth well-disposed, and the country of the Volscians by numerous colonists. Among the Aurunci, Fundi, and Formiæ, in Campania Capua, whose knights guaranteed its fidelity, the great city of Cumæ, Suessula, Atella, and Acerræ obtained, as an inducement to remain in alliance with Rome, the rights of citizenship without the suffrage, or, as it was then called, the *rights of Cverites* (338 B.C.)<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Cales.<sup>4</sup>

In the following year the Sidicini of Teanum and Cales attacked the Aurunci, who inhabited a volcanic mountain, the Cortinella, the highest peak of which rises 3,200 feet above the plain of Campania. Fearing, no doubt, starvation there, the Aurunci quit-  
ted their eyrie and took refuge at Suessa, which still exists (Sessa), half way up the hill, above a fertile plain, the last undulations of which reach to the sea. The senate which never abandoned an ally, as they never forgot an enemy, hastened to send to their succour the two consular armies and their best general, Valerius Corvus. Cales was taken<sup>3</sup> and guarded by a colony of



Coin of Suessa.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *rostra* or brazen beaks of galleys filled the place of the rams of our ironclads.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, viii. 10, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, viii. 16; in 335.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Minerva; on the reverse, CALENO; Victory in a two horsed chariot, galloping. Didrachma, or double denarius in silver.

<sup>5</sup> Silver didrachma, bearing on the obverse a laurel-crowned head of Apollo, behind, the *triquetra*, which seems to show Sicilian manufacture: on the reverse, the word SVESANO, and a horseman victorious in a race that perhaps took place in Sicily, which would explain both the

2,500 men; Teanum doubtless asked for peace, at least after this period there is no more mention of the Sidicini. The Ausones also disappear, the Volscians have not been mentioned since the disaster of Antium; the Rutuli no longer give any signs of life; most of the Latins are citizens of Rome; the Æqui, Sabines, and Hernici reappear once more, some to relapse immediately, vanquished and broken, into the obscurity of municipal independence, others to lose themselves in the great city. Thus the state of central Italy was simplified; to a variety of nations there succeeds Roman unity. From the Ciminian forest to the banks of the Volturnus, a single nation holds sway. But the *malaria* follows the legions. The busy cities of the Latin and Campanian coast lose their activity with their independence. The struggle against this invading nature relaxes, the harbours become blocked, the canals are choked up, the rivers spread abroad into unreclaimed swamps, which, beneath a fiery sky, continually produce and destroy innumerable organisms, filling the air in their decomposition with the seeds of death. In these depopulated countries fertile fields become deadly solitudes.

Rome herself suffered by it. In the year 331 a pestilence desolated the city. Numbers of the senate had already succumbed, when a slave came to the ædiles and declared that the victims had died by poison. An inquiry was held, and in their terror people found some one on whom to lay the guilt, as in our own days the mob did, even in Paris, when cholera decimated them. A hundred and ninety matrons were condemned. After this holocaust had been offered to terror and folly, it was thought that so many domestic crimes must arise from the anger of the gods, and in order to appease them a dictator was appointed, who, with all religious pomp, went solemnly to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter.<sup>1</sup>

A few years previously (337) Rome had again afforded one of those sad spectacles which we have already described.<sup>2</sup> The Vestal Minucia, who had awakened suspicion by an over-attention to her

fineness of the coin and the presence of the *triquetra*, the symbol of the island with three promontories.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, viii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See pages 106, 107.

dress, was accused of having violated her vows. She received an order from the pontiffs to cease the discharge of her duties, and not to enfranchise any of her slaves, in order that they might be examined by torture. The evidence confirming the charges, as it always did in these cases, the unhappy girl was buried alive near the Colline Gate.<sup>1</sup> These priests, who were such vigilant guardians of the purity of the worship of Vesta, were as pitiless as their fierce goddess.

### III.—SECOND SAMNITE WAR (326-312).

While the results of the Latin war gave the republic a territory 140 miles in extent, from north-east to south-west, and 58 miles from east to west,<sup>2</sup> a king of Epirus, Alexander the Molossian, uncle to Alexander the Great, was attempting to do in west what the son of Philip accomplished in the east. Having been invited to aid the Tarentines, he beat the Lucanians and Samnites near Paestum, and consequently at the very door of Campania, made them deliver



Alexander.<sup>3</sup>

up to him three hundred hostages whom he sent into Epirus, and deprived the Bruttians of Terina and Sipontum. After he had conquered, he wished to organise, and endeavoured to constitute at Thurium an assembly of the nations of Southern Italy, in the hope of governing it as the kings of Macedonia swayed the synod at Corinth.<sup>4</sup> In the Latin war the alliance of the Samnites had saved Rome. But since there was no longer a hostile nation between the allies, their jealousy re-awakened. Accordingly the success of Alexander was hailed with joy at Rome, and as that prince had complained of the piracies of the Antiates, who, in spite of the severe chastisement they had

<sup>1</sup> Livy, viii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> From Sora to Antium.

<sup>3</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter on the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ, Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, and brother of Olympias. Thunderbolt and lance-head. Silver coin of Alexander I. King of Epirus.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, viii. 17.

recently received, continued to sweep the seas, the opportunity was seized for making a treaty with him (332).<sup>1</sup> Some years



Coin of Paestum.<sup>2</sup>

later Alexander was treacherously killed by a Lucanian (326); the dominion that he had established fell with him, and Rome gained no profit by the alliance, save in indicating to the Greeks of that region, whither they must look for help against the barbarians who surrounded them. About the same date Athens, seized with a sudden return of desire for conquest, settled somewhere on the shores of the Adriatic, at a spot which cannot be determined, a military and trading colony for the protection of her commerce against the pirates of the Etruscan towns of Atria and Spina. The decree of foundation, of which a fragment has been discovered, was worthy of that city, still



Merchant Vessel under sail.<sup>4</sup>

great in her decay. "We desire," it says, "that all who sail in this sea, whether Greeks or barbarians, may find safety there under the protection of Athens."<sup>3</sup> Italy and Greece, those great divisions of the ancient world, were combining their interests more and more.

In a few years a Spartan comes to seek his fortune on the shores of the Adriatic, and Pyrrhus renews the attempt of Alexander the Molossian upon the Italian peninsula.

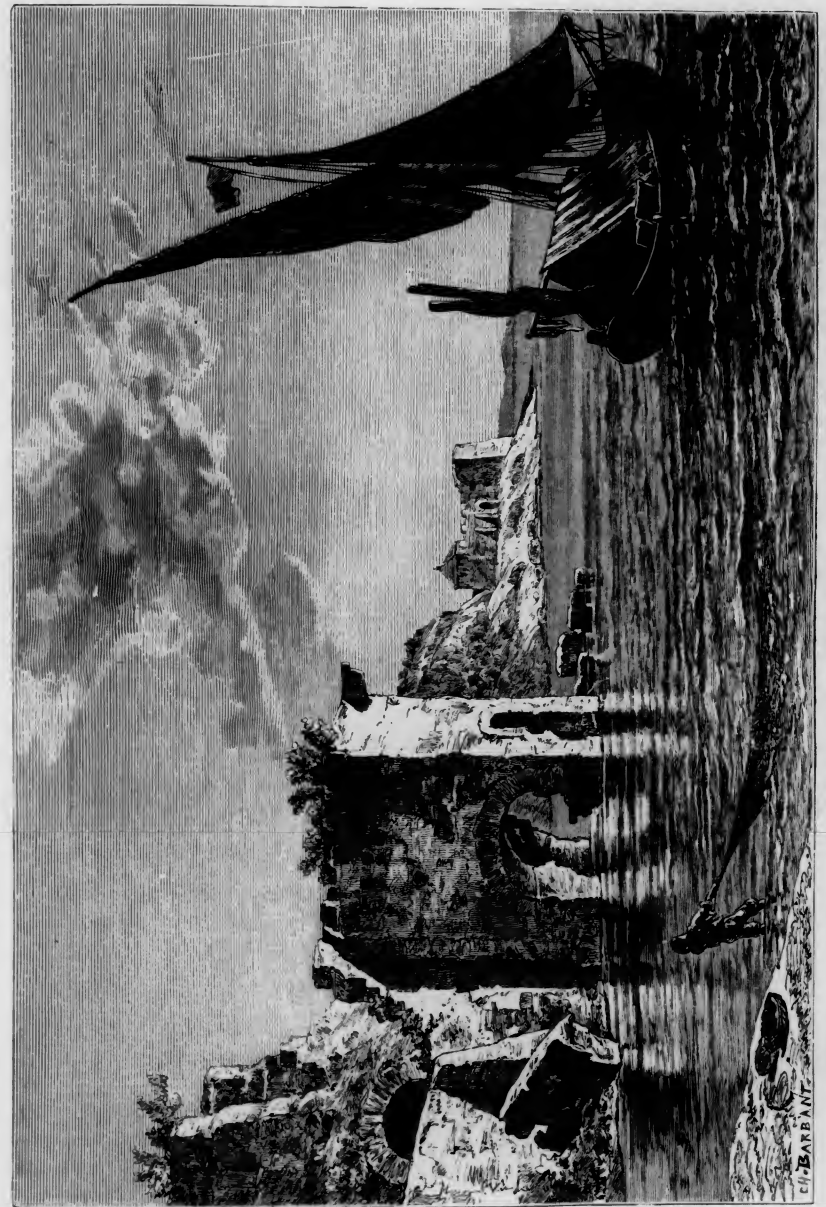
Shortly after the treaty concluded with the king of Epirus, the senate had secured the alliance of the Gauls. This league of the Romans with the barbarians on the North of Italy, and with a prince who was the representative, as it were, of all the Greeks settled in the south of the peninsula, was a threat to all the Sabellian tribes. The two peoples at first kept up an undeclared war, which envenomed their hatred without deciding anything. In 331 the Samnites crossed the Liris and destroyed Fregellæ. The senate would not consider it a *casus belli*; but a Roman colony

<sup>1</sup> Polyb., *Hist.*, ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> PAISTANO. Head of Ceres crowned with wheat. On the reverse, two horsemen racing. Silver didrachma.

<sup>3</sup> Decree of 329. See *Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, 1836, p. 132, *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Engraved gem from the Berlin collection.



Ruins of Antium.



went and quietly rebuilt the walls. The Samnites threatened Fabrateria, the senate declared the town to be under Roman protection. In 333 they had secretly stirred up the Sidicini, Rome subdued this nation and colonised Cales. In 329 they aroused the Privernates; Vitruvius Vaccus, a noble of Fundi, doubtless at their instigation, drew Fundi and Formiæ into the movement. These two towns carried on the war without vigour, and soon dropped it. Privernum, left alone, held out against the two consular armies for many months. Vaccus, who had taken refuge there, was led in the triumph of the consuls, and then beheaded, and the senators of the town were deported across the Tiber. As for the remainder of the inhabitants, their fate was discussed in the senate. "Will you be faithful?" asked the consul of their deputies. "Yes," they replied, "if your conditions are good, otherwise the peace will not last long." The senate were desirous of gaining over these men so proud in defeat; Privernum was allowed the rights of the city without the suffrage, but its walls were destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Samnites had failed at Fregellæ, Fabrateria, Cales, and Privernum. As far as the Volturnus all was now Roman; they turned to Campania to find enemies to the republic.

On the false report that the plague was desolating the city, and that war had been declared against the Samnites, the Greeks of Palæopolis<sup>2</sup> had attacked the Romans scattered through Campania. When the fetiales came to demand justice, they only met with challenge and insult, and four thousand Samnites entered into the place. To the complaints of the Romans about this violation of treaties the Samnites replied by a demand for the evacuation of Fregellæ; the deputies offered to submit the affair to the decision of an arbitrator. "Let the sword decide it," said the chiefs; we appoint a meeting with you in Campania."<sup>3</sup>

An imposing religious ceremony preceded the hostilities. The gods were taken from the inmost sanctuaries where their statues were set up, were laid on couches covered with sumptuous

<sup>1</sup> The Privernates were comprised in the Ufentine tribe, formed in 318, at the same time as the Falerian tribe. Fest., s.v. *Ufentina*; Livy, ix. 20; Diod. xix. 10; Val. Max. VI. ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Palæopolis, or the Old Town, a colony of Cumæ, in the neighbourhood of *Neapolis* (Naples), the New Town.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, viii. 23.

tapestry, and invited to a feast served by the priests, the *lectisternium*. The temples were thrown open, the roads were blocked with the faithful, who came to behold with devotion the god whom they confounded with his image. As no unlucky omen stopped the accomplishment of these rites, the divine guests of Rome seemed to have accepted her offering and promised their aid.

The war dallied, however, in the first year (326), although the senate had secured the support of the Lucanians and Apulians, who were to take the Samnites in the rear. The Lucanians being persuaded by the Tarentines, already jealous of the Roman power, changed sides almost immediately; but the industrious and commercial population of Apulia had too much to fear from the neighbourhood of the Samnites not to remain in alliance with Rome, at least, so long as fortune favoured her. The defection of the Lucanians was, moreover, compensated by the capture of Palæopolis and the alliance with Naples, that is to say, with all the Campanian Greeks.

The blockade of Palæopolis had been the occasion of an important innovation. In order to continue the operations against that town, Publius Philo had been continued in his command under the title of *pro-consul*.<sup>1</sup> By paying the same soldiers, the senate were able to retain them under the standards so long as public necessity required it; by the pro-consulship, it could leave at their head the leaders who had gained its confidence and theirs. The annual election of the magistrates guaranteed liberty, but endangered empire. The institution of the pro-consulship, without affecting this great principle of Roman government, destroyed the danger of it. The Genucian law was thus happily evaded,<sup>2</sup> it is almost always pro-consuls who finish the wars, more especially outside Italy, in countries whose resources and dispositions must be leisurely studied by the generals, where negotiations and fighting must be carried on at the same time. Fabius Rullianus, Scipio, Flamininus, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar had only this title when they gained their most brilliant victories.

The treaty with the Campanian Greeks had driven the Samnites out of Campania, and a mountain warfare, that is,

<sup>1</sup> [The Latin form is not *pro-consul* but *proconsule*, according to the best MSS.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> See page 288.

sudden attacks, obscure but bloody fights, and heroic efforts productive of no results, replaced the great warfare of the plains. The Romans there brought their tactics, arms, and discipline to perfection. They issued from this struggle the best soldiers in the world. Roman vanity is accused of having multiplied the victories of the legions; in one campaign Livy reckons fifty-three thousand killed, and thirty-one thousand prisoners! There is an evident exaggeration in these figures; but it is in the nature of this kind of war to be interminable. Though the Samnites had but a small number of walled towns, every rock was a stronghold for them. On the other hand, it was scarcely possible that their bands, formed of brave but ill-disciplined volunteers, should not be beaten in almost every encounter by troops whose organisation was superior to anything the ancient world had yet known. The two armies resembled the two peoples; the one a fragile confederation, a precarious union of tribes unaccustomed to counsel and action in common; the other, a mass of two hundred and fifty thousand fighting men, animated with the same spirit, obeying the same influence; the latter, an immense force concentrated in a single hand, in the service of a single interest, the former, an indomitable but divided courage, pursuing different aims.

Several obscure towns captured from the Samnites on the banks of the Volturnus, the pillaging of a few valleys, the rising and defeat of the Vestinians—these are the only events known in the first years of the war. But the dryness of the annals is suddenly broken, in 324, by the brilliant story of the quarrel of the dictator, Papirius, with Fabius Rullianus, his Master of the Horse. The dictator, not having obtained sufficient auguries at the camp, had gone to Rome to seek more favourable ones. He had forbidden Fabius to fight during his absence, since the sacred chickens did not promise victory. But a good opportunity having occurred, Fabius took advantage of it and conquered the Samnites. At the news of this infraction of discipline and defiance of the gods, Papirius left Rome, hastened to the camp, and called the Master of the Horse before his tribunal. "I would fain know of thee, Q. Fabius, since the dictatorship is the supreme power to which both the consuls, who are endued with royal authority, and the prætors, who are created under the same auspices as the

consuls, obey, I would fain know of thee, if thou thinkest it right or not that a Master of Horse should submit to his orders? I ask thee, moreover, if, convinced as I was of the uncertainty of the auspices, I ought to have left to chance the safety of the State in despite of our holy ceremonies, or renewed the auspices, in order to do nothing without a clear knowledge that the gods were on our side? I ask thee finally, if, when a religious scruple hinders the dictator from acting, the Master of the Horse could have any excuse for doing so? Answer, but answer only this, and not a word beyond." Fabius would have spoken of his victory. Papirius interrupted him and called the lictor: "Prepare the rods and the axe," said he. At these words murmurs were heard, and a sedition was on the point of breaking out among the legions. Happily night came on, and the execution was, according to custom, deferred to the morrow. In the interval Fabius escaped from the camp, and arrived at Rome, where, by virtue of his office, he called together the senate. His father, who had been dictator and thrice consul, began to inveigh against the violence and injustice of Papirius, when the noise of the lictors was heard as they drove aside the crowd, and the dictator appeared. In vain the senators tried to appease his wrath; he ordered the culprit to be seized. The elder Fabius then descended to the comitium, whither the people had flocked, and appealed to the tribunes. "Rods and axes," he cried, "for a victor! What punishment would he then have reserved for my son if the army had perished? Is it possible that he through whom the town is now full of joy, for whom the temples are now open and thanksgivings are being returned to the gods; is it possible that this man should be stripped of his raiment, and lacerated by the rods under the eyes of the Roman people, in view of the Capitol, of its gods, whom in two combats he invoked, and not in vain?" The senators, the tribunes, the people themselves were for the glorious culprit; Papirius remained inflexible. He called to mind the sanctity of the auspices and the majesty of the *imperium*, which must be respected; he showed the consequences of an act of disobedience left unpunished. "The discipline of the family, the city and the camp are all closely connected," said he; "will you, tribunes of the people, be responsible to posterity for the evils

which will follow any infringement of the rules of our ancestors? Then devote yourselves to lasting reproach to redeem the fault of Fabius." The tribunes, troubled and uneasy, kept silence, but the whole people betook themselves to supplication; the aged Fabius and his son fell at the dictator's feet. "It is well," said Papirius, "military discipline and the majesty of command, which to-day seemed so near perishing, have triumphed. Fabius is not absolved from his fault; he owes his pardon to the Roman people, to the tribunitian power which has asked for mercy and not justice." The pardon was not, however, complete. Papirius appointed another Master of Horse, and forbade Fabius, whom he could not depose, to exercise any magisterial act.<sup>1</sup>

A fine story and a splendid scene! Papirius, contending alone, in the name of the law, against the senate, the tribunes, and the people itself, well represents that Roman firmness which yielded neither to nature, nor fortune, nor the efforts of men. Such a rock was necessary to bear the empire of the world. But to gain that empire there was needed, too, the respect for social discipline and the profound sense of responsibility, which is incumbent in public life upon one and all. This is why the old story is always good to read.

On his return to the camp Papirius beat the Samnites, who sued for peace (323). Only a truce was concluded, which was as necessary to the Romans as to their enemies. Disquieting symptoms seemed to announce that a renewal of the Latin war was approaching. Tusculum, one of the oldest allies of Rome, wavered in its fidelity; Velitræ and Privernum claimed the recovery of their independence. The wisdom of the senate averted the storm. Instead of employing force, they disarmed the rebel cities by conceding them the full rights of citizenship. And the man, who in 323 was dictator of Tusculum, is seen, a few months later, seated in the senate as consul of the Roman people.

In this same year Alexander died at Babylon. Several Italian nations had sent ambassadors to him there.

The truce had not expired before the Samnites took up arms again, encouraged by the defection of a part of the Apulians. Fabius broke up this coalition by a victory, and by the recapture

<sup>1</sup> Livy, viii. 30-35.



of Luceria raised Roman influence in Apulia. The Samnites were thus driven back both east and west into their mountains, and not a single ally, even in the Marsic confederation, declared for them. Once more they asked for peace; as they could not deliver up Brunius Papius, the author of the last outbreak, alive—since he had killed himself—they sent his body to Rome. A refusal re-awakened their energy. They put at their head C. Pontius of Telesia, the son of the sage Herennius, whom Cicero considered to



Valley of the Caudine Forks, near Caserta.<sup>1</sup>

have been the friend of Archytas and Plato. The two consular armies were in Campania. Pontius had conveyed to them the false intelligence that Luceria, hard pressed by the whole Samnite army, was about to open its gates if succour were not promptly sent to it. In their zeal the consuls forgot prudence, and taking the

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the *Bibliothèque nationale*. But there is much uncertainty as to the true position of the *Furculæ Caudinæ*. The most reliable opinion places the valley between Santa Agata and Moirano, on the road to Beneventum; a little river, the Isclero, runs through it. (Craven, *Tour through the Southern provinces of the Kingdom of Naples*, p. 12-20.) As to the lost town of Caudium, it was situated, according to the Roman itineraries, on the Appian Way, 21 miles from Capua and 11 from Beneventum.

shortest way, entered the narrow valley of Caudium. Suddenly the enemy appeared, closing the outlets, and from the high rocks which commanded the narrow pass, threatened the four legions with inevitable destruction. A desperate struggle ensued; it doubtless lasted several days, at the end of which, as provisions failed, the Romans were forced to yield.<sup>1</sup> "Kill them all," said Herennius, the aged father of the Samnite general, "if you desire war; or send them back free, with their arms, if you prefer a glorious peace." Pontius wished to enjoy his triumph. He sent them back free, but dishonoured, with shame on their foreheads and an implacable hatred in their hearts. All who remained of forty thousand Romans had passed under the yoke, at their head the two consuls, Postumius and Veturius, four legates, two quæstors, and twelve legionary tribunes. Six hundred knights, who were delivered up as hostages, answered for the peace sworn by the leaders of the army (321).

For the national pride this humiliation was worse than the disaster. There was universal mourning in the city. Twice a dictator was appointed, and twice did sinister omens compel the annulling of the election. At length Valerius Corvus, as interrex, raised to the consulship two of the greatest citizens of the republic, Papirius and the plebeian Publilius Philo. When the treaty was discussed in the senate, Postumius rose and said: "The Roman people cannot be bound by a treaty concluded without its approbation; but, in order to free the public faith, it is necessary to give up to the Samnites those who swore peace." As State interest silenced all scruples, the senate seemed to think that the blood of these voluntary victims would redeem the perjury, even with the gods; and the consuls, quæstors and tribunes, chained like slaves, were led by the fetiales to the Samnite army.<sup>2</sup> When they stood in the presence of Pontius: "I am a Samnite now," said Postumius, and striking the knee of the fetialis, he added: "I violate the sacred

<sup>1</sup> Livy (ix. 2-6) does not mention any battle, but Cicero (*de Sen.*, 12, and *de Offic.*, iii. 30) knew of it, and it was perhaps after the battle that the Roman army allowed itself to be entrapped in the Caudine forks.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ix. 8-9; and Cicero, *de Offic.* iii. 20, justify the rupture of the treaty which had been concluded, *injussu populi senatusque*; and they are right. A general who has committed himself by his own fault, ought to get out of it at his own risk; he may stipulate by a *capitulation* for his army, but not by a *treaty* for his government.

character of an ambassador; let the Romans avenge this insult; they have now a just motive for war." "Is it permitted thus to mock the gods?" cried the Samnite general in indignation; "take your consuls back again, and let the senate keep the sworn peace, or let them send their legions back to the Caudine Forks."

Fortune rewarded injustice. The Samnites, it is true, surprised Fregellæ and massacred its defenders, in spite of their capitulation, and they roused Luceria; but the senate, boldly resuming the offensive, sent the two consuls into Apulia, which they did not again leave till they had given these faithless allies a bloody lesson. Publilius, at the head of the legions of Caudium, beat an army in Samnium, and set out for Apulia to rejoin Papirius, who had haughtily repulsed the intervention of the Tarentines, dispersed the enemy by an impetuous attack, and recaptured Luceria. He had there found the six hundred hostages, the arms and standards lost at Caudium, and had passed under the yoke seven thousand Samnite prisoners, with their chief, the noble but imprudent Pontius Herennius (320).

The successes of this campaign are a too brilliant reparation of the disasters of the preceding year not to lead us to suspect the fidelity of the Annals. As forty years later the Romans pretend to have wiped out the disgrace of the Allia, so they would fain have wiped out, in 320, that of the Caudine Forks; and, in order that this revenge might not be disputed, they showed how Apulia immediately entered into alliance with them again, and how the Samnites were obliged, in the year 318, to ask for a truce of two years. These hasty successes are doubtful, and this doubt is authorised by the events which followed.

The senate had just sent a prefect to Capua to dispense justice there, in reality, to supervise and restrain those restless spirits. This was to deprive the Campanians of a right allowed to the most obscure of the vanquished, and provoke a discontent of which the Samnites took advantage.<sup>2</sup> In rapid succession Rome heard of the capture and destruction of Plistia, that Fregellæ itself had been occupied, the colonists of Sora massacred, and Saticula, situated a few leagues from Capua, swept into the revolt.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (xx. 72) says that Luceria was reconquered in 314.

<sup>2</sup> Nuceria, on the Sarnus, to the south-east of Capua, had just revolted. (Diod., xix. 65.)

A dictator was at once sent against Saticula, which was strictly invested and taken, after a vain attempt on the part of the new allies to break through the Roman lines. But the Samnites, calling to arms every man of an age to fight, forced the dictator to retire upon the defiles of Lautulæ, between Terracina and Fundi. Whilst they followed Fabius in this direction, they left Apulia open to the consuls, who hastened thither to recapture Luceria. Two roads led from Rome into Campania, the upper one by the valley of the Trerus, a tributary of the Liris; the lower one, which was afterwards the Appian Way, across the Pontine Marshes. Fregellæ, which the enemy held, closed the former; by the second Fabius received a numerous body of men from Rome, who, coming up suddenly in the middle of the action against the Samnites, secured the victory for the Romans (315).

Each of the Italian cities, great or small, had two factions, as Rome used to have, but as fortunately for her, she had no longer; the party of the nobles and that of the people. The Roman senate, which held the direction of its external policy, was naturally led to seek the alliance of the aristocratic party. The popular party inclined to the opposite side, so that when war broke out between the two most powerful nations in the peninsula, each town had a Roman and a Samnite faction. Hence the continual defections which are seen in favour of one adversary or the other, according to the party which ruled for the moment in the city.

At Capua, for instance, the Romans had secured, for the rich, privileges which must necessarily have caused great irritation among the rest of the population. Accordingly a conspiracy was formed there for calling in the Samnites. The movement spread to the towns of the lower Liris, in the country of the *Aurunci*;<sup>1</sup> but in Latium no disturbance occurred. The senate had time to assemble its forces and to manage intrigues which opened to its legionaries the gates of Ausona, Minturnæ and Vescia, the inhabitants of which were massacred. After this war the name of the *Aurunci* disappears from history.<sup>2</sup> Ovius and Novius, the

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xix. 76. Livy is much less explicit.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ix. 25. *Nullus modus cœdibus fuit, deletaque Ausonum gens.*

leaders of the revolt of Capua, killed themselves. Sora and Fregellæ fell into the hands of Rome again, and those of their inhabitants who had betrayed the Roman colonists were taken to Rome and there beheaded. It was a holocaust offered to the people; for, by this terrible execution the senate declared to all men that the citizen sent to a colony might count on watchful protection while he lived; and an inexorable vengeance when he died; and the ancients loved vengeance.

According to Livy, the army, after having recovered Campania, went in search of the Samnites not far from Caudium, and killed thirty thousand of them; a great slaughter, placed too near the Caudine Forks for us not to suspect the historian or the chroniclers copied by him, of having invented a double expiation of the insult there done to Roman military honour (314). The legions, however, acting on a plan wisely combined and perserveringly followed out, succeeded in once more driving the Samnites into the Apennines, and there enclosing them, east and west, with a line of fortresses. Suessa Aurunca, Interamna on



Flute-player.<sup>1</sup>

the Liris, Casinum, and Luceria in Apulia, received Roman colonists. In order to keep watch over the Tarentine corsairs, who swept the Tyrrhenian sea, the senate also sent one to the island of Pontia. This measure was connected with the recent creation of a navy and the nomination of two maritime prefects.<sup>2</sup>

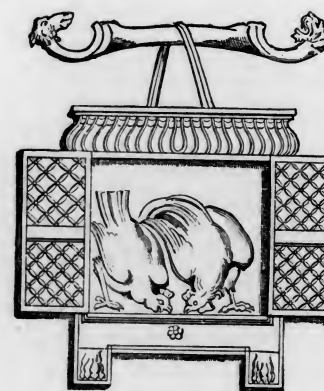
In the midst of these accounts of war, Livy places a grotesque incident, "little worthy of recital," says he, "if it did not refer to religion." It is, in fact, a detail which is not devoid of interest in the history of the manners of so grave and yet so frivolous a nation. Religious festivals, sacrifices, and even the observation of heavenly signs and funeral ceremonies, required the presence of flute-players, who had

<sup>1</sup> Bronze figurine from the national collection of France, No. 3,064 of Chabouillet's catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> *Duumviri navales*. (Livy, ix. 30.)

originally been brought from Etruria, and who formed a semi-religious corporation. The censors having forbidden them the sacred banquets of the temple of Jupiter, to which they had been hitherto admitted, they all retired in anger to Tibur. The senate, much alarmed at the interruption of a necessary rite, ordered them to return; but they refused to re-enter Rome, and in order to make them return to their religious duties, it was necessary to adopt a stratagem. One feast-day, under pretence of giving, by the aid of music, more solemnity to the festivities, the wealthy of Tibur invited them, and made them drink until they became very drunken. They were then placed on chariots and carried back to Rome, where they were left in the middle of the Forum. When they awoke in the morning all the people were gathered round them. The privilege they had enjoyed was restored, and to seal the reconciliation, a feast of three days was instituted, a kind of masquerade, of which they were the heroes, and which was celebrated with songs, dances, and mad gaiety.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, ix. 30; Ovid, *Fast.*, vi. 651, *seq.*



In the camp it was usual to consult omens taken from the appetite of birds, generally chickens. The *templum*, or enclosed space for observing the signs, was traced on the ground; the *pullarius* brought thither the cage and opened it, and then gave the fowls food. When they flew eagerly upon the grain, especially when they let some of it fall from their beaks, the omen was fortunate. This could be easily managed by making the fowls fast, or by giving them a friable paste. And yet, though they thus tricked Providence, the Romans, and even Papirius Cursor, as we have just seen on page 335, believed none the less in the omen obtained.

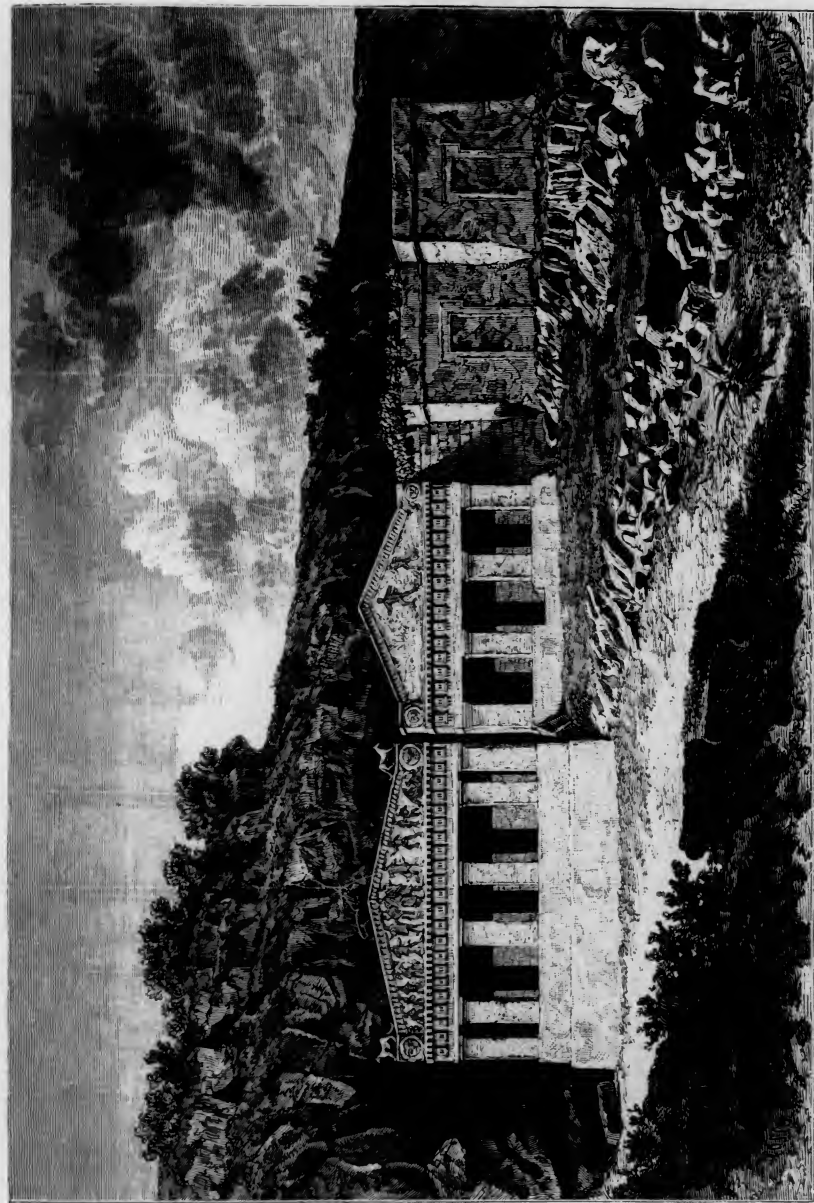


## CHAPTER XV.

### COALITION OF THE SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS AND SENONES (311-280).

#### I.—THIRD SAMNITE WAR (311-303).

FOR sixteen years the Samnites fought alone; but at last the other nations began to stir. The forty years' truce with the Tarquinians was drawing to an end, and the Etruscan cities, which no longer heard the Gallic bands thundering on the other side of the Apennines, saw with dread the fortune of Rome increasing with every campaign. Samnite emissaries excited them, and the ancient league of the *lucumonies* was again formed. While the legions were detained in Samnium at the siege of Bovianum, fifty or sixty thousand Etruscans came and surrounded Sutrium, the fortress which protected the approaches to Rome from the north. If this place were carried, it was but a few hours march to the foot of the Janiculum. Since the battle of the Allia the senate always kept two legions in the city. This reserve attempted to raise the blockade of Sutrium; an indecisive battle kept the enemy in check until the arrival of reinforcements led by Fabius, the hero of this war. The capture of Bovianum rendered the other consular army available, and the senate was desirous of sending that also to the besieged town. But the Samnites broke into Apulia, it was necessary to follow them. Fabius was thus left alone. The Etruscan lines were too strong to be carried, and they declined to be drawn from them. Fabius left them there, warned the senate to protect Rome with a reserve army, and then, without awaiting the chance of an order that might upset his bold plan, he crossed the Ciminian Forest, which his brother had explored in the disguise of a Tuscan shepherd, penetrated the rich lands of central Etruria, passing near Castel d'Asso and Norchia—now cities of the dead,



Restoration of Tombs near Norchia.

but then flourishing towns—and slew sixty thousand Umbrians or Etruscans near Perugia. Three of the most powerful cities, Perugia, Cortona and Arretium, asked a truce of thirty years. Sutrium was saved, the confederacy dissolved,<sup>1</sup> and the massacre of the *gens Fabia* on the banks of the Cremera, in 479 B.C., was at last avenged.

Meanwhile Marcus Rutilus, who had been sent against the Samnites, had almost fallen into another Caudine Forks: he had only escaped from the field of battle by a partial defeat, and Samnium was meditating an heroic effort. War was ardently advocated all through the mountains, the bravest were called upon to take the oath of the holy law. The senate had recourse to the man who had repaired the disaster of Caudium, the aged Papirius.<sup>2</sup> Age had weighed down his body, bowed his lofty stature, and chilled his strength; he was no longer the Roman Achilles, but he was still one of the first generals in the republic. The appointment of a dictator belonged to Fabius, and the consul had not forgotten his resentment as former Master of the Horse. He hesitated a whole day, but patriotism at length prevailed, and at midnight, far from all profane eyes and ears, he named Papirius. Junius Bubuleus, the conqueror of Bovianum, Valerius Corvus, and a Decius were his lieutenants. The Samnite army was ready. Numbers of warriors had sworn before the altars, amid imposing ceremonies, the solemn oath to conquer or die; and wearing their most splendid armour, some, bright-coloured cloaks and golden shields, others, white tunics and silver shields, all with their helmets crested with brilliant plumes, they marched to battle, adorned for the sacrifice as if for a triumph. They fell, and when Papirius went up to the Capitol, long trains of chariots passed along the triumphal way loaded with the arms of the Samnite *devoti*. The shops of the Forum were decorated with them, and the Campanian allies carried some of them back to their towns as glorious trophies (309).

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xx. 35. According to Livy, the battle took place near Sutrium, on the return of the legions from Etruria. He strangely exaggerates the terror inspired by the Ciminian Forest, which was dreaded by merchants, as are all *marches*, like the Scottish border, but which an army had already traversed in a war against the Vulsinii, in 390. Tarquinii itself is situated north of the south-west portion of the *Ciminus Saltus*, now Monte di Viterbo.

<sup>2</sup> The Romans had named him Cursor, like Achilles, and would have opposed him to Alexander, says Livy, had that prince turned his arms westward.

The fears of the senate were not yet dissipated; Papirius retained the dictatorship all that year, and Fabius remained as pro-consul at the head of the legions in Etruria; there were no consular elections.

Between the Tiber and the Ciminian Forest was a lake, which Pliny the younger described with childish satisfaction,<sup>1</sup>



Etruscan Warrior (Standard bearer).<sup>2</sup>



Samnite Warrior.<sup>3</sup>

and which is now only a pool of sulphurous water, the *laghetto di Bassano*, formerly the *lacus Vadimonius*, famous for having twice seen the fortune of Etruria fail upon its shores. The reason is that the defile, scarce a mile wide, which extends from the lake to the spurs of the Cimino, is the easiest passage that lies open to an army desirous of going from Rome to the upper valley of the Tiber.<sup>4</sup> The Etruscans had hastened thither for a last effort.

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* viii. 20. Cf. Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 167. <sup>2</sup> From a vase in the Campana collection.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlas of the Bull. de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 21.

<sup>4</sup> The *Mons Ciminus*, which in ancient times was covered with a thick forest, is now quite bare, which changes the aspect of the place.

They had displayed every religious pomp, and declared the sacred law which devoted to the infernal gods all who fled; each soldier had chosen a companion in arms, at whose side he must fight and conquer or fall. The shock was terrible. Two of the Roman lines were broken; the third, in which were the *triarii*, maintained the combat, and the horsemen having dismounted, decided



Samnite Warrior.<sup>2</sup>



Samnite Warrior.<sup>3</sup>

the victory. "The strength of the nation," says Livy,<sup>1</sup> "was destroyed in this battle."

The Etruscans being crushed at Lake Vadimon and again conquered near Perugia which had revolted, and this place being occupied by a Roman garrison, the other cities were compelled to sue for peace, and Etruria was finally subdued. Such were the services of Fabius in this year.<sup>3</sup> When Decius entered the country

<sup>1</sup> ix. 39: *Cæsum in acie quod roboris fuit.*

<sup>2</sup> From a vase in the Campana collection.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus does not mention all these victories of Fabius, which were family traditions embellished by imagination and vanity.



on the return of spring, he found nothing but people anxious to negotiate.

Fabius had gone to carry his fortune, that is, his renown and perseverance, into Samnium. The Marsic confederation had



Samnite Horseman (after a vase in the Campana collection).

furnished the Samnites with numerous volunteers, but it had not openly declared for them. As in the early days of Rome, her enemies were preparing victories for her by their want of union. When the Samnites were enfeebled and the Etruscans overwhelmed, the Marsians and Pelignians saw that their cause was that of all Italy. But it was too late. Fabius overcame them, subdued

Nuceria, which had revolted seven years before, and, learning that his colleague was retreating before a large body of Umbrians, he went to his aid, dispersed the Umbrian army, and received the submission of their towns (308). A fresh pro-consulship gave him an opportunity for fresh victories. He surrounded a Samnite army near Allifæ, and obliged it to surrender before the eyes of the Tarentine ambassadors, who, deluded by their pride, wished to take upon themselves the office of mediators (308).

Among the prisoners were some Æquians and Hernicans.<sup>1</sup> An inquiry ordered by the senate drove the latter to arms. Having met in the great circus of Anagni, they resolved to support their brothers of the mountains; but Marcius had time to beat the Hernicans in three encounters, and to oblige the nation to submit to the discretion of the senate, who deprived its towns, with the exception of three which had remained faithful, of their independence and a portion of their territory.<sup>2</sup> Thence Marcius hastened to set free his colleague Cornelius, who was blockaded by the Samnites, and slew thirty thousand of them. For five months the legions overran Samnium, burning houses and farms, cutting down fruit trees, killing even the animals.<sup>3</sup> On their return their general had a triumph, and an equestrian statue was erected to him (306 B.C.).

The plebeians were desirous of glorifying by this honour a consul of their own order, and to the credit of the senate it must be said, that when in later times all the statues which encumbered the Forum were removed, that of Marcius was retained: Cicero saw it there.<sup>5</sup>



Etruscan Mars.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, ix. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ix. 43. They received the rights of citizenship without the suffrage, and with a prohibition of any intercourse between them. The towns excepted were Alatrium, Ferentinum, and Verulæ. These preserved the *jus connubii et commercii* among themselves.

<sup>3</sup> Diod., xx. 90. It is, says Polybius, a custom of the Romans; they desire thereby to inspire a more profound terror.

<sup>4</sup> Or warrior with a helmet surmounted by a high-crested ridge. Bronze figure from the national collection of France, No. 2,977 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

<sup>5</sup> Philipp., vi. 13.

The Samnites held out for one more campaign, in spite of the ravaging of their lands. It was only when they saw their strongholds in the hands of the legions that they decided to sue for the termination of a war which had lasted more than a generation. They retained their territory and all the outward signs of independence, but acknowledged the majesty of the Roman people. Circumstances were to define what the senate meant by the Roman majesty (304).<sup>1</sup>

This peace left the Etruscans isolated and exposed to the anger of Rome. For more than a century this restless nation had allowed themselves to be forgotten. Driven back by the Gallic invasions into the mountains to the west of Lake Fucinus, and restrained by Tibur and Praeneste, which barred the road into Latium against them, they had taken no part in the Latin war. But the senate, remembering that some Æquians had fought in the Samnite ranks at Allifæ, sent against them the legions which had just returned from Samnium. In fifty days forty-one places were taken and burnt; then a part of their territory was confiscated, and they were allowed the citizenship without the suffrage, which placed them in the condition of subjects (304). Five years later, owing to the fear of a Gallo-Samnite coalition, they were raised to the rank of citizens, and formed into two



War Vessel with beak  
(rostrum.)<sup>2</sup>

new tribes, the Aniensis and Terentina. A short war with the Marsi, who had been roused by the establishment of a Roman colony at Carseoli, and a treaty concluded with the Vestini and Piceni, are the sole events of the following years. Rome thus placed a whole mass of friendly nations between the Etruscans, the Gauls, and the Samnites, whom she had conquered but not disarmed.

An episode of this time makes us think of our own tragic story of the caves of Dahra. Rome did not disdain to watch over those agitations with which wars end, but with which they also recommence. Men whom Livy calls brigands, but who were doubtless patriots refusing to accept a foreign yoke, overran the Umbrian country in bands. Two thousand of them had taken

<sup>1</sup> Livy says (ix. 45): *foedus antiquum redditum*.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved gem from the Berlin Museum.

refuge in a deep cavern. A consul tracked them thither, and as the soldiers who tried to penetrate into it were driven back with stones and arrows, wood was piled up at the two extremities and set alight, and the fire was kept burning till all had perished, stifled by the smoke or the heat.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year an adventure happened, which the Paduan Livy tells with great satisfaction. Cleonymus, the grandson of a Spartan king, had come with a fleet to seek his fortune in the Adriatic. He seized vessels and pillaged the coasts. Finding those of the Salentine country well guarded by the Roman legions, he pushed on as far as the head of the gulf, and penetrated by the lagoons of the Brenta to the Venetians, whose territory he ravaged. The protection of Rome did not yet extend so far, but the Paduans accustomed, from the proximity of the Gauls, to the use of arms, fell on these marauders, killing some, and pursuing others to their ships, several of which were taken. Very proud of this success gained over the Lacedæmonians, Padua deposited the armed prows of their vessels in her temple of Juno, and instituted a feast, still celebrated in the time of Augustus, at which a naval combat on the Brenta recalled the victory over the pirates of Cleonymus.

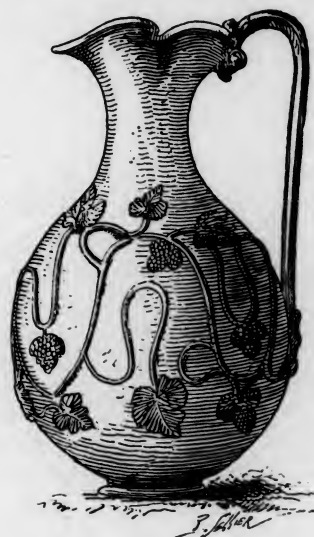
## II.—SECOND COALITION OF SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS, UMBRIANS

AND GAULS (300-290).

In the last forty years the Samnites had been often beaten. Nothing however, had yet been decided, and the recently concluded peace was only a momentary repose before the final struggle. Betwixt Rome and Samnium it was no longer a rivalry of power, but a question of life or death; for Roman ambition increased with success, and Appius had just declared that the sway of the republic should reach as far as Italy reached. War was smouldering everywhere, and the partial fires which broke out, the war with the Æquians, the Marsi, and soon against Arretium and Narnia, announced a fresh conflagration. At Arretium the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, x. 1.

powerful family of the Cilnii called in a Roman army, which helped to subdue the people of that town. The Cilnii and the people became reconciled, says Livy; but most probably this union, effected by the foreigner, took place to the profit of Rome; and here, as at Capua, as indeed everywhere, the Italian aristocracy sold the independence of the people to the senate in order to save its own privileges and power.<sup>1</sup> At least it is impossible to explain the strange conduct of the Etruscans in this last period of the Samnite war, except by internal troubles, by a deplorable rivalry between the Roman and the national parties, one desirous of peace, the other war, whence came endless broken truces and ill-conducted campaigns.



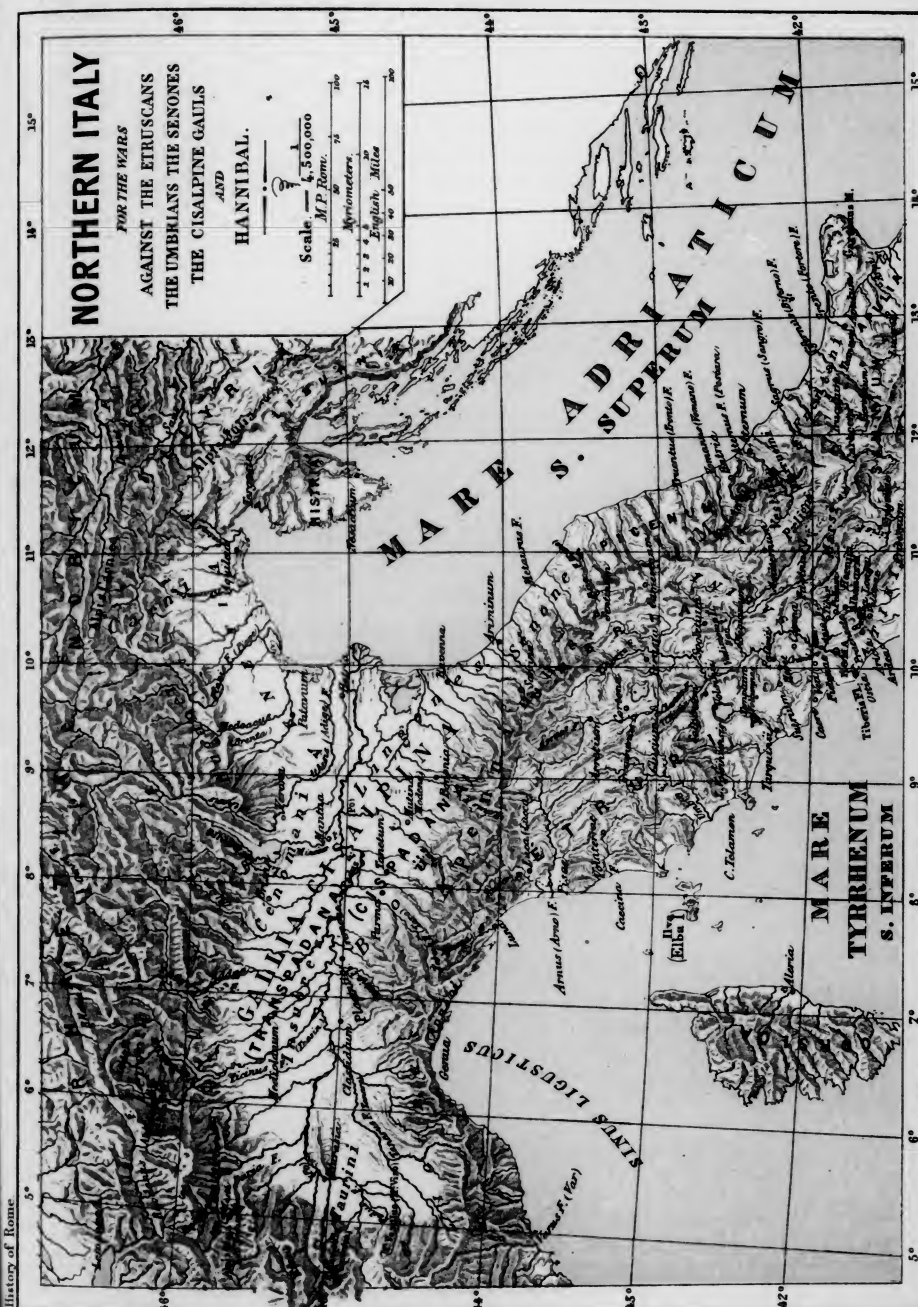
Earthenware of Arretium (Arezzo).<sup>2</sup>

The Gauls then began to make a stir in the world again. The fighting hordes moved in the valley of the Danube, whence they soon issued to ravage Greece and Asia Minor. Italy felt the reaction of these movements; a few bands again crossed the Alps, and the senate, uneasy about the disposition of the Senones, made preparations for protecting themselves from a sudden invasion. In 300 B.C. we find the consuls besieging the Umbrian town of *Nequinum* (Narnia). Built on a rock above the Nar, this place commanded the passage from Umbria into the valley of the Tiber; it was one of the most important military positions in the neighbourhood of Rome. The senate there established a strong garrison. With Carseoli and Alba Fuentia, which had been colonised a little earlier, this place completed the line of defence which surrounded the capital of Latium.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy (xlii. 30) says later on about another people and another nobility: . . . *plebs omnis, ut solet, deterioris erat . . . principum diversa studia . . . plures ex iis ita, si præcipuam operam navassent, potentes sese in civitatibus suis futuros rati . . .*

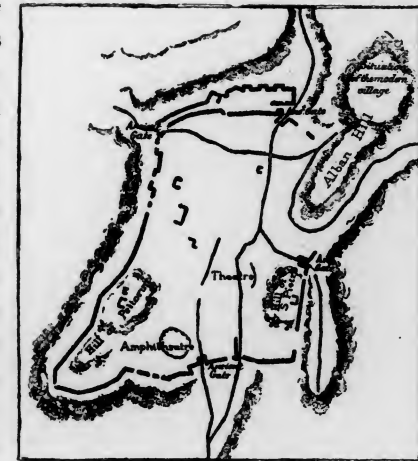
<sup>2</sup> Vase of red earthenware in relief, from the Campana Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Sutrium, Narnia, Carseoli, Alba Fuentia, and the colonies of the Liris valley, Sora, Atina, Casinum, Interamna, etc.





At Narnia, some Samnites had been found among the defenders of the place; their chiefs were preparing a general rising, and sought allies everywhere. The Lucanians had promised them assistance, but at the moment of action the Roman party gained the upper hand, and caused hostages to be given. The Picentines, though earnestly solicited, also informed the senate of the message calling them to arms; and the Marsic confederation, true to its old jealousy of the Samnites, once more betrayed the common cause. But other allies were found. The Sabines, who had been at peace with the Romans for a century and a half, would not abandon a sister people in its last hour. The Etrucans were quite decided. Some years previously they had paid the Gauls to march upon Rome. When the barbarians held the money: "That is only your ransom," they said; "to aid you against the Romans you must give us lands." The Umbrians had thrown in their fortune with the Etruscans. Thus, war was ready to break out from the Cisalpine to Bruttium. To this ill-cemented coalition Rome opposed all the strength of the Latin and Campanian nations from the Ciminian Forest to the Silarus; and what was worth more than an army, unity of counsel and control.

Alba Fucentia.<sup>1</sup>

The war commenced at both extremities at once, in Etruria and in Lucania. Valerius Corvus, then consul for the sixth time, was entrusted with the Etruscan war. The enemy frightened by the very name of such an adversary allowed its country to be

<sup>1</sup> Alba Fucentia was three miles from Lake Fucinus, at the foot of Monte Velino, but upon the summit of a hill. This made it a very strong position; and Rome sent thither, in 302, six thousand colonists (Livy, x. 1), and in later times used it as the State prison. Syphax, Perseus and Bituitus were incarcerated there. A part of the walls still remains; they have a circuit of about three miles, and in the interior are seen the village of Alba, of a hundred and fifty inhabitants, and some ruins, those of the amphitheatre and a theatre. The plan conveys an idea of what the ancient cities of central Italy were like. See Promis, *Antichità di Alba Fucense*.

devastated without risking a battle (299). The Samnites had sent an army into Lucania, to aid their party. Rome summoned them to recall it; they would not listen even to the *fetiales*. The consul Fabius immediately marched upon Bovianum (298), beat the enemy, whom he several times deceived by his strategy, and took the town; while his colleague, Scipio Barbatus, gained a victory over the Etruscans (?) near Volaterræ. These successes were no doubt less than they are represented,<sup>1</sup> or else the people were desirous of striking a decisive blow early in the campaign, for in the following year they obliged Fabius Rullianus, who had



Tomb of Scipio Barbatus.

just quitted his ædileship after having exercised his celebrated censorship, to accept the consulship. Fabius only consented on condition of having P. Decius for his colleague. In spite of all attempts the Etruscans, who did not wish to engage seriously

<sup>1</sup> We have the inscription from the tomb of this consul. It is the most ancient monument of the Latin language with a settled date that we possess. [The ablative *Gnaivod* ending in *d* is peculiarly interesting.—Ed.]

*Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus*  
*Gnaivod patre prognatus, fortis vir sapiensque*  
*Quoius forma virtutei parivma fuit,*  
*Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud vos*  
*Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit*  
*Subigit omne Loucana opsidessque abdovcit.*

before the arrival of the Gauls, held themselves on the defensive, and the two consuls were able to march towards Samnium. Having each gained a victory, one at Tifernum, the other at Maleventum, they remained five months in that province, methodically devastating the country, halting their legions in the richest valleys, and leaving them only when they had destroyed everything. In this manner Decius made forty-five encampments in Samnium, and Fabius eighty-six, which were long afterwards to be recognised by the ruin and solitude surrounding them.

This systematic devastation, continued by Fabius in the following year, inspired the Samnites with a desperate resolve. Quitting their country, which they could no longer defend, they threw themselves into Etruria under the leadership of Gellius Ignatius, raised to rebellion the towns which still hesitated, persuading the Umbrians to join them, and called in the Gauls.<sup>1</sup>

There was great terror in Rome, which unlucky omens served to increase. It was said that the statue of Victory had descended from its pedestal and had turned towards the Colline gate, by which the Gauls had entered a century earlier. Did the goddess wish to flee from Rome, or to show her favourite people where the danger or the triumph lay? But this people, whose superstition was boundless, never lost courage, even when they doubted the assistance of their gods. At Rome the *justitium* was proclaimed—that is, the tribunals were closed, business was suspended. All available men were enrolled, even to the freedmen, and Volumnius was recalled from Samnium to help his colleague Appius, who extricated himself by a sanguinary engagement. But Campania was left defenceless, and the Samnites

That is:—

*Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus*  
*Son of Cneus; valiant and wise.*  
*His beauty equalled his valour.*  
*He was consul, censor, ædile,*  
*Took Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium,*  
*Subdued all Lucania and brought back hostages.*

The omission of the victory over the Etruscans, related by Livy, proves that that historian here again attributed to the Romans a success which they never gained. We are drawing near the time of historic certainty, however, for this Scipio was the grandfather of the conqueror of Hannibal.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, ix. 21. Thus the people of la Vendée crossed the Loire to stir up Brittany, Maine and Normandy.

fell upon it. Volumnius hastened back into his province, beat the enemy there, and delivered seven thousand four hundred prisoners. This victory diminished the terrors of the city, and was celebrated with public prayers.

Appius, however, was left in a dangerous position: in front of him the Samnite Egnatius, by his activity and hatred, animated the coalition of all the nations of the north of the peninsula, hushing rivalry, preaching union, and guiding the terrible Senones into the defiles of the Apennines. The year 295 B.C. was critical; accordingly all votes raised Fabius and Decius to the consulship. Ninety thousand men at least, divided into five armies, were set afoot. One of these armies invaded Samnium, whilst, under the name of colonies, two garrisons occupied Minturnæ and Sinuessa; another, encamped at the foot of the Janiculum, covered the city; the third, established near Falerii, protected the approaches to it; the fourth, commanded by Scipio Barbatus, took up a position in the territory of the Camertini, whence it watched the movements of the Gauls; and finally, the fifth, formed of the consular legions, kept the field.

When Fabius came to take the command, Appius was keeping this last army shut up in a camp, the defences of which he daily strengthened. The new general scorned these precautions, which frightened the soldiers, tore down the palisades, and took the offensive again. Meanwhile the Gauls attacked a legion posted by Scipio near Camerinum, killed them to the last man, and, having forced the passage of the Apennines, spread over the plain, carrying at their saddles and on their pikes the bleeding heads of the legionaries. If the conquerors should effect a junction with the Umbrians and Etruscans it was clearly all over with the consular army; but Fabius by a diversion recalled the Etruscans to the defence of their homes, and then hastened in search of the Gallo-Samnite army in the plains of Sentinum. The shock was terrible; the war-chariots of the barbarians put the Roman cavalry to flight, and broke the first line of the legions. Seven thousand Romans on the left wing, commanded by Decius, had already perished, when the consul, following his father's example, devoted himself for the legions. "Before me," he cried, after having pronounced the sacred formulæ, "may terror and

flight, blood and death, the rage of the gods of heaven and hell dash onwards! May the breath of destruction annihilate the hostile arms and standards!" and he hurled himself into the thickest of the fray. The sacrifice of the first Decius had troubled the Latin legions, but the Gauls were inaccessible to these religious terrors, and this fall of the consul served only to animate their courage. The whole left wing would have been crushed had not Fabius, who had overcome the Samnites, hastened up. Surrounded on all sides, the barbarians retired without disorder, and, abandoning a cause in which they were only auxiliaries, they regained their own country. Twenty-five thousand Gallic and Samnite corpses covered the field of battle; eight thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the Romans; Egnatius had perished; only five thousand Samnites went back to their mountains. Fabius again beat an army that had issued from Perugia,<sup>1</sup> and then went to Rome to enjoy his triumph. Behind his car the soldiers sang the praises of Decius: this was the justice of the people (295 B.C.).

The coalition was dissolved. It remained to crush successively those who had taken part in it, whose names the senate never forgot. But the Samnites, in spite of so many defeats, were yet formidable.<sup>2</sup> Like a lion stricken to death, this indomitable nation did not perish without inflicting cruel wounds. In the following year they beat a consul. In another encounter Atilius Regulus found himself so near a defeat that he vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, and as the winter approached the Romans dared not remain in Samnium. A diversion of the Etruscans remained without any successful results. The colleague of Atilius had forced a truce of forty years upon them.

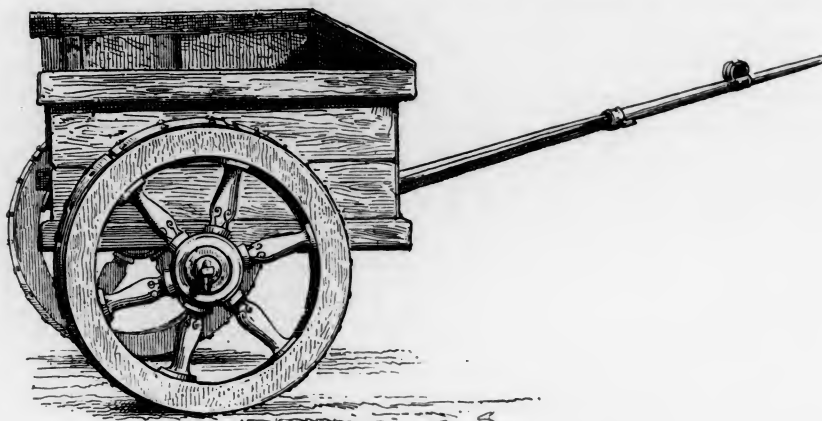
The war was now about to concentrate in the Apennines. The son of Papirius was sent thither with Sp. Carvilius. As they had done fifteen years before, so now the Samnite chiefs called religion to the aid of patriotism and union. The aged Oвий Pacius assembled forty thousand warriors near Aquilonia. In the centre of the camp was a tent of linen cloth; in the middle of the tent an altar; around the altar stood soldiers with naked swords.

<sup>1</sup> He slew of the Perugians, says Livy (x. 31), four thousand five hundred men, and captured one thousand seven hundred and forty, who paid each for his ransom 510 ases.

<sup>2</sup> *Dura illa pectora.* (Id., *ibid.*)



After mysterious sacrifices the bravest were led thither, one by one, like so many victims,<sup>1</sup> and each warrior repeating the dread imprecations of Pacius, devoted himself, his family and all his race to the anger of the gods, if he revealed these mysteries or refused to follow his chiefs everywhere, if he fled from the fight, or did not himself slay those who fled. Some refused, and were put to death. On their bodies, placed with those of the victims, the others swore. Then from among these the generals appointed ten, who in turn chose ten warriors, and so on up to sixteen thousand. This was the *Linen* legion, the soldiers of which, clad



Gallic Chariot (Museum of Saint-Germain).

in flashing armour, were all the bravest and noblest warriors of Samnium. They kept their word. Thirty thousand Samnites remained on the battle-field of Aquilonia, where Papirius had displayed his father's talents.

A defection of the Faliscans called Carvilius into Etruria. A few days sufficed to drive back the Etruscans, ever the enemies of Rome, and ever fearful of a decisive combat. The Faliscans gave a year's pay to the army, and paid a fine of 100,000 pounds weight of copper (293 B.C.).

At his triumph Papirius displayed 2,033,000 pounds weight of copper, resulting from the sale of the prisoners, and 1,330

<sup>1</sup> *Nobilissimum quemque genere factisque . . . magis ut victima*, etc. (Livy, x. 38.)

pounds weight of silver, taken from the towns and temples. Carvilius, on his side, placed 380,000 pounds of bronze in the treasury, distributed 200 ases to every soldier, and twice as much to the centurions and knights.<sup>1</sup> With the rest of his booty he built, on the left bank of the Tiber, the temple of *Fors Fortuna, Lucky Chance*, a strange deity for a people who left so little to chance. The arms taken on the field of battle were distributed to the colonies and allies as trophies; and of the part which fell to himself he had a colossal statue of Jupiter made, which he placed on the top of the Capitoline Hill, whence it commanded the city and the whole Roman Campagna.<sup>2</sup>

From this immense quantity of booty for a single campaign, the slaughter on the battle-field, and the sale of slaves after the victory, we can understand the depopulation and misery which everywhere followed the legions. After half a century of such warfare, Samnium might well be exhausted, and of the men who had seen it begin, no doubt there were but very few left alive. There was one however, who from the depths of the retirement, in which perhaps the reproaches of his fellow citizens held him, followed in despair the course of these repeated disasters. This was the hero of the Caudine Forks, the man who had believed in Roman faith. The Samnites called him to their head for their last effort, and Pontius Herennius reappeared victorious after a lapse of twenty-nine years, in the plains of Campania. Fabius Gurgus, the son of the great Fabius, dared to attack him, and was beaten; but his father obtained leave from the senate to go and serve under him as lieutenant. The conqueror of Perugia and Sentinum struck the last blow of this war. Twenty thousand Samnites perished, and their leader was taken. Fabius Gurgus triumphed; his father followed him on horseback, and behind them marched Pontius in chains. When the triumphant general left the Sacred Way to ascend to the Capitol, the victors dragged Pontius to the

<sup>1</sup> Livy's figures have been accused of exaggeration by those who maintain that the mountaineers of Samnium were poor. That is true; but they forget that for centuries they had pillaged Campania, Apulia, and Magna-Grecia, that ancient nations loved to treasure up valuables, and that warrior tribes delight in displaying their wealth in their arms.

<sup>2</sup> Here ends Livy's first decade; we do not meet him again till 220 B.C. This statue was to be seen, says Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxiv. 18), from the Alban Mount.

prison of Ancus.<sup>1</sup> They went their way, one to render thanks to the gods, the other to yield his head to the executioner.

Two centuries later the Roman who knew most of justice, who had the tenderest soul, still spoke of punishments due to the vanquished.<sup>2</sup> Ancient warfare was certainly a merciless duel.

For one year more the legions pursued the remnants of the Samnite armies, till Curius at length extorted from this nation the acknowledgment of their defeat. A treaty, the clauses of which we do not know, classed them among the allies of Rome (290 B.C.). To keep them in restraint Venusia, between Samnium and Tarentum, was occupied by a numerous colony.

We know just as little of the operations of Curius in the Sabine country. It is only mentioned that the Sabines paid for the aid they had so tardily afforded the Samnites with a considerable portion of their lands. On his return, after having penetrated as far as the Adriatic, Curius uttered these words, which show how Rome conducted a war: "I have conquered so many countries that those regions would be but a vast solitude had I less prisoners to people them with. I have subdued so many men that we should not know how to feed them had I not conquered so many lands." Accordingly he distributed seven acres to every citizen. For himself he would accept no other recompense. The Sabines had the rights of citizenship without the suffrage; but Reate, Nursia, and perhaps Amiternum, remained simple prefectures.<sup>3</sup> Castrum and Hadria, in the Adriatic, were colonised. Curius triumphed twice in the same year. This honour, hitherto unprecedented, and the respect which attached to his name, proclaim great services. The true Samnite war was over.

For other reasons Curius well deserved to triumph twice, for he had conquered nature as well as the Samnites. He turned the Velinus aside into the Nera, and created the magnificent cascade

<sup>1</sup> The Tullianum. See in Sallust (*Cat.*, 55) the description of the place where executions took place.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., in *Verrem*, II. v. 30. *Supplicia quæ debentur hostibus victis.*

<sup>3</sup> Fest., s. v. *Prefectura*, Aur. Vict., viii. 33; Vell., Patern., i. 14. The long peace which the Sabine country had enjoyed had increased the wealth of its inhabitants. It was after the conquests of Curius, says Strabo, that the Romans became opulent.

of Terni. Victors and vanquished have been dust these twenty-three centuries, but the marvellous spectacle that this Roman created for himself lasts for ever.

Could this Samnite war, which caused such ruin, have been avoided? There is something of the bird of prey and the wild beast even in many civilized men; naturally these instincts of rapine and carnage were more strongly developed in times when humanity was nearer its origin. The men of the plains and those of the mountains, the husbandmen and the shepherds, were necessarily hostile to one another, and in all ages the one race had yielded to the temptation of reaping the lands sown by the other. Rome, who was herself mistress of the Latin plain, and, through Capua, also of the Campanian plain, was anxious to put a stop to this periodical pillaging, and to act as the police of the Apennines. With her usual tenacity she succeeded in so doing. This constituted the whole Samnite war. It had lasted fifty-three years (343-290), and the intervals of peace had only served the two nations for repairing their arms, for a moment's breathing time before they again closed in conflict.

Accordingly we have followed the incidents of this desperate struggle and the slow death pangs of a brave nation with tedium, it is true, but also with admiration<sup>1</sup> and involuntary regrets. Boldness, heroism, love of country—nothing was lacking to the Samnites—nothing but that union which alone makes nations strong. In order to rise to a glorious rank among the nations it is at times needful to sacrifice precious but enervating liberties. In the very camp the Samnites did not forget the wild independence of their mountains. At Aquilonia, in order to secure their obedience for the last time, their chiefs had been obliged to call the most dreadful mysteries of religion to the aid of their authority. Therefore Samnium perished, and deserved to perish, for had she been victorious she would never have drawn Italy and the world from the chaos out of which Rome drew them.

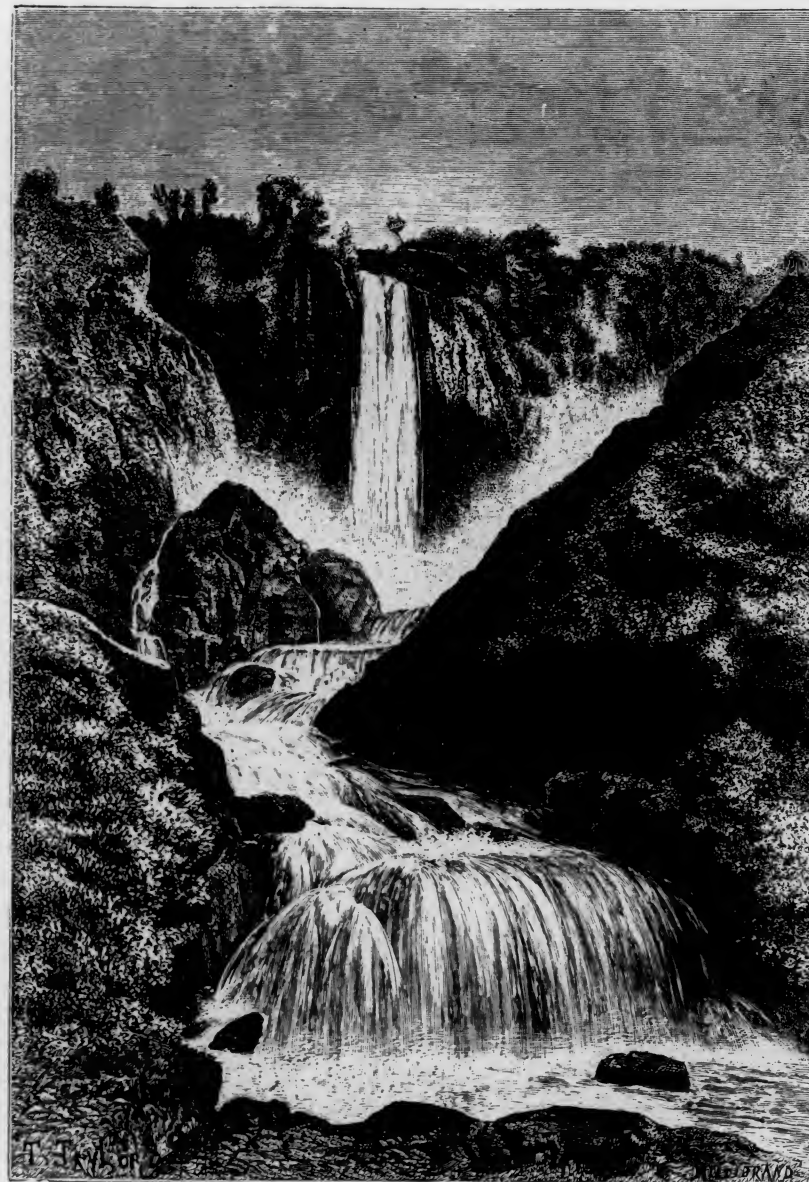
<sup>1</sup> *Quinam sit ille, quem pigræ longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quæ gerentes non fatigaverunt?* (Livy, x. 21.)

III.—COALITION OF THE ETRUSCANS AND SENONES; WAR  
AGAINST THE LUCANIANS (283-281).

Latium, Campania, Apulia, and Samnium submitted to the rule or the alliance of Rome. But on the north a part of the Etruscans were hostile, and the Gauls had quickly forgotten their defeat at Sentinum. On the south, although the Samnite nation had laid down their arms, there remained some bands which, rejecting all peace with Rome, went to seek refuge among the rugged mountains of Calabria. There are to be found immense forests, where by degrees a new nation was formed, the Bruttii, whom the Greeks and Romans disdainfully called revolted slaves. Greeks and Lucanians saw with dread the Roman rule drawing nearer to them—Tarentum especially, which showed a growing jealousy of the successes of the barbarous city on the banks of the Tiber. But how were so many tribes to be united for common action? Pyrrhus and Hannibal himself could not effect it. Rome alone worked this miracle, because she applied to the work two great forces—wisdom and time.

There was only an instant of serious danger. Arretium, thanks to the Cilnii, had remained faithful to the alliance of Rome; some Etruscans, supported by an army of Senones, came and besieged it. The legions hastened to the succour of the place, but their leader, seven tribunes, and thirteen thousand soldiers fell on the field of battle;<sup>1</sup> the rest were taken prisoners (283). This was one of the most bloody defeats that the Romans had ever suffered; it served to increase the alarm that the simple announcement of a Gallic war caused among them. When the senate caused complaints to be brought before the council of the Senones, their chief, Britomar, whose father had been slain in the battle of Arretium, replied by killing the deputies as expiatory victims, whom he offered to the paternal manes. Indignation

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, ii. 19; Orosius, iii. 22.



Cascades of Terni.



doubled the strength of Rome, and two powerful armies were raised. With one of them one of the consuls restrained or overcame the Etruscans; with the other Dolabella, quietly crossing the Sabine country, entered the territory of the Senones by Picenum, burnt their villages, slew the men, sold the women and children, and only quitted the country when he had made it a desert. He had borne thither the vengeance of Rome, which, when the sons of the conquerors of the Allia were exterminated, no longer blushed for the ransom carried off from the Capitol. In order to prevent the Cisalpine Gauls from replacing the Senones in this solitude, the senate sent colonists to guard the country, settling them at Sena, on the north of Ancona, at Castrum, and at Hadria in Picenum. As the sway of the Romans had crossed the Apennines on the south by the occupation of Venusia, so it crossed them on the north by settlements on the Adriatic, whence she could watch over the valley of the Po.

The Boii, whose territory extended from Parma to Bologna, grew alarmed at this extermination of a Gallic tribe. With those of the Senones who had escaped the Roman sword they entered the valley of the Arno by the defiles which led from the Romagna to Florence, and passed through the whole of Etruria, summoning all those who were still enemies to Rome. But not far from Narnia, near a swampy marsh called lake Vadimon, they were stopped by a defeat with fearful slaughter. Streams of blood ran as far as the Tiber and reddened its waters.

In the following year the Boii made peace (282 B.C.). For two years longer the senate was obliged to send armies into Etruria. The victory of Coruncanus over the Vulcientes put an end to this war, which had begun almost with the beginning of Rome. From the year 280 the name of Etruscans no longer appears in the triumphal records.

Since the day when Fabius passed the Ciminian forest, the Tuscan augurs could predict to their nation that the end of its life was drawing near, and that the tenth century—in which, according to ancient prophecies, its nationality was to perish—had arrived. Resignation was easy to them. Their gods had spoken, and the

Romans had fulfilled the oracle. Why should they resist destiny, especially when Rome demanded so little, when life was so sweet and nature so fruitful in that land of plenty, where nothing was lacking for pleasure and luxury. One of the ancients said of the Etruscans: "Renouncing the virtues of which their ancestors were so jealous, the Tuscans pass their lives in feast-

ing or in wanton pleasures; they have thus lost the glorious renown of their fathers."<sup>1</sup> We may write here, then, *Finis Etruriae*.

During these operations in the North, hostilities had been actively carried on in the South. The Greek town of Thurium (Thurii) had implored the aid of Rome against the Lucanians, who ravaged their lands every summer. A first expedition against these pillagers effected nothing, but in 282 Fabricius opened his way as far as Thurium, the blockade of which he raised, and left troops there. Locri, Crotona, and perhaps Rhegium also received Roman garrisons. On his return, Fabricius put 400 talents into the treasury: with the remainder of the booty he paid large gratuities to the soldiers, and restored to the citizens what they had paid for the military tax that year. Such productive campaigns made men love war; the am-



Etruscan Funeral Urn.  
(Museum of the Louvre, Campana collection.)

bition of the great and the greed of the poor found it to their advantage.

Peace was apparently restored in the peninsula, and from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina all except Tarentum acknowledged the majesty of the Roman people, or submitted to alliance with it; but the powerful city on the banks of the Taras, proud of its Spartan origin, its riches, and the numerous vessels that

<sup>1</sup> Diod., v. 40. Theopompus and Timæus said much more... *famulas nudas ministrare viris*... *communes mulieres*, etc.. Athen., *Deipnosoph.*, xii. 14, and iv. 38.

crowded its harbour—the *mare Piccolo*, was about to instigate a war more dangerous to Rome than had been any of the struggles which she had sustained in the last sixty years.



This votive shield seems to represent the famous legend of the gold of the Capitol weighed by the Gauls; below, Camillus and Brennus; above, the town and its monuments; in the centre, a grotesque figure with ram's horns, a twisted beard, and great leaves. The workmanship is referred to the first century of our era. (Dodwell, *de Parma Woodwardiana*.)

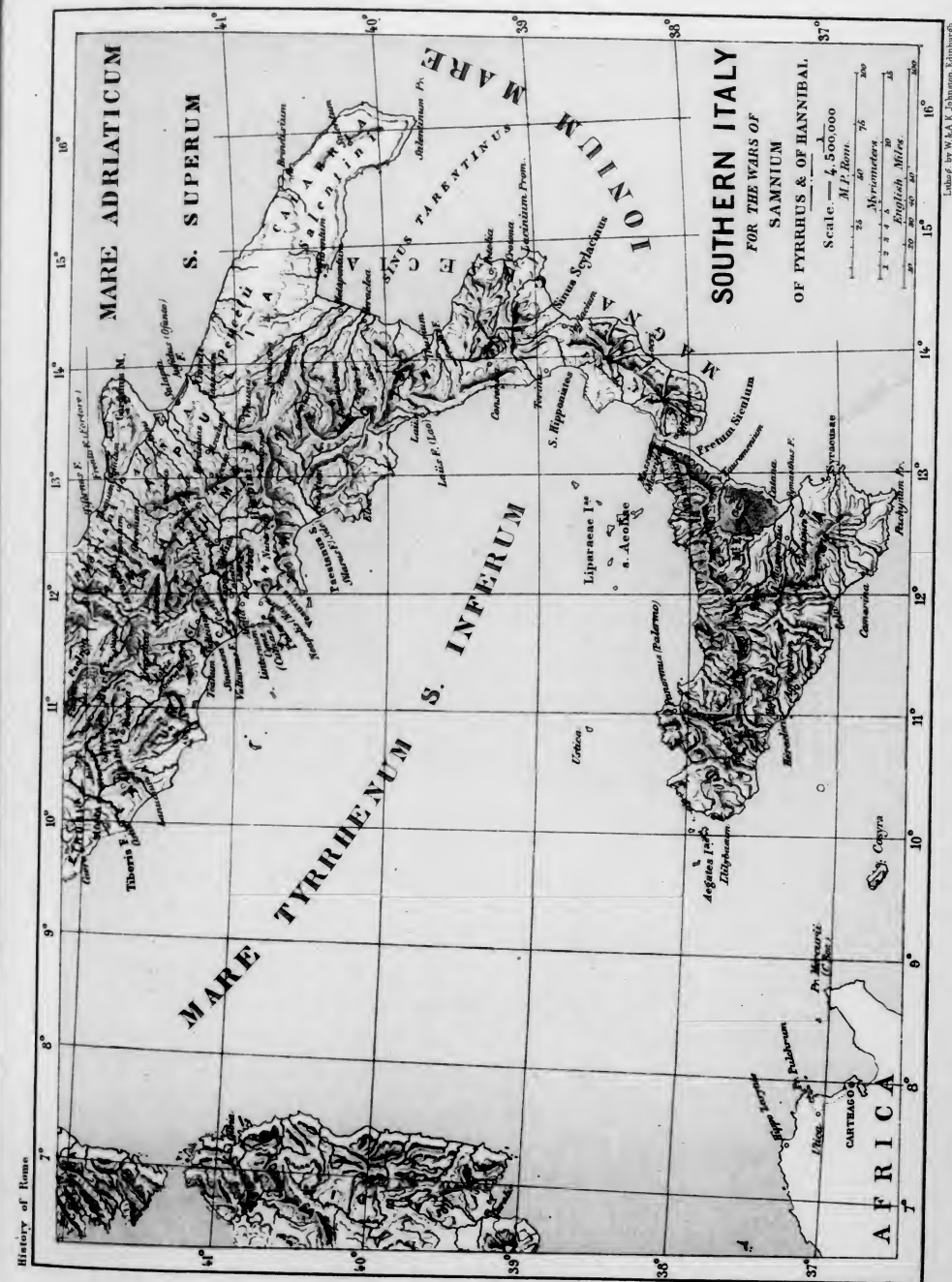
## CHAPTER XVI.

### WAR WITH PYRRHUS (280-272).

#### I.—RUPTURE WITH TARENTUM; FIRST CAMPAIGN OF PYRRHUS IN ITALY (282-278).

WE have reached the moment when Rome and Greece are about to clash. Greece was then moribund, and her end marked the completion of a new period in the life of humanity. By allowing individual genius its full flight, by leaving it untrammelled by the bonds of priestcraft or of an overshadowing aristocracy, Greece had created political liberty, art, and science; but from an excess of liberty social anarchy had arisen. The Greeks were a great people; Europe owes her civilization to them; but they never were a great State. That is why others inherited their labours. Rome represents a second age of the European world—manhood after youth, the people of action after the people of theory, ambition after enthusiasm, discipline and order after liberty and anarchy. Plato and Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> tracing the ideal of a Greek city, admit therein only a few thousand citizens, and even condemn fruitfulness in women. Rome makes citizens even of her enemies, and prepares her subjects to become so. Accordingly her prosperity endures for ages, whilst that of the Greek cities had lasted but a few years. Sparta had succeeded to Athens, Thebes to Sparta, Macedonia to all three. Then when Alexander died, and

<sup>1</sup> Plato would have no more than 5,040 citizens (*Laws*, v.). Children born of parents who are blemished or too old, says he, natural children or deformed, should be exposed. The republic must not be burdened with them (*Rep.*, v.). Aristotle demands that the number of marriages and the number of children to be raised in each household should be fixed. If the law of the country forbids the exposure of children, says he, let abortion be practised (*Polit.*, vii. 14, 10). He would have the number of citizens such that they might all know one another (*ibid.*, vii. 14). In another place he mentions the means employed by the Cretans to stop the increase of population. (*Pol.*, ii. 7, 4.)





his vast designs with him, a huge disorder had shaken his empire, from the Indus to the Adriatic; confusion devoid of greatness, chaos whence life could never spring! Morality was debased, nationalities were forgotten; every man's hand was against his neighbour's for a little gold or power; war became a trade, as in Italy and in Germany, at the most disastrous periods of their history; and a few mercenary soldiers bestowed or took away crowns.



Coin of Hicetas.<sup>1</sup>

This general decay of the Greek race had reached Sicily and Magna Grecia. In Sicily the brilliant rule of Agathocles had just closed, and everywhere petty tyrants arose;<sup>2</sup> Hicetas at Syracuse, Phintias at Agrigentum, Tyndarion at Tauromenium, Heraclides at Leontini, etc. On the west, Carthage was strengthening herself; on the north, the mercenaries of Agathocles took possession of Messina by treason, massacred the male inhabitants, and thence extended their raids over the whole island as far as Gela and Camarina, which they pillaged.<sup>4</sup> On the north of the straits Rhegium, so hardly treated by Dionysius the Elder; Locri, ruined by his son; Metapontum, almost destroyed by Cleonymus and Agathocles; Thurium, which had replaced Sybaris without succeeding to its power; Croton, thrice taken by Agathocles and Dionysius; all these, surrounded by Lucanians and Bruttians,



Coin of Camarina.<sup>3</sup>

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Coin of Phintias.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of Ceres, crowned with ears of wheat; behind, the torch lighted by Demeter in her search for her daughter Proserpina; the legend, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; coin of the Syracusans. On the reverse, a Victory in a chariot, drawn by two horses galloping; above, a star and the words ΕΠΙΙΚΕΤΑ; under the reign of Hicetas. Gold coin.

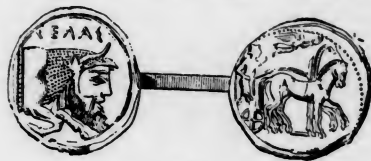
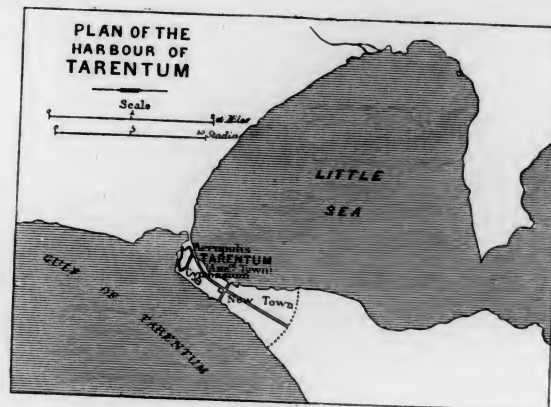
<sup>2</sup> Diod., *Fragm.* xxii. *Excerpt. Haschel.*, p. 495.

<sup>3</sup> ΚΑΜΑΡΙΝΑ (*κωρ*), coin of Camarina; head of Hercules with the lion's skin. On the reverse, figure on a quadriga crowned by Victory, probably in commemoration of a prize won in the chariot race at Olympia.

<sup>4</sup> Diod., *Fragm.* xxi. *Excerpt. Haschel.*, p. 493.

<sup>5</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΝΤΙΑ, Phintias being king, and a wild boar. Bronze coin.

lived a miserable life amidst continual alarms. Tarentum was an exception;<sup>1</sup> but these Dorians, who had become the richest merchants of Italy, had fallen into a dissoluteness of manners which made them incapable of sustaining a serious struggle. Yet they had the haughtiness which wealth brings, and were angry at hearing all Italy resound with the name of these barbarians

Gela.<sup>2</sup>

Harbour of Tarentum.

on the banks of the Tiber, who were as incapable of executing a work of art as of arranging a festival.

The senate had added to the Roman garrison of Thurium a squadron of ten galleys to cruise in the gulf. One day, as the people of Tarentum were assembled in the theatre facing the sea, the Roman vessels appeared at the entrance of the port. A demagogue, named Philocharis, cried out that, according to ancient

<sup>1</sup> Tarentum was the only port on this coast; Croton had only a summer roadstead (Polyb., x. *Fragm.*, i.). The principal industry of Tarentum was the manufacture and dyeing of woollen stuffs. Hence its relations with the Samnites, of whom it bought the wool. The latter took in exchange salt, fish, and manufactured objects. Cf. Strabo, v. p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> ΓΕΛΑΣ. Gela was the name of the torrent which ran at the foot of the walls of the town, now the *Fiume di Terranova*. The god of this torrent was represented under the form of an ox with a man's head. Thus our silver tetradrachm of the town of Gela shows it. On the reverse, a chariot, or *biga*, and a figure crowned by a Victory, a token of a prize gained in the Olympic games.

treaties, the Romans had not the right to pass the Lacinian Cape. The Tarentines hastened to their vessels, attacked the Roman galleys, sank four of them, took another and butchered the crew, and, emboldened by this easy success, went and drove the Roman garrison out of Thurium and pillaged the town. Soon a Roman ambassador presented himself demanding reparation. He was received with hooting and low insults: one buffoon dared to cover

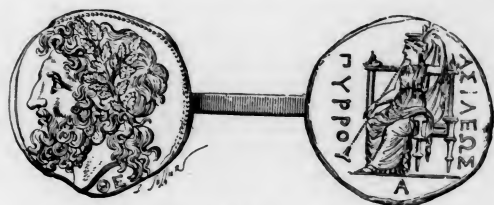
The Lacinian Cape.<sup>1</sup>

the ambassador's toga with filth. "Laugh," said Postumius, "laugh now; your blood will wash out these stains" (282 B.C.).

The senate, however, entered upon this fresh war with repugnance. The Etruscans still resisted the legions. Armed bands overran Samnium, and the Lucanians must be punished for their repeated attacks upon Thurium. Moreover, it was evident that the Tarentines would seek auxiliaries in Greece, as they had

<sup>1</sup> This solitary pillar still marks the site of the famous temple of Hera Lacinia, built on the point of the Cape. (From a photograph taken in 1882.)

already done thrice, when they had called in Archidamas, King of Sparta, Alexander of Molossus, and the Lacedæmonian Cleonymus. The discussion lasted several days in the senate. The



Coin of Pyrrhus.<sup>1</sup>

war party at last prevailed, and the consul Æmilius marched through Samnium against Tarentum. Before attacking it he once more offered peace. The nobles ac-

cepted it, but the popular party, who were the true masters of the State, rejected all proposals, and invited Pyrrhus to make a descent upon Italy (281).

Pyrrhus, nephew of Olympias, and son of Æacides, king of Epirus, was perhaps the ablest of all those who claimed to be the heirs of Alexander. Tried, however, by the most diverse fortunes, having already twice lost and regained his kingdom, and conquered and abandoned Macedonia, he had acquired a restless ambition which all his life long impelled him from one enterprise to another. At Ipsus (301) he had fought for Antigonus against Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. As Asia fell to these, he dreamed of the conquest of Rome, Sicily, and Carthage. He desired to be the Alexander of the west. Method was wanting in all his designs; accordingly he lived and died less like a king than an adventurer. In other respects, brilliant in mind and courage, like his cousin Alexander; like him, too, beloved by his people, even to the most entire devotion; a spoilt child of fortune, which so often smiled on him and so often deserted him; upright of heart, open to all noble feelings, history at once loves and condemns him. When he saw Fabricius he desired to have him for a friend; when he knew the Romans he was eager to have them as allies; and he never blushed at having been conquered by them.

The Tarentines spared neither presents nor promises. He was to find in Italy 350,000 foot soldiers and 20,000 cavalry. In spite of the warnings of his friend, the Thessalian Cineas, Pyrrhus

<sup>1</sup>Head of Jupiter crowned with oak. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ, Pyrrhus being king.

accepted, and immediately sent off Milo with three thousand men to occupy the citadel of Tarentum. During the winter he prepared a considerable armament—20,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry, 2,000 archers, 500 slingers, and 20 elephants. In crossing, a tempest dispersed the fleet and almost dashed the royal vessel on the coast of the Messapians.

When Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, he closed the baths and theatres, obliged the citizens to take arms, and exercised them pitilessly, like mercenaries. The town of pleasure had become a place of war. Many Tarentines fled (280 B.C.).

At Rome they would not enter on the campaign without having solemnly declared war against Pyrrhus; but Epirus was far away, and time pressed. They escaped from the difficulty, as at Candium, by a subterfuge. An Epirote deserter bought a field, and on this field the fetiales solemnly carried out the religious ceremonies. The letter of the law was fulfilled. The gods ought to consider themselves satisfied. The public conscience asked no more. Happily, the preparations for war were more serious. The consuls enrolled, as in all times of extreme danger, all the capable men, even of the poorest. The freedom of Rome, recently granted to several tribes, the colonies spread over Campania, Samnium and Apulia, especially that of Venusia, which was so numerous, and the garrisons in the advanced posts of Locri and



Pyrrhus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statue in the Capitoline Museum.



Rhegium, secured the fidelity of the allies. Moreover, to keep them from the sight of hostile standards, Lævinus marched to meet the king as far as the banks of the Siris. In vain did



Coin of the Lucanian Heraclea.<sup>1</sup>

Pyrrius strive to negotiate, condescending to act the part of mediator; the Romans repelled every offer; they neither would nor could allow a stranger to interfere in the affairs of Italy. The first battle was fought near Hera-

clea, half way between Thurium and Tarentum. The elephants, which were new to the Romans, threw their ranks into disorder. They left fifteen thousand men on the field of battle. But Pyrrhus had lost thirteen thousand.<sup>2</sup> "Another such victory," said the



Fighting Elephant making a Prisoner.<sup>3</sup>

latter, "and I return without an army to Epirus." He himself was nearly slain by the Frentanian Vulsinius; and one of his officers, whom he had dressed in his arms and royal mantle, had fallen covered with wounds.

This hard-earned victory, the very dangers he had run, and what he had learnt about Rome, inspired the Greek king with an earnest regard for these barbarians, whose tactics were so excellent. He had reckoned, when crossing the Adriatic, on an easy war, and he met with the most redoubtable adversaries; on numerous auxiliaries, and the Italians had left him to fight alone at Heraclea. After this battle, Locri had opened its gates to him; the Campanian legion, in garrison at Rhegium, massacred the inhabitants of that city and took their place, as the Mamertines had done at Messina. Some Lucanians and Samnites came to his camp; but this was very far from the three hundred and seventy thousand men who had been promised.

Pyrrius renewed his first offers; that the Romans should leave free Tarentum and all the Greeks of Italy, and restore to

<sup>1</sup> Helmeted head of Minerva; the reverse, Hercules choking a lion, the hero's club and Minerva's bird, the owl. Silver coin.

<sup>2</sup> These are the figures, the latter certainly false, given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

<sup>3</sup> Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1911 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Bruttians the cities and lands which they had taken from them. In exchange, he offered his alliance and the ransom of their prisoners. Cineas, whose eloquence, it is said, had gained for Pyrrhus more cities than his arms, was charged with submitting these proposals to Rome. He brought bribes for the senators, and rich robes for their wives. But he found nobody venal. Yet the senate was inclined for peace. The aged Appius, now blind, heard of this with indignation. He had himself led to the senate-house: "I was sorry at not being able to see," said he; "to-day I am sorry that I can hear;" and after having spoken strongly against what he termed a cowardly act, he ended with these words, which became ever afterwards a rule for the guidance of the senate: "Let Pyrrhus leave Italy, and then we shall talk of treating with him."<sup>1</sup> Cineas was ordered to leave Rome the same day. Before his eyes two legions were formed solely of volunteers. The sight of this great city, of its austere manners, of this patriotic zeal, struck the Greek with admiration, brought up as he had been, in the midst of the base intrigues, the venality and decay of his own country. "The senate," said he on his return, "seemed to me an assembly of kings." To fight with the Romans is to fight the Hydra.<sup>2</sup> Their numbers, like their courage, is unbounded.

Pyrrhus tried a bold move. He left Lucania, avoided Lævinus, who was covering Naples and Capua, threw himself into the valley of the Liris, took Fregellæ, Anagni, Præneste, and pushed his advanced posts to within six leagues of Rome; but nothing stirred around him, not a city revolted, and Lævinus was approaching; Coruncanius, who had just signed a peace with the Etruscans, was bringing from Etruria another consular army, and in the city new legions were being drilled.

Before this threatening circle could close around him, Pyrrhus escaped with his booty, and returned to winter at Tarentum. The legions also went into winter-quarters, except those which had been defeated at Heraclea. As a punishment for their defeat,

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Sen.* 6. This speech of Appius was still extant in Cicero's time.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Pyrrh.* 19. See in Horace (*Od.* IV. iv. 57, 61) the beautiful comparison, *Duris ut illex. . . . Non hydra secto corpore firmior*, etc.

they were made to stay in the enemy's territory, living on what they could plunder.

The senate, nevertheless, decided to ransom the prisoners. These were, for the most part, cavalry, whom their horses, being scared by the elephants, had thrown. They belonged, besides, to the best houses in the city. Three commissioners went to treat of their ransom or exchange, Æmilius Papus, Corn. Dolabella, and Fabricius, the hero of the legends, which we are compelled to follow during this period, when Dionysius and Livy fail us, and after which Polybius begins. Pyrrhus refused; but, from esteem for Fabricius, whom he in vain tried to bribe, he allowed his prisoners to go to Rome to keep the Saturnalia. Not one of them failed to return. In the spring of the year 279 he resumed hostilities in Apulia, and besieged Asculum, which the two consuls, Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius, determined to save by a battle. The report went abroad, it is said, in the two armies that Decius would imitate the example of his father and grandfather. The king gave his troops a description of the costume which the consul would wear, and gave orders to seize him alive and unwounded. At the same time he warned the Roman generals that after the battle he would put the *devoted* to an ignominious death, as a practising witchcraft and waging unfair war.<sup>1</sup>

The fragment of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, found lately at Mount Athos, does not say a word of the death of Decius,<sup>2</sup> but relates the battle in a way which seems to indicate a sort of official dispatch. It is indeed probable that Dionysius, who knew the *Commentaries* written by Pyrrhus, had borrowed from them, at least partly, this account of the battle which we give abridged.<sup>3</sup> "Heralds had fixed beforehand the time and place of combat. The

<sup>1</sup> Zonaras, viii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Valerius Max. (V. iv. 5, 6) speaks only of the Decii, whose death in the Latin war and in the Etruscan we have related. At Asculum Dionysius shows the two consuls acting in concert right to the end of the battle; Cicero does the same in *de Offic.* (iii. 4) and *de Senect.* (20), but in *Tusc. Disp.* (i. 37) and in *de Finibus* (ii. 19) he admits the death of three Decii. These discrepancies confirm the opinion of Valerius Maximus and Dionysius.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius and Plutarch cite the *Commentaries* (*ὑπομνήματα*) of Pyrrhus. He had likewise written a treatise on the art of war which Cicero read. (*Fam.* ix. 25.) [I have even abridged it further in the translation, as the details are quite conventional, and of no moment in explaining to us the real points of strategy employed by either side.—Ed.]

Macedonian infantry were on the right with the Italian mercenaries and the auxiliaries of Bruttium and Lucania; the Ætolians and Acarnanians filled the centre. The left wing was formed by the Samnite battalions. The cavalry, elephants, and light-armed soldiers covered the two extremities of the line, which reached a terrace of land raised above the plain. A reserve of two thousand cavalry was under the direct orders of Pyrrhus. The consuls adopted a similar order. In the space between the four legions, they placed the contingents from Latium and Campania and their other allies. They distributed equally their cavalry on the two flanks of the army. Three hundred four-wheeled war-chariots, bristling with scythes and lances, were intended to take part this time in the action. They had been furnished with long, movable poles, carrying at one end bundles of tow steeped in pitch, in order that when in flames the smoke and the smell would rout the elephants.

"Pyrrhus had 70,000 infantry, 16,000 of whom were Greeks, who had crossed the Ionian Sea; the consuls had nearly as many, of whom 20,000 were Roman citizens and 8,000 horse. The king had rather more cavalry and nineteen elephants.

"On the signal being given, the Greeks sounded the pæan, and the cavalry opened the action. In the royal army the prize for valour was gained by the Macedonians, who made the first legion and the Latin allies retreat; in the Roman army it was merited by the second legion, who made the Molossi, Thesprotes and Chaonians yield.

"The battle was maintained with this alternation of diverse fortune, when an unexpected succour reached the Romans. A body of four thousand infantry and four hundred horsemen from the city of Arpi, seeking to join the consuls, reached the high grounds at the rear of the king's camp and attacked it. Warned by a soldier, Pyrrhus ordered his bravest horse to hasten to the camp with some elephants, and drive away the pillagers. But the latter had already set fire to it, and, on seeing the troops dispatched against them, they retired to a steep hill which the cavalry were unable to climb.

"However, in the plain the fight continued. The king was the first to grow tired, and began, at the decline of day, to withdraw.

The Romans also withdrew; they crossed the river, and returned to their camp. Pyrrhus did not find his own again; the tents and his baggage were burnt, and many of the wounded perished through failure of succour;<sup>1</sup> but he remained master of the field of battle."

If the Romans were worsted, they had, at all events, yielded a victory dearly bought (279).<sup>2</sup>

For Pyrrhus this war was decidedly very serious and very slow. He desired nothing more than a pretext to give it up with honour. Fabricius having forewarned him that his physician, Philip, sought to poison him, he sent back all the prisoners without ransom (278).<sup>3</sup> After this exchange of amenities it was hard to fight any longer. So, leaving Milo in the citadel of Tarentum, and his son Alexander at Locri, he crossed into Sicily, whither the Greeks had invited him against the Mamertines and Carthaginians.

## II.—PYRRHUS IN SICILY; CAPTURE OF TARENTUM (272).

Carthage had recently sent a fleet to Ostia of a hundred and twenty galleys, offering help to the senate against Pyrrhus. The senate had declined it, at the same time renewing their ancient alliance. The two republics seemed to have then the same interests; they struggled against the same enemies: the one against the Greeks of Italy, the other against those of Sicily. The Carthaginians were again besieging Syracuse. It is to the succour of this city that Pyrrhus,<sup>4</sup> as son-in-law of Agathocles, was invited. He raised the blockade, and drove the Africans back



Alexander II.,  
King of Epirus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. *Ant. Rom.*, *excerpta ex libro*, xx. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Roman annalists, their countrymen had made a great carnage of the king's troops. A contemporary, Hieronymus of Cardia, following the Commentaries of Pyrrhus, makes the loss of the Romans six thousand men, that of the Epirotes three thousand five hundred and six. [Cf. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ii. 454.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> These details are too strongly out of character with the wars which precede or follow and with ancient manners, which possess nothing chivalrous in them, to be accepted without suspicion. The story of Pyrrhus' physician is an evident reminiscence of the story of Alexander's physician.

<sup>4</sup> Pyrrhus had married his daughter Larissa or Lanessa. Cf. Diod. xxii. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander, son of Pyrrhus and Larissa, with a head dress from the hide of an elephant's head. Gem from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2050 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

from port to port as far as Lilybæum, which he could not take. There, as in Italy, after victories arose misunderstanding with his allies and the tediousness of a war which would not end. Pyrrhus had lost Cineas. Urged on by new counsellors to violent measures, he severely punished some acts of perfidy, and alienated by his haughtiness the Sicilians, to whom he wished to give as their king his son Alexander. Besides, he had remaining very few of his veteran Epirotes, as the bravest had perished at Heraclea, Asculum, and in the battles against the Carthaginians. With an army of Greek and barbarian mercenaries he did not feel able for the hate of the Sicilians. The entreaties of the Italians, hard pressed by Rome, decided him; and for the second time he left his enterprise uncompleted (278-276).

Every year, since his departure, had been marked by the successes of the Romans. In 278 Fabricius had beaten the Lucanians, Bruttians, Tarentines, Salentines, and compelled Heraclea to enter into alliance with Rome. In 277 Rufinus and Bubulcus had completed the devastation of Samnium, and forced the remainder of the population to seek, like wild beasts, a refuge in the forests, and on the highest mountains. Then Rufinus had gone to capture Croton and Locri. The following year there



Coin of Beneventum.<sup>1</sup>

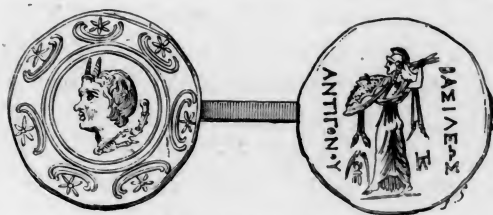
was a fresh victory over all those nations who then recalled Pyrrhus. At the crossing of the Straits the Carthaginians beat his fleet, and captured his military chest; then he encountered the Mamertines, who had reached Italy before him, and through whom he was compelled to force a passage. One of them, of gigantic stature, was eager in his pursuit, when Pyrrhus turned about and with an axe cleft him from the head to the saddle. At Locri, which he re-entered, he pillaged Proserpine's temple to pay his mercenaries. But this sacrilege, he himself said, drew down on his arms the anger of the goddess,<sup>2</sup> and caused his fortune to fail at Beneventum. Curius

<sup>1</sup> Coin of Beneventum, BENVENTOD. Laurel-crowned head of Apollo: on the reverse, ΠΡΟΠΟΜ, a word that Eckhel (vol. i. p. 102) believes to be the name of a magistrate. A horse at large; above, a pentagon. Bronze coin.

<sup>2</sup> Ὡς . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πύρρος ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιμνήμασι γράφει. (Dionys. *Ant. Rom.*, *exc. ex libro*, xx. 10.)



Dentatus was then in command of the Roman army. The legion-



Coin of Antigonus Gonatas.<sup>2</sup>

aries had become accustomed to the *Lucanian oxen*,<sup>1</sup> as they named the elephants; they knew how to keep them off by a shower of darts, or by burning brands: their victory

was complete. Even the royal camp fell into their hands (275).



Ptolemy Philadelphus.<sup>3</sup>

Pyrrhus was unable longer to keep in Italy; he left a garrison at Tarentum, and crossed into Epirus (274) with an army reduced to eight thousand men, and without money to pay it. He led it to fresh enterprises, tried to reconquer Macedonia from Antigonus Gonatas, was proclaimed king there for the second time, then met an ignoble death at the attack on Argos, from the hand of an old woman (272).

The following inscription has been recently found at Dodona:<sup>4</sup> "King Pyrrhus and the Epirotes have dedicated to Jupiter Naïos



Demetrius Poliorcetes.<sup>5</sup>

these spoils of the Romans and their allies." Whilst these lying [?] trophies were hung up in the most venerable of the sanctuaries of Greece, Curius was triumphing at Rome on a car drawn by four elephants, and an ambassador from

the King of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus, came to congratulate the senate, and to ask its friendship. The alliance of the two States became a rule of national policy, at Rome as at Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> [A formation like Turkey-cock, or Nil-pferd.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Antigonus Gonatas.<sup>1</sup> Bust of Pan, with the *pedum* (see p. 142) on a Macedonian shield; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ. Minerva walking, beside her, a helmet and monogram. Tetradrachm in silver of Antigonus Gonatas.

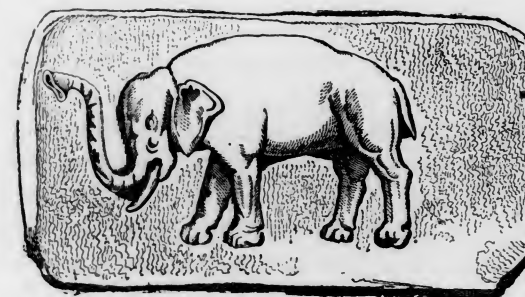
<sup>3</sup> After the quadruple stater of gold of Ptolemy Soter, Berenice, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoë.

<sup>4</sup> By M. Carapanos, the able and learned excavator of Dodona, the results of which he has published in a magnificent work.

<sup>5</sup> On the right, the head of Demetrius Poliorcetes; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ: a horse-soldier (Demetrius?) with a Macedonian helmet and armed with a lance. Gold stater.

Some years before Demetrius Poliorcetes had sent back to the senate some prisoners made on the Italian ships which cruised in Greek waters. Thus, the princes of the East turned their eyes towards this new power, which they saw seizing the dominion of Italy. But in Pyrrhus the Romans had conquered in advance all the successors of Alexander. The Romans had triumphed over the Macedonian phalanx and the elephants, those living engines of war belonging to the Asiatic and African armies.

Hostilities, but of no importance, lasted for some years longer in the South of Italy. A victory of Papirius Cursor and Spurius



Quincussis with the Figure of an Elephant.<sup>1</sup>

Carvilius disarmed the last Samnite bands. This people at length submitted, and gave numerous hostages. It was seventy years ago since the battle of Mount Gaurus had been fought, and in this long war the consuls obtained the triumph twenty-four times.

The same year Papirius received the submission of the Lucanians, and Milo (272) delivered up Tarentum, the walls of which were destroyed, its arms and vessels taken away. The citadel was preserved, into which the senate put a garrison to hold the city, which was condemned to an annual tribute, and to keep away the Carthaginians from the best part of South Italy. Pyrrhus had, in fact, hardly left before distrust grew up between the two republics. During the siege of Tarentum by the Romans

<sup>1</sup> This money, worth five-twelfths of a libra, was coined in memory of the victory gained over Pyrrhus.

a Carthaginian fleet appeared outside the port,<sup>1</sup> offering assistance. Papirius had done all he could to keep off this formidable aid, and the city owed to these fears the fact of its being less harshly treated. Before eight years were gone by, this mistrust changed into a terrible war.

The struggle for the rule of Italy was ended. Measures rather of policy than of war will account for some agitations, which are the last paroxysms of this great body of Italian people. The senate knows that there are no enemies to be despised, and that great conflagrations are often produced from mere sparks. Placed in the centre of Italy, it could hear the least sound and watch every movement. Nothing escaped this surveillance which never slept in times of success, and as soon as danger showed itself, strong forces were at once sent to the threatened point.

Thus, in the year that followed the capture of Tarentum, the consul, Genucius, went to demand reckoning for their misdeeds of the revolted legionaries of Rhegium. Three hundred of them being sent to Rome were scourged and beheaded. The rest had almost all perished in the attack.<sup>2</sup>

In 269 a Samnite hostage, Lollius, escaped from Rome, collected a few adventurers, and tried to raise the Caraceni in the high valley of the Sagrus. The two consuls at once sent against him quickly stifled this re-opening war.

The year after, it is the Picentes, who are struggling with two other consular armies, and who are compelled to submit at the merey of the senate; then the Sarsinates and the whole Umbrian nation which receives the final stroke; and lastly, in the South of Italy the Salentines and Messapians, who suffer the attack of the legions less on account of their alliance with Pyrrhus than because they possess the port of Brundisium, the best passage from Italy to Greece. Already the senate turned its eyes in this direction. Some disturbances were arising also in certain villages

<sup>1</sup> There are, as to this fact, great variations between Orosius (iv. 2), Zonaras (viii. 6), the *Epitome* of Livy (xiv.) and Dion Cassius. In Livy (xxi. 10), Hanno gives as the cause of the first Punic war an attack on Tarentum projected by the Carthaginians. But it is Livy who makes him say it.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. i. 7; Val. Max. II. vii. 15.

of Etruria, where two classes, the dominant and the subject, were always face to face; the latter cultivating the earth, working marble and iron for the former who lived in abundance, whilst the plebs, subjected to a sort of slavery, continued in wretchedness.

At Rome the poor had reached, by a slow but continuous progress, comfort, political equality and agreement with the patricians; in Etruria they wished to attain this change by violence and crime. This difference explains the opposite destinies of the two peoples.

Volsinii, built on a hill, over a beautiful lake, was the most important of the Etruscan cities,<sup>1</sup> but also one of the most effeminate, and its loose morals were combined with the most violent passions. A popular revolution deprived the nobles of their liberties, their property, even the honour of their families, for their daughters were compelled to marry the clients and slaves of the city. The nobility called in the Romans, who took the city by famine and destroyed it (360), after having carried away, Pliny assures us, two thousand statues. Much blood was shed. Rome made little distinction between the slaves revolted against their masters, the clients armed against their patrons, and the nobles, traitors to their native land. The remnants of the population were forbidden to inhabit the site of the old Etruscan metropolis. Even the ruins of this powerful city have disappeared.

This expedition was the last clash of arms heard in Italy till the explosion of the Punic wars (265). But these are impending. The military habits acquired by the Romans during these seventy years of fighting, this pillage of Italy which had enriched the city,<sup>2</sup> the nobility, and people—these victories, which had raised the ambition, the patriotism, and pride of the nation, were to commit Rome to eternal war. The genius of conquest henceforward inspired the senate house.

<sup>1</sup> *Caput Etruriæ* (Livy, x. 37). The temple of Voltumna, where the lucumons assembled yearly, was situated on its territory. The *tempio di Norzia*, to be seen at Bolsena near the Florence gate, is Roman work. The Etruscan city was on the height at the place called *il Piazzano*, above the amphitheatre of Bolsena (Dennis, *Etruria*, i. 508); the Roman city was built at the foot of the hill. It was a custom of the Romans to compel the vanquished to abandon cities built on heights and descend into the plain.

<sup>2</sup> If one can believe Valerius Max. (IX. *Ert.*, i. 2) these villains went much further.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### ORGANISATION OF ITALY BY THE ROMANS.

#### I.—THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY AND THE THIRTY-FIVE TRIBES.

WHILE Rome was bringing Italy into subjection, the Greeks were overturning the Persian monarchy. To the latter a few years in one human life had sufficed to conquer from the Adriatic to the Indus. Rome required a century to stretch from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. If she advanced only step by step, she knew at least how to keep what she took; while Greece, at the end of a few generations, had lost all, even her liberty.

In that immovable East, where governments pass away like the water of the streams which are lost in the desert, but where manners last like unchangeable Nature, the revolution which transferred the empire from the Persians to the Macedonians had no lasting results, and that old world was agitated only on the surface. The Greeks found themselves neither numerous nor strong enough to organise after having conquered, to establish after having destroyed. Left, after Alexander, without guidance; lost, so to speak, in the midst of Asiatic populations, they exercised on the latter only a feeble influence, and by their imprudent divisions they encouraged revolts. What the conqueror might have perhaps known how to do—to bind together all these nations, whose bonds the Persian monarchy had broken in its fall, not one of his successors attempted.<sup>1</sup> In that, as in other

<sup>1</sup> [I need hardly say that the text gives rather a rhetorical than a historical view of the Diadochi. They each strove to recover for themselves the whole dominion of Alexander, at least Perdiccas did, and Antigonus, Demetrius, and Seleucus. But they were too evenly matched, and wore one another out in mutual conflicts. Ptolemy alone of the leading men confined himself to Egypt and the surrounding coast, and so Hellenized Egypt very completely. But,

things, Greece was convicted of impotence to organise anything great, beyond those petty States which its political and philosophical systems found even too large. In political order there resulted, then, from this conquest nothing but immense confusion; and if in moral order it established between these men, belonging to two worlds hitherto separated, a happy exchange of ideas—if, from a comparison of their philosophical and religious systems, there sprang a rich intellectual development, the West alone profited by it, because in the west Rome knew how to establish the order and unity of power.

The Roman republic grew slowly. Its territory expanded only in proportion to its population, and before making a province of a country, Rome prepared supports long beforehand; she formed there in advance a Roman population—Roman by its interests or its origin. Into the midst of twenty independent peoples she launches a colony—virtually a sentinel, which is always watching under arms. Of one city she makes an ally; to another she accords the privilege of living under Quiritary law; to one with the right of voting; to another with permission to keep its own government. Municipia of various grades, maritime colonies, Latin colonies, Roman colonies, prefectures, allied cities, free cities—all isolated by the difference of their condition, all united by their equal dependence on the senate, they form a vast net-work which enfolds the Italian peoples, until the day when, without further struggles, they awake subjects of Rome. Let us examine leisurely this policy which made of a small city the grandest empire in the [ancient] world.<sup>1</sup>

Ancient patriotism had something material and narrow in it. The country which could be seen and touched, the extent of which could be embraced with the eye, from Cape Sunium, Mount Taygetus, or the Capitol, was the veritable fatherland, the altar and the hearth for which one should die: *pro aris et focis*. But the invisible bonds of common language, of ideas, sentiments, common

indeed, so did the Seleucidae Hellenize Syria, and even as far as the Punjab Greek influences were deep and lasting.—*Ed.*

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus says so (*Ann.*, xi. 24): *Quid aliud exitio Lacedæmonis et Atheniensibus fuit, quamquam armis pollerent, nisi quod victos pro alienigenis arcebant? At conditor nostri Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes, dein cives habuerit* (Speech of Claudius).



manners, and interests, this patriotism born of Christian brotherhood and modern civilization, was unknown in antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Each was of his own tribe, his canton, or his city. Like Sparta, Athens, and Carthage, like all the conquering republics of antiquity, Rome did not desire its sovereignty to pass beyond its Forum and its senate house. These cities were not capitals, but the entire State. There were citizens<sup>2</sup> only inside these walls or on the narrow territory which lay around them; beyond were only conquered lands or subjects. Moreover, Sparta, Athens, and Carthage, which never gave up this municipal pride, were never more than cities, and perished.<sup>3</sup> Rome, which often forgot it, became a great people, and lived twelve centuries.

The political wisdom of the Romans never rose, however, to the idea of creating an Italian nation. To deprive the vanquished of the right of foreign policy because it was Rome's interest to suppress local wars in Italy, as later on she put them down in the world; to place them in varied conditions of dependence so that an unequal pressure might prevent a dangerous concert—in short, to make use of them to promote Roman security and grandeur by requiring their assistance against every foreign enemy, this was the design of the senate when the legions had conquered Italy. To comprehend and control this situation the senate had merely to review its own history. Two very ancient ideas inspired its conduct: as regards political rights, it placed the Italians, in regard to the Roman people, into the condition in which the plebeians remained so long in their relation to the patricians; they made them a subordinate people:

<sup>1</sup> [This ignores the Pan-Hellenic sentiment so prominent in the policy of Pericles, the letters of Isocrates, the speeches of Demosthenes, and elsewhere.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> The maximum of the number of citizens was at Athens 20,000. (Thucyd., ii. 13; Demosth., *adv. Aristog.*, i.; Cf. Beekh, i. 7.) "The limitation of the number of citizens was the basis of the government of Greece." (Letronne, *Acad. des Inscr.*, vi. 186.)

<sup>3</sup> According to the public law of Greece the conquered were either massacred, as the Plateans and Melians, or driven away, as the Potidæans, the Scyreans, the Carians of Lemnos, etc. (Thucyd., ii. 27; Diod. Sic., xii. 44; Corn. Nep., *Cim.*, 2, and *Milt.*, 2); or enslaved, as the Dolopes, the Pelasgians of Lemnos and Imbros (Thucyd., i. 98; Diod., xi. 60) and the ancient inhabitants of Crete under the Dorians (Athen., vi.); or made slaves of the soil, as the Helots, the Penestæ, the Maryandinians among the Heracleotes of Pontus, the Gymnesii at Argos. (Müller, *Dor.*, ii. p. 55.) Others, more fortunate, were subjected only to tribute and some humiliating conditions, as the Messenians, the Lesbians, etc. (Paus., *Messen.*, Thucyd., iii. 50.) All this was far from the state of things in the Roman policy.

as regards the common defence, they imposed on them the part which the Latins and Hernicans had filled after the treaty of Spurius Cassius; it used them as guardians of its fortunes and instruments of its power.

The origin of Rome, in fact, its history and policy, which under the kings, had opened the city to the conquered, under the consuls, the senate to the plebeians, had taught the senate that force alone establishes nothing durable, and that the vanquished cannot be trampled under foot for ever. Implacable on the field of battle, Rome showed no pity either for the hostile chiefs who fell into her hands or for the city handed over to her will. She massacred in cold blood, and made wars of extermination, at the end of which whole peoples had disappeared. In other cases she takes a part of their territory; that is ancient war in all its severity. But after the victory there is no tyrannical oppression; she leaves to her subjects their laws, their magistrates, their religion, in fact all their municipal life; no tribute—that lasting and painful mark of defeat and servitude; no fiscal extortions or arbitrary levies of soldiers; in case of a common danger they furnish subsidies of men and money according to rules established for the Romans themselves. If they have lost their independence they have become members of a powerful State, which reflects on them the glory of its name, and when the wounds made by war are healed, they are certainly more happy than before their defeat, since they enjoy peace and security in place of frequent struggles and perpetual alarms.<sup>1</sup>

The sovereign people of the Quirites is always that of the Forum, and it can exercise its rights only in the sacred enclosure of the *pomærium*;<sup>2</sup> but into this enclosure the vanquished are by degrees admitted, according as they become gradually

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. (i. 89) says of Rome: *κοινοτάτην τε πόλιν καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην*; Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 16, and Sall., *Cat.*, 6; Flor., i. 1; Livy, *passim*; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 24; and Cicero in a beautiful passage (*de Legibus*, ii. 2) and in *pro Balbo* (13): *Romulus docuit etiam hostibus recipiendis augeri hanc civitatem oportere. Cujus auctoritate. nunquam est intermissa largitio et communicatio civitatis*. [All these panegyrics on the Roman peace ignore the fact that Italy as a whole did not prosper under this rule. It became depopulated more and more, and provincial life became gradually sadder and duller. The loss of political liberty, with the impetus it gives to intellect and to material enterprise, is never counterbalanced by the so-called blessings of an ignoble and compulsory peace.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Roma sola urbs, cetera oppida*. (Isid., viii. 6.)

penetrated with the Roman spirit. The bravest and nearest entered it first. It was, without doubt, for the Romans a partition of the profits of victory; so also was it, by doubling their number, an assurance of new victories and durable conquests. Between 384 and 264 twelve tribes were created, and the *ager Romanus* spread from the Ciminian forest to the middle of Campania. On this territory the censors reckoned 292,334 fighting men,<sup>1</sup> i.e. a population of 1,200,000 souls close around Rome, which was certainly strong



Chest of Præneste.<sup>2</sup>

enough to keep the rest of Italy in awe.<sup>3</sup> Two centuries before the military population did not exceed 124,214 men.<sup>4</sup> In spite of the losses from the Gallic and Samnite wars, the force of Rome in citizens, and consequently in soldiers, increased in the proportion

<sup>1</sup> Census made at the commencement of the first Punic war (*Epit. Livy, xvi.*). Cf. *Eutrop., ii. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> This chest, taken from the *Atlas of the Bull. Arch.*, vol. viii. pl. 8, has unfortunately been cut, no doubt to lessen its height. The part which remains represents Aeneas killing Turnus, Camilla on her chariot, etc. It is the old legend of the Trojan origin of Rome, treated by a Greek artist. We shall see later at what period the legend became established in Latium.

<sup>3</sup> I follow, for the evaluation of the whole population, the rule adopted by Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici*. Ihne (*Röm. Gesch.*, i. 465) stretches these figures, and reaches a population of a million and a half, for which he gives half a million of slaves. I think both these numbers exaggerated, especially the latter.

<sup>4</sup> Census of 463 (*Livy, iii. 3*). The number in 333 was still only 169,000, before the great annexations which the success of the war, then commencing, admitted.

of 1 to 3. The old Roman stock counts for scarcely half of this number. But its 21 tribes<sup>1</sup> gave 21 votes, and the new citizens, perhaps more numerous, counted as 12 only; the districts of south Etruria, Roman since 387 B.C., had 4 votes; the Latins, Volscians, Ausones, and the Æquians, 2 each; the Sabines in 241 formed no more than 2 tribes.<sup>2</sup> Let us add that, the distance from Rome of the new citizens did not permit them, without costly journeys, to attend the comitia to vote in the centuries. Thus, while doubling her military strength, while declaring the peoples established around her as far as 50, 60, or 100 miles from her walls members of the sovereign State, Rome prudently reserved to her ancient citizens their legitimate influence. She satisfies the vanity of her subjects without altering the fundamental nature of her constitution; she remains a city, and is already almost a people; she has the strength of numbers and that of unity.

This union, however, was never so complete but that there remained at the very gates of Rome some independent towns. In every direction the territory of the 35 tribes, *ager Romanus*, was intersected by foreign territories, *ager peregrinus*. At Tibur, at Præneste, the Roman exiles found an inviolable asylum, for the law which interdicted them fire and water was unable to touch them beyond the lands of the republic.<sup>3</sup> While making their own Forum the only theatre of political discussions, the only place from the Umbro to the Volturnus where lofty ambition and great talents could find scope, the senate wished to leave some encouragement to this old love of the Italians for municipal independence. Many a town of Latium, *nomen Latinum*,<sup>4</sup> still continued a foreign

<sup>1</sup> Four Urban: the *Esquiline, Colline, Suburan* and *Palatine*, 17 rural; *Æmilia, Camilia, Claudia, Cornelia, Crustumina, Fabia, Valeria, Horatia, Lemonia, Menenia, Papiria, Pollia, Pupinia, Romilia, Sergia, Veturia*, and *Voltinia*. The four urban tribes have geographical names; the seventeen rural tribes, one only excepted, *Crustumina*, bear the names of patrician gentes.

<sup>2</sup> Etruscan: *Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, Aruiensis*, in 387 (*Livy, vi. 5*);—Volscian: *Pompina* and *Publilia*, in 358 (*Livy, vii. 15*);—Latins: *Mæcia* and *Scaptia*, in 332 (*Livy, viii. 17*);—Ausones, *Oufentina* and *Falerina*, in 318 (*Livy, ix. 20*);—Æqui, *Aniensis* and *Terentina*, in 299 (*Livy, x. 9*);—Sabines, *Velina* and *Quirina*, in 241 (*Livy, Epit., xix.*).

<sup>3</sup> The same at Naples.

<sup>4</sup> The *nomen Latinum* now includes what remained of the ancient Latin peoples not yet attached to the Roman city, and those who had received the *jus Latii*, as colonies of the Latin name; but among these people "of the Latin name" there were also differences: some kept some of the privileges from the ancient alliance concluded by Sp. Cassius; others, who perhaps

city, and yet attached by divers bonds to the great association of peoples and cities which formed the Roman republic. Less hardly treated in general than the other peoples of Italy, surrounded by Roman citizens, possessing the same material interests, the same language, the same manners, often the same civil laws, with the right of trade, *jus commercii*, and many facilities for obtaining the freedom of the city, the Latins had no other feelings than those of Roman citizens. The election of their magistrates and senators (*decuriones*), the liberty left them of making laws of local interest, of administering their revenues, of coining,<sup>1</sup> of watching over the worship and police of their city,<sup>2</sup> occupied men's life in these little cities. Their political speaking, less far-reaching than the Roman debates, was not less impassioned. Before seeing at Rome the rivalry of Marius and Sylla, Cicero had seen at Arpinum the hereditary struggles of his ancestors and of those of Marius.<sup>3</sup> But the senate took good care not to forget these consuls, these municipal censors in their own municipality. It had appointed that the exercise of a municipal office should give the freedom of the Roman city,<sup>4</sup> in this way attaching to the fortune and interests of Rome whatever men of wealth, nobility, or ambition were in the Latin towns. To disarm the plebeians it had taken their chiefs into its bosom; to disarm the Latins it summoned their nobility to Rome.

This freedom of the city, which the senate knew so well how

were at first the inhabitants of the twelve Latin colonies founded since 268, had not the right of coinage, excepting copper, and retained the *jus commercii* with restrictions. Hence one distinction between the *Latium majus* and the *Latium minus*, which spread greatly under the empire. This *Latium minus* opened the Roman city to those of the Latins who had borne one of the great municipal offices or convicted a Roman magistrate of peculation.

<sup>1</sup> It seems that from 268 the Latins ceased the coinage of silver money, and that the issuing of their bronze coin stopped after the second Punic war. (Mommsen, *Hist. of Roman Money*, vol. iii. pp. 188-195.)

<sup>2</sup> Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13: *legibus suis et suo jure utentes*. See *ibid.*, iv. 4, the proof of the existence among the Latins of a civil law distinct from that of Rome for marriages, and in Livy (xxxv. 7) for debts. The Julian law destroyed this special law.

<sup>3</sup> *De Leg.*, iii. 16. Arpinum, on a hill which overhangs the Liris near its confluence with the Fibrenus, was surrounded by Cyclopean walls, with a remarkable gate (see this gate, p. xli. No. 7) Cicero built for himself quite near a villa on one of the isles of the Fibrenus. See the charming description which he gives of it in *de Legibus*, ii. 1. It is in this passage that the beautiful words are found, cited on p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Strab., iv. p. 187: App., *Bell. Civ.*, ii. 26: 'ὅν ὅσοι κατ' ἑτοῦς ἤρχον ἐγίγνωτο Ῥωμαίων πολιταί; Gaius, i. 96: *Illi qui vel magistratum vel honorem gerunt ad civitatem Romanam perveniunt*.

to use for stimulating zeal, recompensing services, or softening the regret of lost liberty,<sup>1</sup> implied for him who had obtained it absolute authority over his children, wife, slaves, and property, the guarantee of personal liberty, of religion, of the right of appeal, and that of voting up to 60 years of age;<sup>2</sup> fitness for office, inscription on the censor's lists, and the obligation of military service in the legions; that of permission to buy and sell according to the law of the Quirites;<sup>3</sup> exemption from every impost except that which citizens paid;<sup>4</sup> lastly, the useful right of participating in the enjoyment of the domain lands, or in the adjudication of public rent charges—in a word, the benefit of the civil, political, and religious laws of the Romans. Among these laws, some affect the family and property—these are included under the name of *jus Quiritium*; others affected the State—this is the *jus civitatis*; all together, they formed the freedom of the city in its fullness, *jus civitatis optimo jure*.

## II.—MUNICIPIA, PREFECTURES, AND FEDERAL TOWNS.

The senate conferred on the Italians outside the 35 tribes either the civil rights of the Cærites<sup>5</sup> after the Gallic invasion, or political rights in their full extent. Sometimes the senate granted only the right of trade (*commercium*), or of marriage (*connubium*), and in this case children followed the condition of the father.<sup>6</sup> Far from dishonouring the freedom of the city by an imprudent liberality, the senate parcelled it out in order to vary the concessions,

<sup>1</sup> However, some Italians refused this so envied honour. (Livy, ix. 45; xxiii. 20.)

<sup>2</sup> Macrobi., *Satura.*, i. 5: Pliny, *Ep.*, iv. 23; Festus, s. v. *Sevagenarios*.

<sup>3</sup> *Patria potestas, jus connubii, legitimi dominii, testamenti, hereditatis, libertatis, provocationis, sacerorum, suffragii, honorum vel magistratuum, census, commercii, militiae*.

<sup>4</sup> That is to say, a moderated impost, some rights of customs, and excise of one-twentieth on the sale and setting free of slaves.

<sup>5</sup> As they neither could vote nor hold any office, the censors, in order to punish a citizen, inscribed him in *tabulas Cæritarum*. But this list of Cærites had at first been a title of honour, when the inhabitants of Cære were associated to the Roman State, *ea conditione ut semper rem publicam separatam a populo Romano haberent*. (Festus, s. v. *Municeps*.)

<sup>6</sup> Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 77. When marriage had taken place between persons not having the *jus connubii*, the condition of the children was fixed by that of the mother; in the case of a marriage of a foreigner with a Roman, *natum deterioris parentis conditionem sequi jubet lex Mensia*. (Ulpi., *Lib. reg.*, v. 8; Cf. Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 78, 81, 86.)



which enabled it to repay zeal or punish lukewarmness by making everywhere inequality.

These concessions were made sometimes to a man, or a family, or an entire class; more often to a whole city. *Municipia* was the



Coin of a *Municipium*.<sup>2</sup>

name given to the cities thus annexed to the great Roman society. They were of three kinds<sup>1</sup>:—

1. *Municipia optimo jure*, whose inhabitants had all the rights and obligations of Roman citizens. Their internal government was copied from that of Rome, but they ceased to be an independent State, *civitas*, since they formed part of the republic, and had not the right of coining money, which the federated cities and Latin colonies possessed.

2. *Municipia* without the right of suffrage, whose inhabitants were in the same condition as the ancient plebeians of Rome, bore the title of citizens, served in the legions, but could not hold office or vote.<sup>3</sup>

3. Towns having a treaty of alliance with Rome who bound them to her fortune without altering their laws and institutions.

Below the *municipia* came, in this social hierarchy, the *præfecturæ*, which had no local magistrates at all; a prefect, sent yearly from Rome, administered justice and did all the public business; then cities sunk to the state of simple country towns, *vici*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fest., s. v. *Municipium*. When the people, on receiving the freedom of the city, adopted the Roman laws, *beneficio populi Romani*, it was called *fundus*, and its citizens adjusted their actions at law to the Roman law, sometimes before a *præfectus jure dicundo*, who was called the *prætor urbanus*. So it was at Arpinum, whose inhabitants had the right of voting at Rome, and in several other cities. Let us note, too, in passing that the prefects, whatever their functions, and these were very variable, were always nominated and not elected.

<sup>2</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Augustus, with the legend, AVGVSTVS P. P. IMP. (Augustus, Pater patriæ, Emperor). On the reverse, MVN. (municipium) in a crown of laurel, and the name of the municipium, TVRIASO. Medium sized bronze coin, of coarse workmanship, struck in a Spanish city.

<sup>3</sup> Fest., s. v. *Municipes* . . . *cives erant et in legione merebant, sed dignitates non capiebant*. The Campanians were in this class; it is for this reason that Polybius counts them with the Romans. Cf., Livy, viii, 14. Fest., s. v. *Præfectus*.

<sup>4</sup> . . . *in quibus et jus dicebatur et nundinæ agebantur . . . neque tamen magistratus suos habebat*. (Fest., *ibid.*)

The prefectures of this sort were cities punished for their too great power or their revolts, as Capua during the second Punic war, or cities troubled by intestine dissensions and which asked of Rome a body of laws and a prefect.<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Ages every Italian republic had also



Coin of Naples.<sup>2</sup>

a foreign Podesta. Yet among the prefecturæ the same diversity existed as among the municipia, and doubtless for the same reasons.

The *dedititii* were still more severely treated: handed over by victory to the discretion of Rome, they had been obliged to give up arms and hostages, to beat down their walls or receive garrisons, to pay tribute and furnish a contingent determined by the senate. According to the formula of *déditio* preserved by Livy, they and their property, even their gods, became the property of the conqueror.<sup>4</sup> The *dedititii* were the subjects of Rome.



Coin of Nola.<sup>3</sup>

Others bore none of these names. They had with Rome treaties of public friendship or hospitality which made their citizens, when they came to the Forum, the guests of the Roman people, and permitted them to attend, in a place of honour, at religious feasts. Or again a convention, the terms of which they had struggled for, declared them the free allies of the Roman people, *civitates fœderatæ*: an illusion which served



Coin of Tarentum.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eodem anno (316) primum præfecti Capuam creari cepti legibus ab L. Furio prætore datis, cum utrumque ipsi pro remedio ægris rebus discordia intestina petissent*. (Livy, ix, 20).

<sup>2</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. The reverse, a lyre and the vase called *cortina* which received the first oil come from the press, or water carried to horses and circus-riders. A small bronze of the Neapolitans, ΝΕΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ.

<sup>3</sup> Head of a woman. The reverse, ΝΩΛΑΙΩΝ, money of the Nolans—a bull with human face crowned by a winged victory. Silver didrachma.

<sup>4</sup> For the formula of *déditio* see page 32.

<sup>5</sup> Head of a woman between three dolphins and the legend TAPA. The reverse, a young man on horseback crowned by a victory. Gold *stater* of Tarentum, the Greek name of which is TAPAΣ.

the designs of the senate without taking aught from its power. Tarentum was free like the Hernican cities;<sup>1</sup> but its demolished walls, its citadel occupied by a Roman legion told plainly what sort of liberty it was. Naples was the ally of Rome as also Velia, Nola, Nuceria, the Marsi and Peligni, and a number of other peoples, that they were obliged in all wars to give vessels and pay for the troops.<sup>2</sup> The Camertines and Heracleotes had treated on an equal footing, *æquo fœdere*;<sup>3</sup> Tibur, Præneste, had



Coin of Nuceria.<sup>4</sup>

preserved all the external signs of independence, like the greater part of the Etruscan and Greek cities, and seemed like foreign States. But these allies of Rome had promised to respect "the Roman majesty"—which interdicted them from every enterprise against the fortunes of the Roman people.<sup>5</sup> The term moreover was vague enough to let the senate extract from it all the obligations which suited them, and as in every city, Rome had created friends by sustaining the party of the nobles against the popular party, from which some stupid heroism<sup>6</sup> was always apprehended, what could this equality be between some obscure cities and the mistress of Italy? What was this independence due simply to the disdainful or politic moderation of the conqueror?

Such then was the policy pursued by the senate in its treatment of the vanished: the respect of local liberties in all the cities where particular circumstances had not demanded severity, but no general treatment which would have united what the senate wished to keep separate: on the contrary, formal interdiction of every league, of all commerce, even of marriage,

<sup>1</sup> They had autonomy. (Livy, ix, 43).

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxviii, 45. Rhegium, Velia, Præstum rendered ships also (xxvi, 39). Likewise Tarentum (xxxv, 16), Locri (xxxvi, 42), Uria (xlii, 48), *et aliæ civitates ejusdem juris*. Cicero says, speaking of these duties imposed on the allied cities:—*Inerat nescio quo modo, in illo fœdere societatis, quasi quedam nota servitutis* (II in Verr., v. 20).

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *pro Arch.*, 4; *pro Balbo*, 20, 22; Livy, xxvii, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Head of a young woman with a ram's horn; Oscan legend; behind the head a dolphin, and on the reverse a Dioscurus standing, holding his horse by the bridle and a sceptre. Silver money of Nuceria.

<sup>5</sup> *ut populi Romani majestatem comiter conservaret* (Dig., xlix, 15, 7 § 1).

<sup>6</sup> At Capua, during the second Punic war, the nobles remained faithful to the Romans; the people were for Hannibal.

between the Italians of cities or different cantons;<sup>1</sup> and for every people who submitted, special conditions; for every city a special treaty!<sup>2</sup> To judge from appearances, one might take Italy for a confederation of free States, one of which in the centre surpassed the others only in power and renown. The fate of the Latin league has taught us already what must be that of the Italian confederation.

The prohibition which broke every bond between the cities was political and is easily comprehended; that which authorized the exercise to the Italian of the *jus commercii* only within the limits of his own territory was economic and had grave results which do not appear at first sight. The Romans, being alone able to buy and sell throughout the peninsula, and meeting with a very limited competition from the inhabitants of the place where the transaction commenced, possessed a privilege which permitted them by degrees to unite in their own hands a great part of the Italian landed property. This limitation certainly contributed much to the formation of the *latifundia*, which, in the centuries following, established, for the profit of the Romans, immense domains cultivated by armies of slaves.

There were however conditions common to the whole of Italy. Thus prudence counselled not to subject the Italians to a land tax, and this exemption became one of the marks of the Italian law under the Empire. But citizens *pleno jure*, citizens *sine suffragio*, allies or *socii*, federals, all were subjected to military service, which warlike peoples then scarcely regarded as a burden, and so contingents had to be raised, armed, paid, perhaps even supported at the expense of the cities<sup>3</sup>—a just law, since Rome at first demanded them only for the common defence.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy, viii, 14; ix, 45; xlv, 29.

<sup>2</sup> For towns bearing the same title some differences existed. Thus Messina and Tauro-menium became during the first Punic war *fœderatæ*, but the former furnished a ship, and the other was not expected to do so. (Cic., II, in Verr., v. 19.)

<sup>3</sup> For the incorporation of the Italians into the Roman army, see Polyb., vi. *Frag.* 5. He says that Rome gave gratuitously corn and barley to the Italian auxiliaries (*ibid.*, p. 8), while she retained the cost of it out of the pay of the Roman citizens. We infer from this passage that she did not undertake the pay of the auxiliaries, although she divided the booty with them. But their chiefs, *præfecti sociorum*, were Roman citizens. (Livy, xxiii, 7.)







the first, they were few in number; in the cities of Latium and the Sabine territory there were three hundred families; later on, when there was need to occupy important military frontiers, actual armies went forth: six thousand men went to Beneventum, to cover Campania; still more to Venusia, to threaten Magna Grecia, to defend Apulia, to check the Lucanians and the Samnites of the South. It is thought that the colonists, once established at the charge of the ancient inhabitants, and con-



Coin of the decurions.

sequently surrounded by enemies, were not allowed to desert their post and go to vote at Rome, and that like all the soldiers with the colours, the law deprived them of the right of deliberating. We have no express evidence that they did not preserve the plenitude of their privileges as Roman citizens. But though they preserved them, they had something else to do than increase the din and crowd of the Forum. The republic required them to render its conquests durable; to watch over the vanquished and prevent revolts, to carry throughout Italy the language, manners, laws and blood of Rome and Latium.<sup>2</sup> This they secured so well that, within a few years, there was born in the depths of Apulia the man whom the Romans will style the father of their literature, *Ennius noster*, the poet who sang in 81 books the great deeds of their ancestors.

Three magistrates were generally charged with conducting them, and during the first year supervising their wants: *triumviri deducendis coloniis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent* (Livy, xxxii. 29). The colonies called maritime (not all the colonies on the sea were so, but only those which guarded an important port at the mouth of a river) were exempt from land service and sometimes that by sea: *sacro-sancta vacatio* (Livy, xxvii. 38; xxxvi. 3). They were required above all to defend the position which had been entrusted to them, and this interest appeared so considerable that the maritime colonies were composed of Roman citizens.

<sup>1</sup> Coin struck by decree of the decurions DD (*decreto decurionum*) at Apamea in Bithynia under Caracalla. Large bronze.

<sup>2</sup> Asconius (*in Pison.*) reckoned before the second Punic war 53 colonies, twenty-three of which had the *jus Latii*. Madvig and Mommsen have enumerated the names of thirty-one or thirty-two Roman colonies and of thirty-nine Latin colonies. In the latter not only Latins and Italians were admitted, but also plebeians from Rome, who preferred a property in a colony to the exercise of political rights in the Forum.

Following a custom derived from older Italy, the colonists, where the conquered had been spared, took usually a third of the territory; the natives shared the rest, and had in their own city only an inferior position, like that of the plebeians of Rome when the latter were still without the *jus suffragii* and the *jus honorum*. Thus revolts were frequent, and many a time were the colonists driven away or surprised and massacred by their subjects. But time and community of interests effaced, as at Rome, these differences. The colonial *populus* and *plebs* ended by being fused in the equality of municipal rights, to which was often added equality of rights with Rome, in virtue of a plebiscite which enrolled the city in one of the thirty-five tribes. Then there remained no other division than the natural one between the rich and poor, the *assidui* and the *cerarii*, the *honestiores* and the *humiliores*, which formed the great social division in the last days of the republic and under the empire.

With the Gracchi a new sort of colonies began—that of poor people to whom lands were given; another again with Marius and Sylla—that of soldiers who obtained lands as a military prize, two very different proceedings, which we shall discuss in due time.

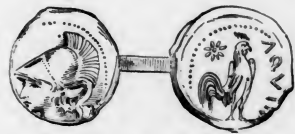
To complete this sketch of the ancient colonies let us see what posts the senate gave them to guard.

Till the Samnite war, Rome, more engaged in gaining peace within than conquests without, had formed a small number only of these establishments alike political and military. In Etruria, Sutrium and Nepete at the passes of the Ciminian forest; among the Rutuli, Ardea and Satricum; among the Volsci, Antium to watch the coast; Velitræ, Norba and Setia, to keep in check the mountain district.

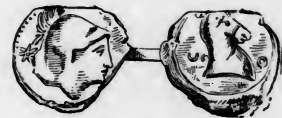
In the war with Samnium the legions had conquered in vain; the war would never have ended, had not the senate, by its colonies, gradually made the enemy retreat to the Apennines. By Terracina, on the Appian way, it closed the route from Campania into Latium; by Fregellæ it barred the valley of the Trerus which led to Præneste and the Alban Mount, by Sora, Interamna, Minturnæ, all on the Liris, it covered the country of the Volsci and of the Hernicans.

A second line defended the first—Atina, Aquinum, Casinum,

in the mountainous country which separates the Volturnus from the Liris, closed the passes which the Samnites had many a time followed to descend into the valley of this latter river, and from there stretch out their hand to the subdued peoples of Latium. Vescia, Suessa Aurunca, Teanum and Cales among the Sidicini, kept the country between the lower Liris and the Volturnus.

Coin of Aquinum.<sup>1</sup>

This double line, which encircled Latium on the south and south-east, was connected on the east by Alba Fuentia among the Marsi, Æsula and Carseoli among the Æqui, with the important position of Narnia, which covered the route from Umbria towards Rome and with the colonies of Etruria, Nepete, Sutrium, Cosa, Alsium, and Fregellæ. Behind this rampart Rome could brave every enemy. Hannibal and Pyrrhus, who once crossed this formidable circle, but without having broken it, did not dare to remain in the midst of it.

Coin of Cosa.<sup>2</sup>

In the rest of Italy the colonies were less numerous: the population of Rome and its Latin allies would not have been sufficient to form so many garrisons: but by their strength and good position they were enabled to command a wide area. Thus Samnium had only two; at Æsernia and Beneventum, from whence started all the high roads of south Italy; Picenum, three; Hadria, Firmum, Castrum; Umbria, four, ranged along the route of the Gauls; Narnia, which barred the middle valley of the Tiber; Spoletum, which covered this place and

Coin of Æsernia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of Minerva. Reverse, AQVIN, a cock and a star; small bronze of Aquinum on the *via Latina*, the ruins of which are to be seen still in the vicinity of the modern town of Aquino. It was the native place of Juvenal [and of the great St. Thomas.—*Ed.*].

<sup>2</sup> Head of Minerva. On the reverse, bust of a horse, CO(sa)NO. Small bronze.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Vulcan: VOLCANOM; behind, pincers. On the reverse, AISERNINO and a young woman driving a biga. Small bronze of Æsernia, in the valley of the Volturnus, now Isernia.

the route to Rome; Sena and Ariminum, outposts against the Cisalpines.<sup>1</sup>

In Campania the Greeks proved faithful; but Capua, always turbulent, was watched by the colonies of Saticula and Cales; in case of need Casilinum, on a rock at the edge of the Volturnus and a short distance from Capua, could receive a garrison; Apulia was guarded by Luceria and Venusia, which put on its coins the eagle of Jupiter holding a thunderbolt;

Coin of Brundisium.<sup>2</sup>Tumuli at Alsium.<sup>3</sup>

Calabria, by Brundisium and Valentia; the coast of Lucania by

<sup>1</sup> To avoid returning later on to this matter of the colonies I in the case of some go beyond the date which we have reached. Thus Spoletum was colonized only in 240. Several others were founded only during the first Punic war.

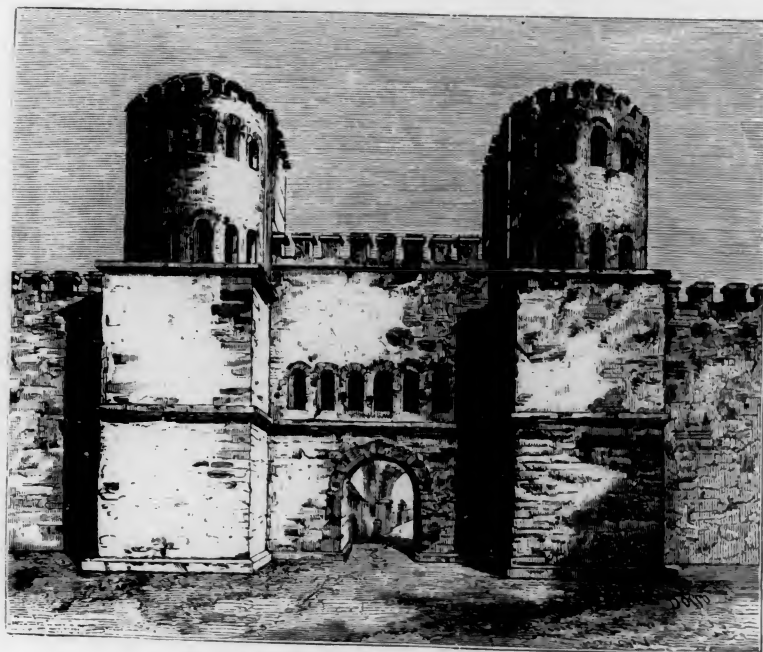
<sup>2</sup> Neptune crowned by a Victory, the trident, and four O's, the mark of the *triens* (see pp. 208-209). On the reverse, BRVN. (Brundisium) and a monogram. Arion on a dolphin and holding in his right hand a Victory. Bronze of Brundisium.

<sup>3</sup> Vergil has described (*Æn.*, xi. 850 *seq.*) this kind of sepulture: "On a mountain arose  
NN 2



Pæstum. More to the south, Tarentum, Locri, Rhegium, on the Straits, and some other places had garrisons.

To bind together all these parts, and to transport the legions rapidly to menaced points, great military roads were laid out from one extremity of the peninsula to the other. In the middle of the Samnite war, in 312, the censor Appius had begun the Appian



The Appian Gate (restored).<sup>1</sup>

way which led across the Pontine marshes from Rome to Capua. This great example was followed, and from that time the censors employed for works of peace the resources of the treasury. They set with such activity to work, that before the second Punic war the Valerian way traversed Tibur, the colonies of Carsoli and Alba, and reached Corfinium, on the other side of the Apennines; the Aurelian way ran along the coasts of Etruria, and the Flaminian

an immense eminence which an oak covered with its thick shade. It was the tomb of Der-cennus, a former king of Laurentum."

<sup>1</sup> Canina, *gli Edificj di Roma*, pl. 270.

way went from the Campus Martius to Ariminum, *i.e.*, to the entrance of Cisalpine Gaul.

By the Appian and Latin ways Rome had therefore prompt and easy communication with Lower Italy; by the Aurelian and Flaminian ways, with Etruria and Umbria; by the Valerian way, with the country in the midst of the Apennines. The colonies settled on these routes were able, in case of danger, to close them.<sup>1</sup>

The genius of a people or an epoch is seen in its architecture. Greece had the Parthenon—supreme elegance and ideal beauty; the Middle Ages, the cathedrals of Rheims and Amiens—the fervent glow of devotion. The architectural glory of the Romans is above all their military roads whose solid network first enlaced Italy, later on, the world. This people did not look upwards; its eyes and hands are fixed on the earth; but no one has held it with a stronger grasp.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the military colonies sent to the strongest places of

<sup>1</sup> It is true that ancient armies, not carrying heavy artillery, could more easily leave the main roads.

<sup>2</sup> The following is a list of the seven high roads leading from Rome, to which were attached twenty secondary roads, or branches, from the principal ones. The most important of these can be traced on our special map of the military roads and colonies before the Punic wars. In the following list we give the complete system, so as to avoid returning to this matter.

I. VIA APPIA, from Rome to Capua by the plain, and from Capua to Brundisium. From it branch off the roads—*Setina*, going to Setia; *Domitiana*, which from Sinuessa to Surrentum goes round the Bay of Naples; *Campana* or *Consularis*, from Capua to Cumæ, Puteoli, Atella, and Naples; *Aquillia*, from Capua to Salernum, Pæstum, Cosentia, Vibo, and Rhegium; *Egnatia*, from Beneventum to Herdonea, Canusium, and Brindisi; *Trojana*, from Venusia to Heraclea, Thurium, Crotona, and Rhegium, where it joins the *via Aquillia*; *Minucia*, or *Numicia*, traversing Samnium from north to south.

II. VIA LATINA, from Rome to Beneventum, at the foot of the mountains. It sends a branch to Tusculum, *via Tusculana*, and is connected to the Appian way by a cross road, *via Hadriana*, running from Teanum to Minturnæ. The two roads, Appia and Latina separate at the porta Capena. Between the Latin and Valerian roads run—the *via Labicana*, from the Esquiline gate to Labicum, and joining the *via Latina* at a place called *ad Bivium*, 30 miles from Rome; the *via Prænestina*, or *Gabina*, going off at the same point and joining the Latin road near Anagnia; the *via Collatina*, very short.

III. VIA TIBURTINA, from the porta Tiburtina to Tibur, and continuing, under the name of VIA VALERIA, across the Sabine country to Corfinium, whence it was continued to the Adriatic, which it coasted from Aternum to Castrum Truentinum, where it met the Salarian road. Two branches led—to Sublaqueum, *via Sublacensis*, in the high valley of the Anio and in Apulia; *via Frentana Appula*, along the Adriatic. The *via Nomentana*, or *Ficulnensis*, started from the porta Collina, rejoined at Eretum the Salarian way.

IV. VIA SALARIA, from the Colline gate to Ancona, by Fidenæ, Reate, Asculum, Picenum, Castrum Truentinum to the coast of the Adriatic.

V. VIA FLAMINIA, from the Flaminian gate to Ariminum, by Narnia, Interamna,

Italy, Rome had in the country establishments of another kind, and which helped the same result—the spread of the Latin race over the whole peninsula. The *ager Romanus* stopped at the Vulturnus, but the rest of Italy was covered with lands assigned to the public domain of the Roman people. The Bruttians had ceded half of the Sila forest,<sup>1</sup> the Samnites and the Lucanians who had recognised the majesty of the Roman people, the Sabines and Picentines, despoiled by Curius, the Senones, exterminated by Dolabella, had lost more still, and the half perhaps of the best lands of the peninsula had become Roman property. The censors had let them;<sup>2</sup> and shepherds and Roman labourers, being spread throughout the country, were unceasingly being fused with the Italian populations.

In order to ensure the payment of the tax imposed on the lands of the domain, the senate divided the peninsula into four grand divisions, to which were sent four quæstors, who resided at Ostia and Cales for the provinces which lie towards the Tyrrhenian sea; in Umbria and Calabria for the districts along the Adriatic.<sup>3</sup>

To the cities of different ranks which we have named are attached the cantons, *pagi*, and the country towns, *vici*, which had their annual magistrates, also the *fora* and *conciliabula*. In the districts where the population was not dense, certain places became the

Spoletum, Fanum Fortunæ, and Pisaurum, on the coast. It was continued under the name of *via Emilia*, which traversed Gallia Cisalpina to Placentia, where it crossed the Po, reached Milan, and from thence ran westward to Turin, to the east as far as Trieste. A cross road, *via Postumia*, went from Genoa to Verona.

VI. VIA CASSIA led across central Etruria, by Veii, Sutrium, Vulturni, and Arretium to Luna, where it joined the Aurelian way. One of its branches, *via Amerina*, went to Tuder and Perugia; another, *via Clodia*, united Rusellæ and Tarquinii, and the *via Ciminia* crossed the mountains of Viterbo, *Ciminus mons*.

VII. VIA AURELIA, leaving Rome by the Janiculum gate, touched Alsium and followed the Etruscan coast to Genoa and Frejus. The *via Portuensis* followed the right bank of the Tiber to Portus Augusti: the *via Ostiensis*, the left bank to Ostia, whence it turned to the south, keeping under the name of *via Severiana*, along the coast to Terracina; the roads *Laurentina* and *Ardeatina* indicate the route by their names.

Thus seven grand roads started from Rome: two, *Appia* and *Latina*, to the south; two, *Valeria* and *Salaria*, to the Adriatic; one, *Flaminia*, to the north-east; two, *Cassia* and *Aurelia*, to the north-west; and the *via Emilia* serves for both banks of the Po. See on this question the classic work of Bergier, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire romain* and the *Table de Peutinger*, ed. Ernest Desjardins.

<sup>1</sup> Dionys., *Excerpta ex libro* xx. 15 (20, 5).

<sup>2</sup> In many places the Italians were admitted as farmers, and this was one more bond between them and Rome; but that dates, doubtless, from a later period. At the time of the Gracchi, many of them are holders of domain land. (Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 29.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xv.; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 27.

common market place, *forum*, and the point of reunion, *conciliabulum*, of the whole canton.<sup>1</sup> Communities were there formed, which became by degrees *vici*, or even cities; and the nomad shepherd of the Pontine marshes, as well as the mountaineer, whose hut lay hidden in the most retired valleys of the Apennines, was attached to this municipal rule, of which Rome, while respecting it, made an instrument of dominion.

#### IV.—RELIGIOUS SUPREMACY; ROME GOVERNS AND DOES NOT ADMINISTER.

Religion exercised too great an influence throughout the whole peninsula, for the Romans, while disciplining Italy, to neglect the discipline also of its religions. We have seen<sup>2</sup> that at Rome they worshipped the protecting divinities of conquered cities; when they left the vanquished their gods, they subjected their priests to the control of Roman priests, who claimed for themselves alone the knowledge of the science of augury. From the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, not a prodigy happened that was not immediately referred by the trembling people to the Roman senate, interpreted by its augurs, and expiated according to their directions.<sup>3</sup> By this the local clergy was dispossessed of its principal means of influence, and the Romans held Italy by religion, as they did by policy and arms. Presently we shall find the religious feeling grow weak, and amongst some disappear. Now it was still powerful, and the Romans gave an example of piety. It is computed that from 302 to 290 ten temples were built by them in their city.

The other great nations of antiquity had known well enough how to conquer; not one knew how to preserve its conquests,

<sup>1</sup> The commissioners nominated in the year 211 for the recruiting, go *per fora et conciliabula*. Cf. Livy *pass.* and Festus s.v. These *fora et conciliabula* were places where a rural population, not having a city, transacted their religious or judicial affairs, and held their meetings and markets. I have counted among the ancient cities of Italy more than thirty *fora*, many of whom to this day keep the name: Forlì, Forlimpopoli, Fossombrone, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Page 248, n. 1

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxi. 62: *lectisternium Cære imperatum: xxii. 1, decretum est . . . Junoni Lanuvii . . . sacrificaretur. . . Decemviri Ardee in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificarunt.* Cf. xxxiii. 31. See especially in the next volume the *senatus-consultum* against the Bacchanals.

because none would forget the rights which victory had given them. Under its kings, Rome called strangers into its bosom; now sufficiently peopled, in the mind of the senate, it created Roman citizens outside its walls, and to stimulate zeal, it dangled this showy title before the eyes of all, which raised to the rank of the masters of Italy, which freed from taxes,<sup>1</sup> opened up offices, and called to the distribution of lands, and the enjoyment of the public domain. It is the coin in which she repays all services: precious money, which she divides in order to gain by it a greater number to her cause. Therefore, if it is true that the Roman people, terrible against the strong, and pitiless on the field of battle, carried destruction wherever it found a keen resistance, at least, when war was over, it spontaneously, in the interest of its greatness, raised up the enemy which it had just struck down; it was pleased, as the poet says, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*. Satisfied with having destroyed the political power of its adversaries, it generally respected, in this first period of its conquests, their manners, their laws and their government. It knew that a people could be resigned to the loss of its independence, that is to say, to a confession of its weakness, but never to the contempt of the customs of its ancestors. The centralisation was political, not administrative; and the greater part of the cities preserving their magistrates,<sup>2</sup> laws, religion, finances, internal police, allowed to confer municipal freedom, to administer criminal and civil procedure,<sup>3</sup> in short, to give themselves laws, regarded themselves rather as associated with the splendour of the Roman name than subject to its power. The bustle of their comitia made them believe themselves free. All the living forces of Italy were centralised in the hands of the consuls; the senate disposed of its five hundred thousand soldiers, its cavalry, its navy, and yet political life was not extinguished in the *municipia*; the blood did not leave the extremities to rush to the heart as is the case a century and a half later, when those tempests arise in

<sup>1</sup> See page 393. After the war against Perseus, the citizens had no taxes whatever to pay.

<sup>2</sup> Even the simple towns: *magistri vici, item magistri pagi quotannis fiunt*. Fest. s.v. *Vicus*.

<sup>3</sup> Except for the *municipia optimo jure*. A Roman citizen could, in a criminal matter, be judged only by the whole people, according to the Twelve Tables.

which the republic will founder. We are still in the age of moderation and wisdom.

While giving to Italy the organisation just described, Rome had accomplished all that her municipal constitution permitted, and more than the political wisdom of antiquity taught her. She continued the sovereign city by the right of victory; but she made herself the capital of the Italians by attracting to her senate their most notable citizens. If it is not the representative system in its reality, it was a feeble image of it, and this political genius which anticipated the far off future ought to command our admiration.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have seen at page 322 that the Latins had demanded that the senate should be composed half of Roman senators and half of Latin senators. This idea of a sort of federative republic was very familiar to the Italians of central Italy. We know of an Etruscan diet of Voltumna, the *feix Latine*, the ancient league of Rome, the Latins and Hernicans. Alexander the Molossian had also formed an amphictyonic council for the Italian Greeks.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### INTERNAL STATE OF ROME DURING THE SAMNITE WAR.

#### I.—MANNERS.

THIS period has been regarded as the golden age of the republic. According to the old and honourable custom of praising bygone days, all the virtues have been ascribed to the Romans of this period; and virtues they indeed possessed, especially those which make good citizens. The conquerors of the Etruscans and Tarentum did not despise poverty; the plebeians, who had asserted so many rights, accepted all their duties, and their patriotism had the force of a religious feeling. Two Decii gave their life for the Roman army, and Postumius, Manlius each sacrificed a son to discipline. The censor, Rutilius, re-elected on leaving office (266), called together the people, and censured them strongly for having conferred twice in succession on the same citizen those important functions. If Corn. Rufinus, in spite of two consulates, a dictatorship and a triumph, was expelled the senate for his ten pounds of silver plate, when the law permitted only eight ounces;<sup>1</sup> if the consul Postumius forced two thousand legionaries to cut his corn or clear his woods, Atilius Serranus received at the plough the consular purple, as Cincinnatus did formerly the dictatorship. Regulus, after two consulates, possessed only a little field with a single slave, in the sterile territory of Pupiniae, and Curius, with his triumphal hands, like Fabricius and Æmilius Papus, prepared his coarse food in wooden vessels. The same Curius who declared a citizen to be dangerous to whom seven acres were not enough,<sup>2</sup> refused the gold of the Samnites, Fabricius

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Ep.*, xiv. Rather perhaps for his plundering. The answer which Fabricius made him (Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 66) represents him as a plunderer.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xviii. 4.

that of Pyrrhus; and Cineas, when introduced to the senate, thought he saw there an assembly of kings.

"At that time," says Valerius Maximus, "there was little or scarcely any money; some slaves, seven acres of poor land, poverty in families, funerals paid for by the State, and daughters without dowry; but illustrious consulates, wonderful dictatorships, innumerable triumphs, such is the picture of these old times!"<sup>1</sup> Let us say more tamely that, thanks to the Licinian law of the limitation of property,<sup>2</sup> Rome had neither the extreme wealth which sometimes produces insolent pride, nor the extreme poverty which causes the growth of envy and the spirit of revolt. The greatest number was in that happy mean which excites to labour, gives value to a small possession, and puts into the heart the desire of energetically defending it.

This people had its faults; it liked work, but also booty, usury, litigation; it had in its blood the she-wolf's milk. The creditor was hard to the debtor, the father to his son, the master to his slaves, the conqueror to the conquered. They had the limited intelligence of the peasant, who lives with his head bent over the furrow, with the brutal passions of dull natures and the vulgar pride of physical force. There was nothing generous, nothing elevated, save in the very few; neither art, philosophy, nor true religion; as its ideal, gain, and power, which is the political form of covetousness. Was their domestic life more edifying than it is in the sequel? Evil is better seen in the societies which are in full light of day, than in those whose darkness history can hardly penetrate. But there are vices which excess of wealth, the pleasures of a too easy existence and of too numerous temptations, develop: with these the Romans of the fourth century were certainly unacquainted.

They were upright, and kept their plighted word. "Trust," said a later proverb, "a treasure to a Greek, take ten sureties, ten signatures and twenty witnesses: he will rob you." At Rome, a magistrate had in his hands all the public wealth, and, to prevent

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max. IV. iv. 6 and 11. The triumph of Curius introduced, by what Florus says, great riches into the city. Silver was soon so abundant that, three years after the taking of Tarentum, silver coin was struck. Up to that time there had been only *ases* of bronze. Polybius (xviii. 2) still praises the poverty of Paulus Æmilius and of Scipio Æmilianus.

<sup>2</sup> *Eo anno plerisque dies dicta ab ædilibus, quia plus quam quod lege finitum erat, agri possiderent.* (Livy, x. 13.)

his embezzling it, his oath was sufficient.<sup>1</sup> This good faith of the individual, this probity of the magistrate were the reflection of a more general virtue which existed in the whole body of citizens: absolute respect for law, a spontaneous obedience to established authority, with the right of appeal from an arbitrary order. "The people most jealous of its liberty which the world ever saw, was at the same time the most submissive to its magistrates and to lawful power."<sup>2</sup> Bossuet was right in bringing together these two ideas, which to so many men are contradictory; it is their union which make citizens truly free, and States really strong.

The Roman is not lovable, but he extorts admiration, because, in that society, if the man is little, the citizen is great. He is so by those civic virtues through which he deserved empire, by the indomitable courage which gave it him, by the discipline, in the best sense of the word, and by the political wisdom which preserved it to him. Thus, his history, in which the poet and artist find so little interest, will be always the proper school of public men.

## II.—THE CONSTITUTION; BALANCE OF FORCES.

The dangers of the Samnite wars had restored peace between the two orders. Little rivalries had ceased when the great interest of the public safety was concerned, the political emancipation of the plebeians was fully accomplished, and the new generation of patricians, brought up in camps, had lost the remembrance of the popular victories. The new men were now as numerous in the senate as the descendants of the old families; and the services as well as the glory of Papirius Cursor, Fabius Maximus, Appius Cæcus, and Valerius Corvus, effaced neither the services nor the glory of the two Decii, P. Philo, four times consul, of C. Mænius, twice dictator, of Cæcilius Metellus, who commenced the renown of this family, of whom Nævius is obliged to say: "The Metelli

<sup>1</sup> [This statement may have been often true, but suffered many sad exceptions. There was great corruption among Roman public men later on, and it is not certain that their political morality, when State interests were concerned, was higher than that of Demosthenes. Cf. my *Social Life in Greece*, fourth edition, p. 424.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Bossuet, *Disc. sur l'hist. univ.*, part 3, cap. vi.

are fated consuls at Rome," of Curius Dentatus and Fabricius, who were plebeians not even of Roman descent.

There was union because there was equality, because the aristocracy of blood was no longer known, and because they did not yet know that of riches. At this period the Roman constitution presented the wise combination of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy which Polybius, Machiavelli, and Montesquieu have admired. In the consulate, there was unity in command; in the senate, experience in counsel; in the people, strength in action. These three estates being kept mutually within just limits, all the forces of the State, sometime in opposition, had at last found, after a struggle of more than two centuries, that happy state of equilibrium which made them concur, with irresistible power, towards one common end—the grandeur of the republic.

In the city the consuls<sup>1</sup> were the chiefs of the government; but there were two of them, of different order, and their inevitable rivalry assured the preponderance of the senate, to which they were constrained by their dearest interests to show a prudent deference. They received the ambassadors of foreign nations; they convoked the senate and the people, proposed laws, drew up the *senatus-consulta*, and directed the other magistrates; but all this power, more honourable than real, might break down against the opposition of a colleague or the inviolable authority of the tribunate, against the sovereignty of the people who made the laws, against a decree of the senate, which could annul the power of a consul by causing a dictator to be nominated. In the army the consul seems an absolute chief; he chooses a part of the legionary tribunes, fixes the contingents of the allies, and exercises over all the right of life and death; but without the senate he has neither victuals, clothes, nor pay, and a *senatus-consultum* can suddenly stop his enterprises, give him a successor, suspend him from his command, grant or refuse him a triumph.<sup>2</sup> He makes treaties, but the people ratify them or reject them. He acts, he decrees, but the tribunes watch him, and by their veto stop him, by their right of accusation keep

<sup>1</sup> *Apropos* of consuls, Cicero utters the celebrated but dangerous maxim: *omnis salus populi suprema lex esto*. It was an indirect vindication of his own consulate.

<sup>2</sup> It was the senate that authorized the consul to borrow from the treasury the amount necessary for covering the expense of this solemnity. (Polyb., vi. 5.)

him in a continual suspense. Lastly, when his term of office has expired he must render an account to the people to receive their plaudits, which promised him fresh offices, or reproaches and murmurs, which for ever closed against him entrance to high office—sometimes even a penalty which ruined and dishonoured him.<sup>1</sup>

Subjects, allies, and foreign sovereigns, who never treated with the senate but when assembled in the temple of Bellona to remind them that Rome was always prepared for war,<sup>2</sup> who saw it settling their differences, replying to their deputies, sending amongst them commissioners, and granting or refusing the triumph to the generals who had conquered them, looked on this body as the mistress of the republic.<sup>3</sup> Even at Rome the senators, appearing always clothed in the royal purple; holding their sittings in the temples; discussing important affairs—the plans of generals and the government of conquered countries; able to adjourn the assemblies of the people or pass decrees having the force of law;<sup>4</sup> receiving the reports of the censors and quæstors; authorizing outlays, public works, and alienations of the domain lands; watching over the conservation of the religion of the State, the prosecution of public crimes, the celebration of games and solemn sacrifices; finally, decreeing, in case of peril, supplications to the gods after victory, acts of thanksgiving, and regulating even the affairs of heaven by giving the freedom of the city and of temples to foreign divinities—the senators, I say, seem to be the chiefs in the State by the extent of their public rights as they were by their dignity and the respect which was attached to their name. But, subjected to the irresponsible control of the censors, the senate is still presided over by

<sup>1</sup> Postumius, on quitting office, was condemned to pay 500,000 *ases* (Livy, *Epitome*, xi.). Camillus narrowly escaped being fined the same amount.

<sup>2</sup> This temple, vowed by Appius in 296 (Livy, x. 19, and Pliny, xxxv. 3) was built outside the city, in the Field of Mars. The senate met there to receive foreign ambassadors and the consuls who asked of it a triumph. At the entrance of this temple was the column which the fetial struck with a javelin when the enemy was too distant to permit him to declare war from the Roman people. (See page 108.)

<sup>3</sup> In England also the people are little concerned with foreign affairs, the direction of which they generally leave to the ministry.

<sup>4</sup> Montesqu., *Espr. des Lois*, v. 8: Legally the legislative power of the senate was exercised only in matters of administration. But the limit was very difficult to fix, and more than one *senatus-consultum* trespassed on the territory of the law. The senate later on took the right of giving dispensation from keeping the laws (Cic., *pro lege Man.*, 21). On the formalities followed for drawing up a *senatus-consultum*, see Foucart. *Mém. sur un senatus-cons.*, inédit de l'an 170.

the consuls, who direct its deliberations as they please. Should they be agreed, yet would it not be possible, without the consent of the tribunes, either to assemble or pass a decree; and the legislative omnipotence of the people places the senate in dependence on the centuries and tribes. All its members are, besides, indirectly nominated by the people, since it is they who raise to office, and it is by office that the senate is attained.<sup>1</sup>

With us the executive can be questioned respecting its acts as soon as they are done; for some even before execution, and this can stop them. At Rome the magistrate renders an account only after the expiration of his magistracy. He is inviolable, sacrosanct,<sup>2</sup> and yields only to the interference of a colleague, the veto of a tribune, or that of the augurs. Nor can he be proceeded against even for a crime in common law.

The people, the highest jury,<sup>3</sup> an electoral and legislative body<sup>4</sup>—in a word, the true sovereign in the Forum, finds in the civil tribunals senators as judges, in the army consuls as generals; the former armed with the authority of the laws and of that discretionary power which an uncertain and obscure legislation gives, the latter with a discipline which commands a blind obedience. The plebeian will avoid offending those who could be avenged on

<sup>1</sup> We shall see later how Fabius Buteo filled up the senate after Cannæ. So also the senators are often represented as chosen by the people (Livy, iv. 4; Cic., *pro Sextio*, 65; *pro Cluent.*, 56). In *de Legibus* (iii. 3) Cicero says the senate must be composed of all the former magistrates, and Sylla passed a law in this sense. Yet the censors could inscribe on their list any whom they pleased, but the *lex Ovinia* (p. 280) obliged them to summon former magistrates first. This it is which made the senate so experienced an assembly.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, ix. 9. The prætor Lentulus, an accomplice of Catiline, could only be proceeded against after he had abdicated his office. (Cic., *Catil.*, iii. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> At the head of the Roman constitution Cicero (*de Leg.*, iii. 3) puts the precious right of appeal [like our *Habeas corpus*.—*Ed.*].

<sup>4</sup> The people assembled by tribes *nominated* the tribunes, ædiles, quæstors, a part of the legionary tribunes, the chiefs of colonies, the commissioners for the agrarian laws, the *duumviri maritimi* (Aul. Gell., xiii. 15; Livy, vii. 5, ix. 30). It deliberated in the *conciones* and voted in the assembly of the tribes (*plebiscitum*) on the propositions of the tribunes, which sometimes referred to the gravest interests of the State: on the granting the freedom of the city (Livy, xxxviii. 36); on the powers of magistrates (Livy, xxii. 25, 26, 30). Flaminius brought his agrarian law to their vote. They had also a judicial power (Livy, xxvi. 3, 4; App., *Bell. Civ.*, i. 31). In the *comitia centuriata* the people as a legislative power made laws, decided peace and war, ratified treaties, and received the accounts of the magistrates; as an electoral body it nominated to the leading offices; as supreme tribunal it received appeals from all the courts, pronounced on the life of citizens, on the crime of high treason (Livy, vi. 20, xxvi. 3; Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 4, 19; *pro Sext.*, 44, 51). But we know that in these assemblies the rich and the high class easily predominate, and that the multitude is reduced to an unimportant part.



him as suitor or legionary for his hostile votes as citizen. In the comitia even, where the people is supreme, nothing is left to the hazard of the moment. The magistrate who calls together the assembly limits the debate; he asks either a Yes or a No; he allows no debate, and the people reply, *uti rogas* [as you propose], for approval, *antiquo* [I am for the old], for rejection. We should say now that the assembly had neither the right of amendment nor question. Discussion took place only in the *conciones*, a sort of preparatory assemblies, where no voting took place. If, nevertheless, the sovereign people consented to make a sovereign act, it could be stopped by a double veto; in the *comitia tributa* by that of the tribunes; in the centuries by that of the gods expressed by the augurs. Finally, a number of citizens, above all the wealthiest farmers of the domains, public works, and the collecting of imposts, were still dependent on the senate and censors, who accept bids, make reductions, postpone the rent day, or break leases.<sup>1</sup>

There were none, even to the poorest, who had not their days of royalty. On the eve of the comitia the patrician sinks his nobility to mix with the crowd; to caress these kings of a few hours who give place, power, and glory. He takes the hard palm of the peasant, calls the most obscure Quirite by his name,<sup>2</sup> and, later on, he will restore to the people for one election all that he and his fathers have saved out of the pillage of many provinces. Canvassing, which a century later was punished as producing venality, tended as yet only to draw the rich and poor together, and to give a lesson in equality to the great.

"Every body in the State," says Polybius, "may, therefore, damage another or serve it; hence arises their harmony and the invincible strength of the republic."

A moral power, the censorship, itself irresponsible and unlimited in its rights, watched over the maintenance of this

<sup>1</sup> Polyb. vi. 7, 11. I could have quoted him for almost every detail of this picture of the Roman constitution. When we compare it with that which Cicero has drawn in his treatise *de Legibus* (iii. 3), we see that the former was written by a statesman, the latter by a jurist-consult and a philosopher, who, in the first book at least, is preoccupied with a matter for which ancient Rome had no thought—natural law.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy, *passim*; Plutarch, in the Life of Coriolanus, and the curious book of Quintus Cicero, *On the Candidature for the Consulate*. [The author might have cited the canvassing of great English nobles at parliamentary elections, especially before the introduction of the ballot.—Ed.]

equilibrium. In oriental legislations, the principal preservative of the constitution is religious sentiment, for law is only the expression of the divine will. In Greece and at Rome, Lycurgus and Numa also gave to their laws the sanction of the gods. But Solon and the Romans of the republic, further removed from the sacerdotal period, confided to men this conserving power: Solon to the Areopagus, the Roman constitution to the censors. At Athens the Areopagus, a sort of tribunal placed outside the executive, was never sufficiently strong to exercise a useful in-



Suovetaurilia.<sup>1</sup>

fluence;<sup>2</sup> at Rome the censorship, charged with very important material interests, was an active magistracy, the political importance grew and asserted a moral authority.<sup>3</sup> Those details which no law could anticipate, those innovations which silently unsettle republics by destroying equality, the censors knew how to reach and punish. They often expelled powerful citizens from the senate or the

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the Louvre, showing the ceremony of the *suovetaurilia*. Before the altar, the magistrate standing with veiled head, performed the functions of sacrificer; near him are two assistants or *camilli* carrying, the one the *acerra*, or incense box, the other the vase of libations, *guttus*; behind are the two lictors of the magistrate with their fasces; next come the *victimarii* crowned with laurel, leading the victims, or preparing to strike them: lastly, on the second slab, are seen some assistants at the ceremony. See page 111.

<sup>2</sup> [I think the influence of the Athenian Areopagus is underrated by the author.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *Censores populi civitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento; urbis tecta, templa, vias, aquas, aerarium, vectigalia tuento, populi que partes in tribus describunt, exin pecunias, civitates, ordines partiunt, equitum peditumque prolem describunt, celibes esse prohibent, mores populi regunt, probum in senatu ne reliquunt, Bini sunt.* (Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 3.)

equestrian order or deprived them of their political rights, and in the re-partition of classes "they exercised legislation even over the body which had the legislative power,"<sup>1</sup> and they placed their acts under the sanction of religion, by offering at the closing of the census the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia*. By their uncontrolled power they came to the aid of the executive power always so weak in democracies.

In every State it is a grave question to know in whose hand the judicial power should be placed. This question troubled the last century of the Roman republic; in anterior periods it had received an original solution. The consul, and then the prætor, did not himself judge. For each case he gave the rule of law, which ought to be applied, and the judges [jury] appointed by him, with the agreement of the parties, decided the question of fact. Thus the process was double, *in jure* before the prætor, *in judicio* before the judges [jury]. For important causes the judges were chosen in the senate; for less important matters from the body of centumvirs selected to the number of three by each of the thirty-five tribes. Thus, the organisation of civil justice was, in some respects, that which we have for criminal justice; the magistrate declared the application of the law, and judges or jurors pronounced on the point of fact.

Criminal justice was exercised by the people. Whoever had violated the public peace, was amenable to the sovereign assembly, which also received appeals brought against the decisions of the magistrates; the latter, in virtue of their duty to make the law respected, punished offences, a certain number of which would be regarded by us as crimes. The chastisement was the rod for the lower classes; for the others, a fine. The consuls and prætors had, besides, preserved from royalty the right of nominating, for grave and pressing cases, criminal quæstors, an exceptional jurisdiction which became permanent, *questiones perpetuæ*. However, criminal justice was rarely exercised, for domestic justice dealt with the crimes of the slave, of the son, if he were not emancipated, and of the wife *in manu*. The master, the father and the husband pronounced in the interior of the house the sentence, and had it

<sup>1</sup> Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, Bk. xi. cap. xvi.

executed. There was not then, at the period of Roman history now reached, a body of citizens who were invested with judicial authority, and who, thanks to that privilege, could menace the liberty of the other classes. Justice was, therefore, now equal to all; in a century it was so no more.

This so well balanced constitution, however, exposed the State to some great perils. It was not written down; and the rights of the assemblies or the magistrates having never been clearly defined, it could happen that the different jurisdictions should clash, and hence cause disturbance; or that one, aided by circumstances, should gain a dangerous preponderance in the State. Thus, Hortensius had given an equal authority to the decisions of senate and of people. Let these two powers clash, and there is no legal force in the State, if it be not the violent and temporary remedy provided by the dictaforship, which could end this struggle without collisions. But the prudence of the senate knew how, during a century and a half, to evade this danger. It caused a division to be made between itself and the people of the matters respecting which legislative omnipotence should be exercised. To the people fell the elections and the laws of internal organisation; to the senate, the administration of finance and foreign affairs; to the magistrates, the unlimited rights of the *imperium* for the exercise of the executive power.

Then, too, if this people was continually urged on by new wants, it was constantly also held in check by its respect for ancient times. As long as Rome remained herself, she had, like the image of her god Janus, her eyes turned at the same time towards the present and the past. The custom of ancestors, *mos majorum*, preserved an authority which often permitted the supplementing or evading of the written law, and this authority of custom was a powerful principle of social conservation.

### III.—MILITARY ORGANISATION.

Abroad, this government was protected by the best armies yet known. No adversary, no enterprise could affright the conquerors of the Samnites and Pyrrhus. They had triumphed over

all enemies and obstacles; over Greek tactics<sup>1</sup> as well as Gallic dash and Samnite obstinacy; the elephants of Pyrrhus had astonished them only once.<sup>2</sup> Surrounded by enemies, the Romans had, for three quarters of a century, known no other art than war, no other exercise than arms. They were not only the bravest soldiers, the best disciplined in Italy, but the most active and strong. The average military march was 24 millia in 5 hours (nearly 3 miles per hour), and during these marches they carried their arms, rations for five days, stakes for encamping—in all, at least 60 Roman pounds.

In the intervals between the campaigns drill was continued in the Field of Mars. They shot javelins and arrows, fought with the sword, ran and leaped in full armour, or crossed the Tiber swimming, employing for these exercises arms of a weight double that of ordinary arms. The noblest citizens took part in these games; consuls, those who had triumphed, contended in strength, address, and agility, showing to this people of soldiers that the generals had also the qualities of the legionary.

All other powers fought at that time with mercenaries; Rome alone had a national army, from which the foreigner, the freedman, the proletariat were excluded, and which had already established that devotion to the colours which has wrought such miracles.

All the wealthy citizens had to pass through this rude school of discipline, devotion, and self-denial. No one, says Polybius, can be elected to a magistracy who has not been in ten campaigns.

<sup>1</sup> The Macedonian phalanx had its force merely from impetus; barbarian armies from the individual courage of their soldiers. In the one the individual was nothing, and the mass everything; in the others, the mass nothing, the individual everything. The legion, by its division into maniples, left full swing to individual courage and preserved full action to the mass. Hannibal himself did homage to the organization of the Roman armies by arming his veterans like the legionaries. (Polyb., xviii. 11.) [The power of the phalanx is, perhaps, underrated here. As a formation, like the modern column, intended to break the old extended lines, it was most effective, and it was superior to the Roman order of battle when they met on even ground. But the difficulty of marching it through any rough or uneven ground made it often useless, and so it was that Alexander never won a battle with his phalanx, but always used it as the *defensive* arm of his line of battle, the cavalry and light footguards being the offensive. At the very time of his death he was devising means to make the phalanx more serviceable, and resolvable into smaller and more active subdivisions when need arose.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> It has always been said that Pyrrhus taught the Romans how to pitch a camp. The description of Polybius makes one think of the *urbs quadrata* of the Etruscans, and he himself contrasts the regularity of a Roman camp to the confusion which prevailed in a Greek one.

<sup>3</sup> On the return from every campaign the standards were placed in the *ararium*.

To what an extent must this law have raised the dignity and force of the army!

We have just followed the Romans to the senate and Forum; we have shown their public as well as their private life. This study would be incomplete if we did not see them in camp. Military organization is for all peoples a very serious matter. Without soldiers formed in the gymnasia of Greece, the Persians had been conquerors at Marathon and Plataea; without the phalanx of Philip, Alexander had not set out from Macedonia; without the legion, Italy and the world would have been given up to the barbarians before that civilization could have taken such root so not to be entirely extirpated. The picture of the Roman army necessarily, therefore, forms part of Rome's history, and to trace it we have only to abridge, while supplementing it in some points, the account by Polybius, who, if not a great writer, was the most intelligent observer of antiquity.<sup>2</sup>



Roman Soldier.<sup>1</sup>

After the election of the consuls, 24 tribunes, always of senatorial or equestrian order, were nominated, 16 by the people, 8 by the consuls, for the annual levy, which is usually of four legions.<sup>3</sup> They were chosen in such a way that 14 of them were selected from those who had at least served five years. And that was easy, since all the citizens were obliged, up to forty-six years, to carry arms, either ten years in the cavalry or sixteen years in the

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the work of M. Lindenschmidt, Keeper of the Museum of Antiquities of Mayence, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment of book, vi. 19-42.

<sup>3</sup> In 207, the levy being of 23 legions, the comitia nominated the twenty-four tribunes of the first four legions; the consuls designated all the others. (Livy, xxvii. 36.)



infantry. Only those were excepted whose property did not exceed 400 drachmæ, and who were reserved for the navy. When necessity arose even they were taken for the infantry, and then their military obligation was twenty years' service.

Each legion has 6 tribunes, who command the legion by turns for two months under the superior orders of the consul, and care is taken that this body of officers is made up in almost equal proportions of young and veteran tribunes.



Roman Soldier.<sup>1</sup>

When there is need to make a levy, ordinarily of four legions, all Romans of age to bear arms are summoned to the Capitol. There the military tribunes draw the tribes by lot and choose in the first four men equal, as far as possible, in height, age, and strength. The tribunes of the first legion make their choice first, then those of the second, and so of the rest. After these four other citizens come forward; it is then the tribunes of the second legion who make their choice the first; those of the third afterwards; and so of the rest. The same order is observed till the finish, whence the result

is that each legion is made up of men of the same age and strength, generally to the number of four thousand two hundred, and of five thousand when danger presses.<sup>2</sup> In respect of the horse the censor selects them according to the state of the revenue, three hundred to each legion. When the levy is over the tribunes assemble their legion, and, choosing one of the bravest, they make him swear that he will obey the orders of the chiefs and do all he can to carry them out. The others, passing in turn before the tribune, take the same oath by pronouncing the words, *Idem in me*. It was equivalent to our formula, *I swear it*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> According to Livy (viii. 8) five thousand was the regular number later on; it reached six thousand. (Cf. Livy, xlii. 31; and Suidas, s. v. λεγών . . . ἱεραρχοί.)

<sup>3</sup> This oath was called *sacramentum*, because he who took it became cursed or devoted to

"At the same time the consuls gave information to the cities of Italy, whence they wish to draw auxiliaries, as to the number of men they acquire, the day, and place of assembly. The levy takes place in these cities as at Rome, the same order, the same oath. A chief and quaestor is given to these troops, and they are marched off.

"The tribunes, after administering the oath, inform the legions of the day and place where they must assemble without arms, then he dismisses them. When assembled on the day fixed, of the youngest and poorest the *velites* were formed; those who followed them in age formed the *hastati*; the strongest and most vigorous composed the *principes*; and the oldest were taken to form the *triarii*. Thus each legion was composed of four

sorts of soldiers, who differed in name, age, and arms; 600 *triarii*, 1,200 *principes*, as many *hastati*—the rest formed the *velites*.

"The *velites* were armed with a helmet without crest, a sword, a round buckler, 3 feet in diameter, several javelins, the wood of which was 2 cubits long and an inch thick. The point, 9 inches long,<sup>2</sup> is so tapering that at the first stroke it warps, so that the enemy is unable to use it.<sup>3</sup>

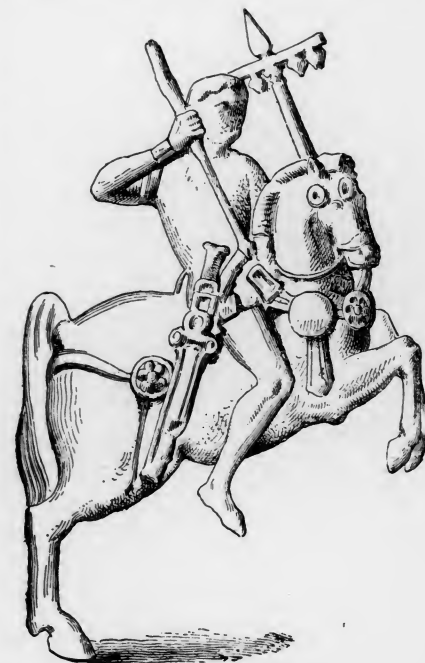
"The *hastati* have complete armour, that is to say, a convex

the infernal gods if he broke it. Seneca says, too: *primum militie vinculum est religio et signorum amor et deserendi nefas*. (*Ep.*, 95.)

<sup>1</sup> Lindenschmidt, *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The Greek foot=1 ft. 0.135 in.; the digitus=.7584 in.; the spithame=.910125 in.; the cubit=1 ft. 6.2025 in.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxvi. 4, says that the *velites* each had seven of these darts.



Roman Horse-soldier.<sup>1</sup>

buckler,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad and 4 long. It is made of two planks glued together, and covered outside with linen, then with calf-skin. The edges of this buckler above and below are mounted with iron, and the convex part is covered with a plate of the same metal, to ward off darts sent with great force. The *hastati* carry their sword on the right thigh; the blade is strong, and strikes both cut and thrust.<sup>1</sup> They have, besides, two *pila*, a bronze casque and buskins. One of these two javelins is round or square, and 4 digits thick; the other is lighter, but the staff of both is 3 cubits long, and the iron as much.<sup>2</sup> On their helmet is a red or black plume, formed of three straight feathers, a cubit high, a thing which makes them appear taller and more formidable. The poorest soldiers wear, besides, on the breast a plate of bronze, which is 12 digits in diameter. But those whose wealth exceeds 10,000 drachmas have, instead of this breastplate, a coat of mail. The *principes* and *triarii* have the same arms, only the latter have but one lance (*hasta* or *εόρυ*).

"In each of these three bodies they select—putting aside the youngest—twenty of the most prudent and brave, to make them centurions. The first chosen has a voice in the council. There are twenty other officers of an inferior rank, *optiones*, who are chosen by the first twenty to lead the rear-guard. Each corps is divided into ten *maniples*,<sup>3</sup> with the exception of the *velites*, which are divided in equal numbers among the three

<sup>1</sup> This sword of which Polybius speaks was the Spanish sword, adopted by the Romans during the second Punic war, just as they must have taken the *pilum* from the Etruscans. There has been found at Vulci, among some old Etruscan arms, an iron *pilum* head.

<sup>2</sup> That would make 6 cubits or 9 feet, but as a part of the iron entered the wood, where it was fastened by a socket, the *pilum* was somewhat shorter. Polybius makes it also too heavy for the thickness which he gives it, unless he meant the *pilum murale*, which played the part of our siege muskets, which are much larger than the ordinary musket. We shall see the changes made by Marius and Cæsar in the *pilum*, the arm with which the Romans conquered the world.

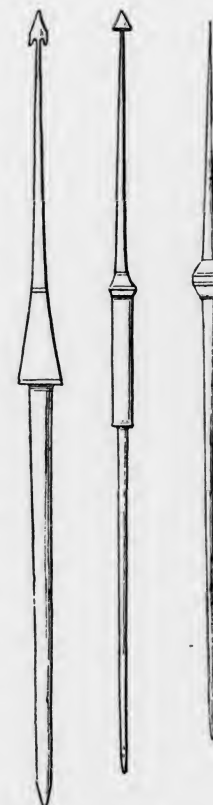
<sup>3</sup> The legion had then thirty maniples divided into two centuries, each commanded by a centurion, so that there were sixty of these officers to a legion. The *centurio prior* commanded the first maniple, and was placed at the head of the right wing; the *centurio posterior* served as his lieutenant, if needful, took his place, and had his place in battle at the left wing. The distinctive sign of the centurion was a vine stock with which he might strike the soldiers; the allies, in case of fault, were beaten with rods: *quem militem extra ordinem deprehendit, si Romanus esset, vitibus, si extraneus, fustibus cecidit.* (Livy, Ep. lvii.) A cohort was the union of a maniple of *hastati*, with another of *principes*, and a third of *triarii*, each with the *velites* which belonged to them. The cohort was therefore the reduction to the tenth of the whole legion. (Cincius, ap. Aul. Gell. xvi. 4.)

other corps. The centurions choose in their companies two of the strongest and bravest men to carry the standards, *vexillarii*, *signiferi*.<sup>1</sup>

"The cavalry is divided in the same manner into ten companies or *turme*, each of them has three officers, of whom the first nominated commands the whole company; these officers choose three others of a lower rank to control the rear ranks. The arms of the cavalry are a cuirass, a solid buckler, and a strong lance with iron at its butt, in order that it might still be used when its point was broken.<sup>2</sup>

"After the tribunes had thus divided the troops, and given the necessary orders for arms, they dismissed the assembly until the day on which the soldiers have sworn to rejoin. Nothing can release them from their oath except the auspices or insurmountable difficulties. Each consul appoints a separate meeting for the troops intended for him, generally the half of the auxiliary allies and two Roman legions. When the allies have joined, twelve officers chosen by the consuls, and who are styled prefects, are charged with regulating their distribution. They put on one side the best formed and bravest men for the cavalry and infantry, which are to form the consul's bodyguard. These are styled the *extraordinarii*. The prefects divide the rest into two corps, one of which is called the right wing and the other the left wing

On the field of battle the legion formed three lines; in the first, the *hastati*; in the second, the *principes*; in the third, the *triarii*, all divided into six maniples, in ranks of 20 in front and



The *Pilum*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Before Marius the Romans put the image of the wolf on their standards (Pliny, Nat. Hist. x. 4.)

<sup>2</sup> The cavalry did not use stirrups, and practised vaulting on horseback fully armed. (Vég., i. 17.)

<sup>3</sup> De Reffye, *Les Armes d'Alise*, 1864, p. 330

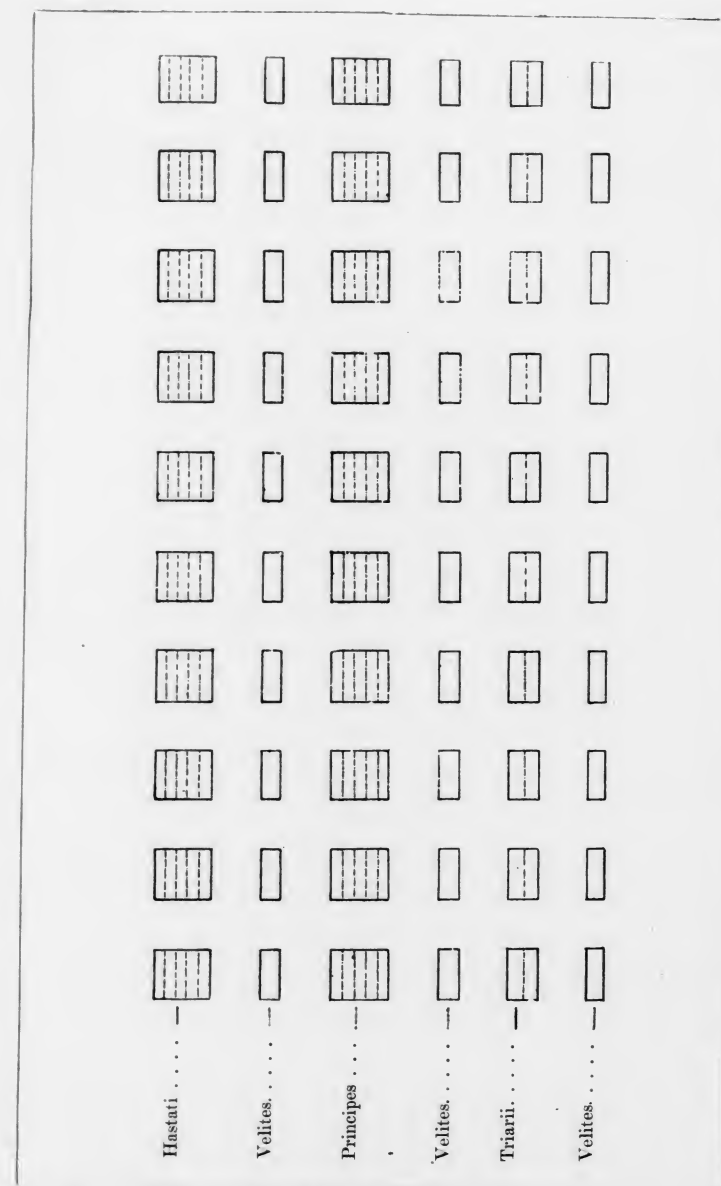
6 deep. In close order, *confertis ordinibus*, the soldiers were stationed 3 feet apart, in every direction, so as to have enough space for using their arms. A similar interval separated the ten maniples of each line, so that the front of a legion in battle array was about 617 yards, without counting the space reserved for the cavalry, which the general generally placed at the wings, and which took up a space of nearly 5 feet for each horse. In extended order, *laxatis ordinibus*, the soldiers were separated from one another by an interval of 6 feet, which doubled the line of front.

To each maniple of *hastati* and *principes* were joined forty *velites*, who formed behind the heavy infantry a sixth and seventh rank of light troops. The *velites* passed through the intervals to commence the action as skirmishers, re-entered again when the *hastati* closed with the enemy, or formed with them, if they could still hurl their darts to advantage against the enemy. The Romans did not employ slingers and archers till later. If the *hastati* gave way, they retired by the intervals between the *principes* in their rear, and while the latter fought, the *triarii*, kneeling and protected by their bucklers, waited the moment for coming into action.

The position for the camp is chosen with great care. When once the site has been laid out, the spot is selected from whence the general can most easily see everything, and there they fix a standard. Around, they measure off a square space, each side of which is distant a hundred feet from the standard; this is the *prætorium*. To the left and right of the *prætorium* are the *forum*, or market, and the *quæstorium*, i.e., the treasury and arsenal. The legions are stationed on the side which is most convenient for getting water and forage. The twelve tribunes, if there are only two legions, are lodged in a right line, parallel to the *prætorium*, and at a distance of 50 feet, their tents facing the troops, which are set up a 100 feet further off, in a line also parallel.<sup>1</sup> The annexed plan will show the general arrangement.

The widest intervals are 100 feet, the main ways (*principalis*, *Quintana*) were 50 feet wide.

<sup>1</sup> The tents, made of skins, upheld by poles; each hold ten men. [For further details of the arrangement of the troops see the plan.]

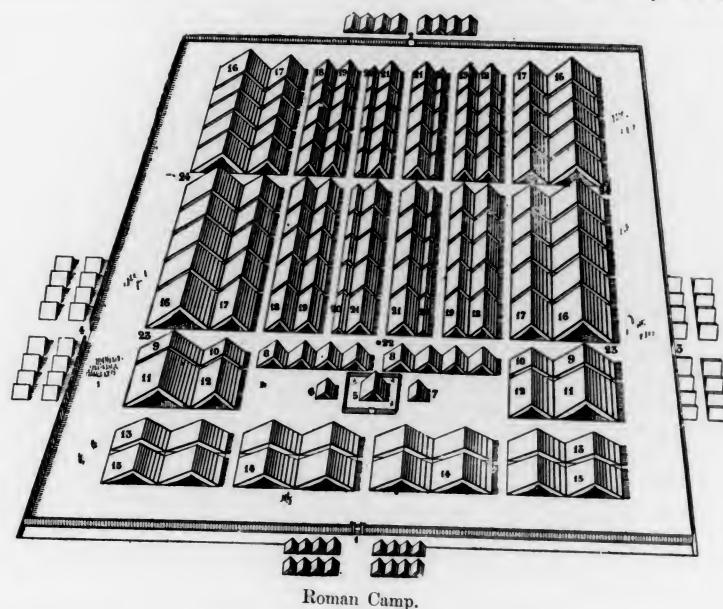


Plan of the Order of Battle.



"From the entrenchment<sup>1</sup> to the tents there is a distance of 200 feet; this space serves to facilitate the entrance and departure of the troops. Cattle and whatever may be taken from the enemy are also put there. Another considerable advantage is that in night attacks neither fire nor dart can easily reach the tents.

"If it happen that four legions and two consuls camp together the arrangement is the same for each army, only we must



- |                     |                        |                        |                      |
|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Porta praetoria. | 7. Quæstorium.         | 13. Equites extraordi. | 19. Principes        |
| 2. Porta decumana.  | 8. Tribuni.            | 14. Pedites extraordi. | 20. Triarii.         |
| 3. Porta dextra.    | 9. Praefecti sociorum. | 15. Auxilia.           | 21. Equites Romani.  |
| 4. Porta sinistra.  | 10. Legati.            | 16. Pedites sociorum.  | 22. Ara.             |
| 5. Praetorium.      | 11. Pedites delecti.   | 17. Equites sociorum.  | 23. Via Principalis. |
| 6. Forum.           | 12. Equites delecti.   | 18. Hastati.           | 24. Via Quintana.    |

imagine two armies turned towards one another, and joined where the *extraordinarii* of both are placed, that is to say, by the rear of the camp, and the latter then forms an oblong, covering a space double the first.

<sup>1</sup> The camp was defended by a ditch 9, 11, 12, 13, or 17 feet broad, and 8 or 9 deep. The earth which was dug up was thrown inside the camp in such a way as to form an embankment 4 feet high, on which were fixed palisading strongly interlaced. The sutlers and servants encamped outside the gates in the *procestria*.

"When once the camp is arranged the tribunes receive the oath from all, whether free or slaves, that they will not steal anything in the camp, and that if they find anything they will bring it to the praetorium. Then two maniples, made up of equal numbers of principes and hastati from each legion, are set to guard the place which extends in front of the tribunes' tents, and which the soldiers occupy during the day. The tent and baggage of each tribune are, besides, guarded by four soldiers. These maniples, drawn by lot from among the principes and hastati, furnish this guard daily, which is also intended to exalt the dignity of the tribunes. The triarii, exempt from this service, guard the horses for the squadron placed behind them. They have to prevent these horses from getting entangled in their halters or from causing by their escape any tumult in the camp. A maniple is always on guard at the consul's tent.

"The allies make two sides of the ditch and entrenchment, the Romans the two others, one by each legion. Each side is allotted to parties, according to the number of the maniples, and for each party a centurion supervises the work; when the side is finished two tribunes examine and approve it.

The tribunes were charged with the discipline of the camp. Two of them commanded in turn together for two months. This duty was among the allies performed by the praefecti. At day the centurions waited at the tents of the tribunes, and the latter at that of the consul, from whom they took their orders.

The watchword for the night was given in the following manner: a soldier, exempted from all other guards, was chosen among the *turnæ* of cavalry and the maniples of infantry which had their tents in the last line. Every day, a little before sunset, the soldier betook himself to the tribune's tent and there received the watchword, which was written on a little piece of wood, and then returned to his company. His officer carried it with some witnesses to the officer of the next company, and the latter gave it to the centurion, who is his next neighbour, and so on, until the watchword, having passed through all the maniples, is returned to the tribunes before night.

"A whole maniple guards the praetorium during the night. The tribunes and the horses are also guarded by sentries, who are

taken from the maniples. Ordinarily three sentries are given to the quaestor. The guard of each corps is taken from the corps itself. The exterior sides are confided to the care of the velites, who during the day mount guard along the entrenchment; there are, besides, ten at each gate of the camp.

"The cavalry make the rounds. It is the first maniple of the triarii, whose centurion is charged to sound the trumpet at every hour when the guard must be mounted. The signal given, the horseman on whom the first guard has fallen makes the round, accompanied by some friends whom he uses as witnesses, and he visits not only the guards posted on the entrenchment and at the gates, but also all those who are at each company of foot and horse. If he finds the sentinels of the first watch on the alert he receives from them a small piece of wood, on which is written the name of the legion, the number of the maniple and century of which the soldiers on guard make part. If any one is asleep or absent he calls to witness those who accompanied him, and retires. The other rounds are made in a similar way. At each watch they sound the trumpet, so that those who have to make the round and those who form the guard may be warned at the same time.

"Those who have made the round, carry, as soon as the morning breaks, the little pieces of wood which they have received to the tribune. If they bring less than the number of guards, the writing on each of them is examined; whatever guard has not been found at its post, and the centurion and men who formed the guard, are called to confront him who made the round, who produces his witnesses, without which he alone bears all the penalty. Immediately a court-martial is called. The tribunes judge, and the guilty one has to run the gauntlet.

"This punishment is thus inflicted: the tribune taking a small rod simply touches the criminal, and immediately all the legionaries fall upon him with blows from sticks and stones in such a way, that he frequently loses his life during the punishment. If he do not die, he remains marked with infamy. He is not allowed to return to his native land, and no relation or friend of his would dare to open his house to him. So severe a punishment causes the discipline as regards the night watches to be always exactly observed. The same punishment is inflicted on

those who steal in the camp, who give false witness, or have been caught three times in the same fault. There are also marks of infamy for any one who boasts falsely to the tribunes of an exploit, who abandons his post, or throws away his arms during battle. So that from the fear of being punished or dishonoured, the soldiers brave all perils.<sup>1</sup>

"Should it happen that whole maniples have been driven from their post, the tribune assembles the legion; the guilty are brought forward; he makes them draw lots, and all who produce the numbers 10, 20, 30, etc., are made to run the gauntlet. The rest are condemned to receive barley in place of wheat, and to camp outside the rampart, at the risk of being carried off by the enemy. This is called *decimating*. When soldiers, on the contrary, distinguish themselves, whether in single combat with the permission of the general, or in a skirmish where the officer imposes no obligation of fighting, the consul parades the legion, calls out the soldiers, and having first bestowed great praises on them, makes a present of a lance to him who has wounded the enemy, of a cup or a breastplate if he has killed and despoiled him.

"After the capture of a city, those who first scaled the wall receive a golden crown.<sup>2</sup> There are also rewards for the soldiers who save citizens or allies. Those who have been delivered themselves crown their liberator. They owe them during their whole life filial respect, and all the duties which they would render a father. The legionaries who have received these rewards have the right, on their return from the campaign, to be present at games and fêtes, clothed in a dress only worn by those whose bravery the consuls have honoured. They besides hang up, in the most conspicuous places of their houses, the spoils which they have taken from the enemy, as monuments of their courage.

"After a victory, or the capture of a city, the division of the booty is made with the same regularity. Half the soldiers guard the camp, the others disperse for pillage, and each brings

<sup>1</sup> The consul Petilius having been slain in 176 by the Ligurians, the senate decided that the legion which had not been able to defend its general should not receive the pay of the year, and that that campaign should not be reckoned to any one *quia pro saluti imperatoris hostium telis se non obtulerant*. (Val. Max. II. vii. 15; Cf. Livy, xli. 18.)

<sup>2</sup> The *obsidional* crown was for a long time made simply of grass.

to his legion what he has been able to get. This booty is sold by auction, and the tribunes divide the proceeds equally among all, including the sick and those who are absent on leave.

"The pay of the foot soldier is two *obols* per day.<sup>1</sup> The centurion has double, the cavalry treble, or a drachma. The ration of bread for the infantry, was two-thirds of an Attic *medimnus* of corn per month, that of the horse 7 *medimni* of barley and 2 of wheat.<sup>2</sup> The infantry of the allies had the same rations as the Romans; their cavalry 1 *medimnus*, and a third of wheat and 5 of barley. This distribution was made the allies without charge; but as regards the Romans, a certain fixed sum was deducted from their pay for the victuals, dress and arms which were assigned them.

"As the camp was always arranged as has been explained, and as each corps holds the same place in it, all that was needful was that the army, on reaching the place of encampment, should see the white flag waving which marks the spot where the consul's tent is pitched, in order that all the maniples should know where to halt. The soldiers take their places as if entering their native city, each going straight to his dwelling without possibility of mistake. Thus the Romans have no need to search, as the Greeks had, for a place 'fortified naturally;' they could camp everywhere, and everywhere, when the enemy wished to try a night surprise, they found them established in a fortress, where they made a good defence."<sup>3</sup>

We see that in the army of those days there was no question respecting the distribution of the soldiers according to the order of classes. The legion of the first age of the republic was constituted aristocratically, according to wealth. After the

<sup>1</sup> The *obol* was one-sixth of a drachma, and Polybius regards the Greek drachma as equal to the Roman denarius, which continued to be considered, for the pay of troops, as equal to 10 *ases* though, from 218 B.C. onward (Pl. *Nat. Hist.* xxxiii. 13), it was worth 16 in commerce. For a year of 360 days, the pay of a foot soldier was therefore 120 denarii, that of the centurion and horse soldier from 240 to 360 denarii. The denarius, containing about this time 58 grains of fine silver (Hussey, *Ancient Weights*), had an absolute value of 88 centimes (8½d.), and a possible value much greater. M. de Witte raises the intrinsic value of the early denarii, struck at the rate of 72 to the lb., to 1.01 francs, that of the later, 84 of which went to the lb., at about 82½ centimes (8½d.).

<sup>2</sup> This rate is somewhat higher than that adopted for the French army.

<sup>3</sup> Compare with this description that which Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, iv. 5) gives more than two centuries after Polybius.

establishment of pay in 400 B.C., and probably since the reforms made by Camillus,<sup>1</sup> the distinctions set up or regulated by King Servius necessarily disappeared, and equality seemed to rule in the camp as well as in the Forum. Age and strength decided the place that the soldier should hold in the ranks. But Rome was too tenacious of its old usages to forget them entirely. The rich, who in the infantry have complete armour, alone furnish all the cavalry, both those who mount themselves at their own expense, *equo privato*, to whom the State gives 7 *medimni* of barley a month, and those who receive from it a horse, *equus publicus*, with an allowance for its support, *as equestre*, equivalent to the rations granted to the others in kind. The poor were only received into the *velites*, a sort of outsiders, who do not count for any serious action, and the needy are enrolled only in times of grave peril.<sup>1</sup> Their service is then an exception, which becomes the rule from Marius' time, that is to say, at the time when the ambitious believe the poorest to be the best auxiliaries.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Punic wars the army was still representative of its country. In two centuries it will no longer be so.

Let us note also that no people of antiquity so faithfully fulfilled the obligation of military service. One may assert that from the battle of Lake Regillus to that of Zama the Romans were an army always on foot. To be raised to a civil magistracy one must have been a soldier, and this custom continued to the close of the Antonines. When civil functions in the third century of our era were separated from military, what remained of the spirit of old Rome disappeared, and the reign of adventurers began.

#### IV.—RECAPITULATION.

So, in the heart of Italy, in the midst of populations subdued, disunited, and watched, arose a people, strong from union and character, which, having spent nearly two centuries in building up its constitution and army, had, in less than eighty years,

<sup>1</sup> The State gave them a sword and buckler.

*Proletarius publicitus scutisque feroque*

*Ornatur ferro.*

(Ennius, *ap.* Aul. Gell., xvi. 10.)

<sup>2</sup> . . . et homini potentiam querenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus. (Sallust, *ap.* Aul. Gell., *ibid.*)



subdued and organised the whole peninsula, from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina. In presence of these splendid results of human activity and prudence, remembering what Rome had once been, we shall say with Bossuet: "Of all the peoples of the world the Roman people has been the proudest and hardiest, the most regular in its counsels, the most constant in its principles, the most prudent, the most laborious—in short, the most patient. From all this has been formed the best military power, and the most prudent, firm, and logical political system which has ever existed."

These are very glorious destinies and a very great history. Yet if in Rome we have found many great citizens, we would venture to say that we have, up to the present, met with no really great man. This empire was, as Bossuet shows in spite of himself, the work of time, of historical circumstances, and of the collective wisdom of the senate and people. The union of those who deliberated in the curia and of those who voted in the comitia, the spirit of sacrifice and discipline, that is, great civic virtues—it is this which has given the Romans the victory over the Samnites and Italy; this which will give them the victory over Carthage and the world. This history is therefore the triumph of good sense applied with perseverance to public affairs; it is also the most brilliant protest against the old doctrine of the government of the world by the gods, and against the new theory which attributes all human progress to great men. They do much, doubtless, and in the works of art and thought they do all; but in politics there are no other great men than those who are the personification of the wants of their time, and who direct the social forces in the direction these forces had already taken. We shall find Rome becoming incapable of guiding its destinies, and abandoning itself into the hands of its military chiefs; but, for a century longer, its institutions and its old spirit preserved it from these dangerous leaders.



Head of Liberty. Coin of Lollius Palikanus, the reverse of which represents the rostra.  
(See page 326.)

## FOURTH PERIOD.

### THE PUNIC WARS (264-201).

#### CHAPTER XIX.

##### CARTHAGE.

##### I.—COMMERCIAL EMPIRE OF THE PUNIC RACE.

WHILE Rome was advancing slowly by war from the heart of Latium to the Straits of Messina, on the other coast of the Mediterranean, facing Italy, less than 30 leagues from Sicily, the Carthaginian power was growing by means of industry and commerce.

To-day, on a desert strand, 4 leagues from Tunis, are to be seen fragments of columns, the ruins of a Roman aqueduct, some reservoirs half filled up, and in the sea the remains of piers which the waves have destroyed. This is all that remains of Carthage,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The most considerable ruins are those of the aqueduct which crossed the isthmus and supplied the city. At its extremity are some deep parallel cisterns, which are sunk under the ground. At a little distance from the cisterns, and commanding the sea by a height of 205 feet, a hill rises, where King Louis Philippe has had a small chapel built in honour of St. Louis. This is, without doubt, the site of Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage. M. Beulé (*Fouilles de Carthage*) thought he found the foundations of the walls on the declivity of the hill, but the results of his excavations have on this point been strongly combated by Mr. Davis (*Carthage and her Remains*). The temple of the great goddess of Carthage, Tanit, whom the Romans successively called Urania, Juno and the Heavenly Virgin, occupied, according to the accounts of ancient authors, another hill almost as extensive as Byrsa, from which it was separated only by a low street. There has been found on the whole breadth of the space comprised between the St. Louis chapel and the sea, but principally in the vicinity of the chapel, a quantity of ex-votos bearing dedications in the Phœnician language to Tanit and Bâal-Hammon, which must come from the temple of this goddess.

"The situation of the ports leaves room for less doubt; they were to the south of Carthage, and opened not upon the Lake of Tunis, but upon the sea, in front of the little port Goletta, pp 2

... *etiam periere ruinae*. And yet twice, Carthage lived gloriously, first as a Punic city, and then as a Roman. Her towers rose to 4 stories; her triple walls reached to 30 cubits, and such was the strength of her walls, that the rooms made in their masonry could shelter three hundred elephants of war, four thousand horses, and twenty-four thousand soldiers with their provisions, equipment and arms.<sup>1</sup> Gold plates covered her temple of the Sun, whose statue of pure gold weighed, it is said, 1000 talents; and in her squares, which re-echoed with twenty languages, were to be met the half-naked Numidian and Moor, the Iberian dressed in white, the Gaul in his brilliant sagum, the stout Ligurian, the active Balearic, Greeks come to seek their fortune in the great city, Nasamones and Lotus eaters called from the region of the Syrtes—in short, all those who came to Carthage to sell their courage, pay their tribute, or to bring to this commercial centre of all lands, civilized and barbarous, the products of three continents. In its last days after the struggle of a century, Carthage still contained seven hundred thousand people.<sup>2</sup>

There were two, one behind the other, but one opening gave entrance to both. The first, which communicated directly with the sea, was the commercial port; the other, the naval port, was smaller and circular; an island occupied its centre. These ports had been cut out of the rock, as were a great many of the Phœnician harbours, and they were thus defended on their sides by a natural wall; towards the south they were closed by an iron chain.

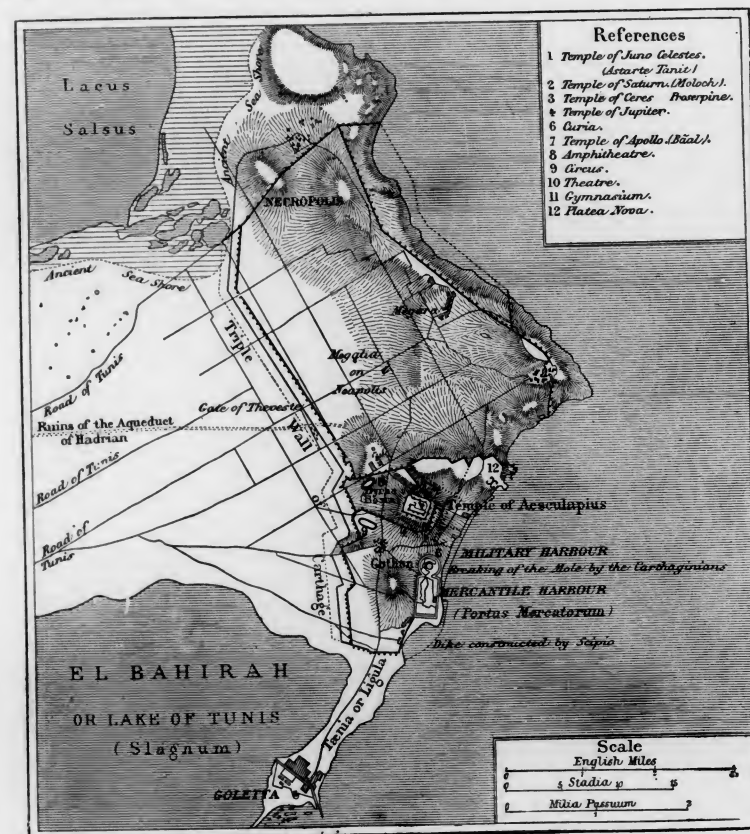
"The Phœnicians carried their religion with them. Wherever they went they raised chapels, or consecrated in the temples of foreign divinities ex-votos to their national divinities. So in almost all their commercial stations are to be found traces of the worship of Melkart and Astarte, or Hercules and Venus, as the Greeks and Romans have always called their gods. The *Portus Herculis*, *Portus Herculis Monæci* (Monaco) and the *Portus Veneris* (Port Vendres) have this origin.

"The Carthaginian inscriptions make known to us, besides priests properly so called, the existence of hierodules attached to the service of the different temples who must have formed regular confraternities. The temple was their family; they had no ancestors; thus more than once is seen on the *stelæ* the name of the city of Carthage in the place of the son and of the ancestor of him who made the offering. The inscriptions permit us also to catch glimpses of a religious organisation outside the sacerdotal body; on two or three large inscriptions we see represented the "ten men placed over the sacred things." This must have been a sort of religious magistracy answering to the centumviri or the suffetes; finally, it tells us the names of a certain number of suffetes: Hannibal, Mago, Bomilcar; but their names were very widespread, and the total absence of dates prevents us from drawing any result relative to the history of Carthage." (Note communicated by M. Berger.)

<sup>1</sup> The triple enclosure of which Appian speaks, was perhaps only the external wall, then the two walls of casemates separated from the first by a covered road.

<sup>2</sup> Its Punic name was Kiriath-Hadeshât, or the *New City*, which was probably pro-

This city was, however, only a colony of another city—Tyre, a city without territory, like Venice or Amsterdam, a vessel at anchor on the sea, and thence witnessing conquerors and revolutions. Tyre and Sidon were the principal cities of a country



Plan of Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

which, confined between Lebanon and the sea, had scarcely an area of 240 square miles. But from the smallest countries have come

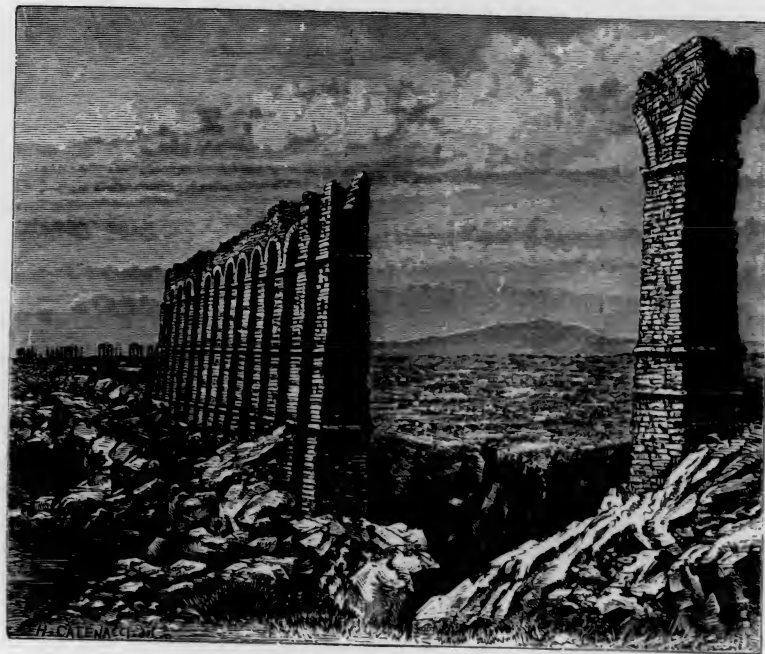
nounced Kart-Hadshât, and this explains the Greek name *Καρχηδών*, and the Roman name *Carthago*.

<sup>1</sup> There are many plans of Carthage. We have collected into ours the results of the most recent works; but many of the details in the published plans, as also in our own, are only approximations.

<sup>2</sup> [We may now add to the Italians also.—Ed.]

the grandest things: from Attica, the civilization of the world; from Palestine, the religion of Christ.

The Greeks have been the artists, the thinkers, and the poets of the ancient world; the Phœnicians were only the traders,<sup>1</sup> but with so much courage, perseverance and skill, that they have taken, in the history of the human race, a place among its civilizing peoples. In their distant expeditions these gold-seekers



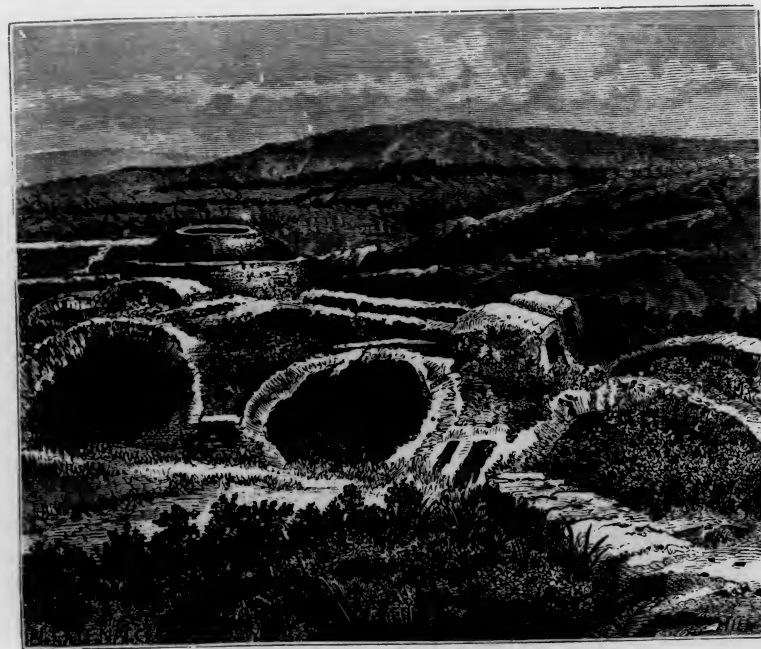
Aqueducts of Carthage.<sup>2</sup>

had found what they did not seek—the arts and science of Egypt and of Assyria, which they carried away in their caravans and on their ships. To the Greeks they transmitted the hieratic writing of the Pharaohs, the metric system of the Babylonians, and some of the religious doctrines, of the arts, which were felicitously

<sup>1</sup> Respecting the commerce of the Phœnicians, see the magnificent ode by Ezekiel (cap. xxvii), "O Tyre! thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty," etc.

<sup>2</sup> These aqueducts belonged to Roman Carthage. Drawing taken from the work by Davis, *Carthage and her Remains*, see p. 439, n. 2.

modified, by the bright and charming genius of the race beloved by Minerva.<sup>1</sup> To the Africans and Spaniards they taught the agriculture of Syria and of the Nile valley; everywhere they brought the



Cisterns of Carthage.<sup>2</sup>

products of advanced industry, which woke up the nascent workmanship of barbarous countries.

As there was no land for the Phœnicians on their barren strand,

<sup>1</sup> [The Phœnician influences on Greek and Roman culture are here well stated, and have been of late proved far greater than was supposed by the earlier students of Greece and Rome. The Greek *μῦθα* retains its Babylonian name; the Greek alphabet has now been proved (by De Rougé) to have come from Egypt through the Phœnicians, who re-named the letters; the tombs of Palestrina, etc., show the spread of Phœnician workmanship over Italy. How much Greek and even Roman religion owed them is uncertain, but the debt was certainly large.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> These cisterns, built on the east of the citadel, appear to have been 140 feet long, 50 wide and 30 high; the walls were 5 feet thick. The Carthaginian cisterns became insufficient for Roman Carthage. Hadrian sought for a supply at Zaghwan and Djonghar, about 68 miles distant, and constructed a gigantic aqueduct across mountains and valleys. It had a mean height of about 113 feet, and a separation of only 9 feet between the supports. There exists above the Bardo, at about one hour's distance, a part of the arches to an extent of about 800 yards. The canal, which the aqueduct carried, was vaulted, and high enough for an average man to walk along without stooping.



they had taken the sea for their domain; they covered it with their fleets, and planted colonies on all its coasts, not after the fashion of Rome, as fortresses intended to secure empire and the unity of the conquering people, but after the Greek manner, as an overflow of population left to its own resources, and so much the better pursuing its own fortune. There

Coin of Sidon.<sup>1</sup>

was a time when the Mediterranean might be styled the Phœnician Sea. The legend, summing up, as it always does, the ancient history of a people in that of a mythic hero, represented the successive stages of progress of Phœnician colonisation by the symbolic voyage of the god Melkart. The Tyrian Heracles, leading a powerful army, had crossed the north of Africa, Spain, Gaul, Italy and Sicily, subduing nations, founding cities, and teaching to the conquered the arts of peace. Sardinia still possesses the strange monuments raised by the Phœnician colonists the *Nuraghe*.<sup>2</sup>

Coin of Sardinia.<sup>2</sup>

Nuraghe of Sori.

Spain. From Tyre to Cadiz, for 1000 leagues, the Phœnician

<sup>1</sup> Head crowned with towers, personification of the city. On the reverse, the name Sidonians, an eagle with a palm and its foot on a ship's prow; in the field a monogram and the date E, year 5 of the Sidonian era, or 106 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> SARD. PATER. Head of the god Sardus; on the reverse, the head and name of Atius Balbus, prætor in Sardinia, and grandfather of Augustus. Roman bronze coin.

<sup>3</sup> [That these *Nuraghe* were built by Phœnicians is more than doubtful; they probably date from earlier, or at least ruder races.—Ed.]

ships could follow a coast fringed by their factories. But the Mediterranean was too narrow for these thousands of merchants who constituted themselves the purveyors of nations. Their caravans or their ships visited the most remote countries of the east and south. By the Red Sea and Indian Ocean they went as far as India, Ceylon, and established themselves in the Persian Gulf; by Persia and Bactria they penetrated to the frontiers of China. The ivory and ebony of Ethiopia, the gold dust of Central Africa and Asia, the perfumes of Yemen, the cinnamon and spices of Ceylon, the precious stones and rich tissues of India, the pearls of the Persian Gulf, the metals, slaves and wools of Asia minor, copper from Italy, silver from Spain,<sup>2</sup> tin from England, amber from the Baltic, lay in heaps in the markets of Tyre. But let us not look into the interior of these maritimes cities where, with so much riches, there was combined so much corruption. Under the influence of a hot climate and of a religion which reduced the problem of the universe to that of fecundity, their solemnities were the lascivious feasts of Astarte, or the shrieks with which their temples resounded when Moloch, "the horrid king,"<sup>3</sup> required the sacrifice of the noblest children.<sup>4</sup>

Coin of Cadiz.<sup>1</sup>

Carthage was only a link of this immense chain which the Phœnicians had attached to all the continents, to all the islands, and with which they seemed to desire to bind the world. But there are cities which are called by their situation to a high fortune. Placed at that point of Africa which seems tending to meet Sicily, to close the canal of Malta, and which commands the passage between the two great basins of the Mediterranean, Carthage

<sup>1</sup> Head of Hercules—Melkart; on the reverse, a fish and a Punic inscription, which reads: "Mebaali-Agadir," a "citizen of Agadir." Silver money. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

<sup>2</sup> Silver being rare in ancient times, the ratio of gold to silver was at Rome as 1 to 10; anciently in Asia it was perhaps 1 to 7 or 8; with us it is legally 1 to 15½; this high price of silver was, without doubt, one of the causes of the wealth of the Phœnicians, who drew much silver from Spain. Tyre and Sidon had flourishing industries also; purple stuffs; glass ware, textile fabrics; toys; salt provisions; metal work, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood  
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears.

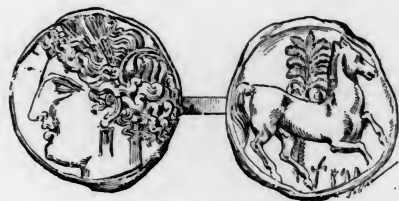
(Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii.)

<sup>4</sup> [The most brilliant picture of Carthaginian splendour will be found in Flaubert's novel *Salammbô*, of which the scene is laid between the first and second Punic wars.—Ed.]

became the Tyre of the West, in colossal proportions, because Mount Atlas, with its intractable mountaineers, was not like Lebanon to Tyre, close to its walls, barring the way and limiting its space;

Coin of Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

because it was not encircled, like Palmyra, by the desert and its nomads; because, in short, it was able, resting on large and fertile provinces,<sup>2</sup> to extend over the vast continent placed behind it, without being stopped by powerful States. The Greeks of Cyrene were kept in check, the interior of Africa crossed to the Nile and Niger,

Coin of Carthage.<sup>4</sup>

Senegal<sup>3</sup> discovered, Spain and Gaul explored, the Canaries discovered, America perhaps surmised and announced to Christopher Columbus by that statue on the isle of Madeira which, with extended arm, pointed to the West. This is what the colony did which was placed by Tyre at Cape Bon. There was a moment when this commercial empire founded

<sup>1</sup> Head of the nymph Arethusa; on the reverse, Pegasus. The inscription, BARAT, signifies the Wells, and perhaps more exactly Bi ARAT, "at Arat," a Punic name of Syracuse which possessed the famous fountain of Arethusa. Large silver piece, certainly struck in Sicily, and probably at Syracuse. (Note of M. de Saulcy.)

<sup>2</sup> The Zeugitana and the Byzacene districts, the extreme fertility of which Polybius (xii. 3), Diodorus (xx. 8), and Scylax praise, and whose soil is even now of inconceivable fertility. Ninety-seven ears have been counted on a single root of barley, and the natives have assured Sir G. Temple (*Excurs. in the Médit.*, ii. 108) that there have often been as many as 300. At the Algerian Exhibition of 1876 some clusters of barley grown in the ditches of Touggourt, and springing from a single grain, bore each 78, 84, and even 118 ears.

<sup>3</sup> Hanno, charged with the examination of the west coasts of Africa, came to a stop through want of provisions between the 7th and 8th degree of N. lat., in the Gulf of Sherboro.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Arethusa. On the reverse, a free horse, with his back against a palm tree a symbol essentially Carthaginian. A fraction of the former piece. The inscription has the same meaning, which assigns the same Sicilian origin to this piece. An electrum coin. (Note of M. De Saulcy.)

by the Punic race, with its two great capitals, Tyre and Carthage, extended, as did a thousand years later that of their Arab brothers, from the Atlantic Ocean as far as the Indian. But this rule had two implacable enemies; in the east the Greeks, in the west the Romans. With Xerxes the Phœnician ships came as far as Salamis; with Alexander the Greeks appeared under the walls of Tyre, which they over-



Coin of Carthage.

turned. When, however, they founded Antioch and Alexandria, Phœnicia, straitened between these two cities, saw the commerce of the world depart. What Alexander had done to Tyre, Agathocles and Pyrrhus attempted against Carthage.

But Greece looks towards the east; here she had gained her brilliant victory; Pyrrhus miscarried in the west against the Phœnician colonists; it required a stronger hand to snatch Sicily from the Carthaginians.

Gold coin.<sup>1</sup>

## II.—CARTHAGINIANS AND LIBY-PHœNICIANS; COMMERCIAL

### POLICY OF CARTHAGE.

Like Rome, Carthage had the most obscure beginnings. She took four centuries to found her empire. Not all the Numidians were, as their Greek name would seem to indicate, nomads. Many of the Libyans were devoted to agriculture; many also wandered about, like the present Algerians, with their flocks. She conquered the former and gained or restrained the latter by the alliances which she caused their

Coin of Libya.<sup>2</sup>

which he called the Horn of the South, Νόρον κίρας. He settled colonists, men and women, on divers points of the coast, from 10° N. lat. to the Pillars of Hercules.

<sup>1</sup> On the right, a palm. On the reverse, the head of a horse. Coin of recent period.

<sup>2</sup> Hercules-Melkart, having the head covered with a lion's skin. On the reverse, a lion walking. Below, the name of the Libyans. Above, the Punic letter corresponding to M. the abbreviation of the word ΜΑΚΙΝΑΤ, which signifies *camp*. The piece must be, then, a *moneta castrensis* special to the Libyans. (Note of M. De Saulcy.)

chiefs to contract with the daughters of her richest citizens.<sup>1</sup> She encouraged the culture of the soil, and her colonists, mixing with the natives, formed in time the same people with them, the Liby-



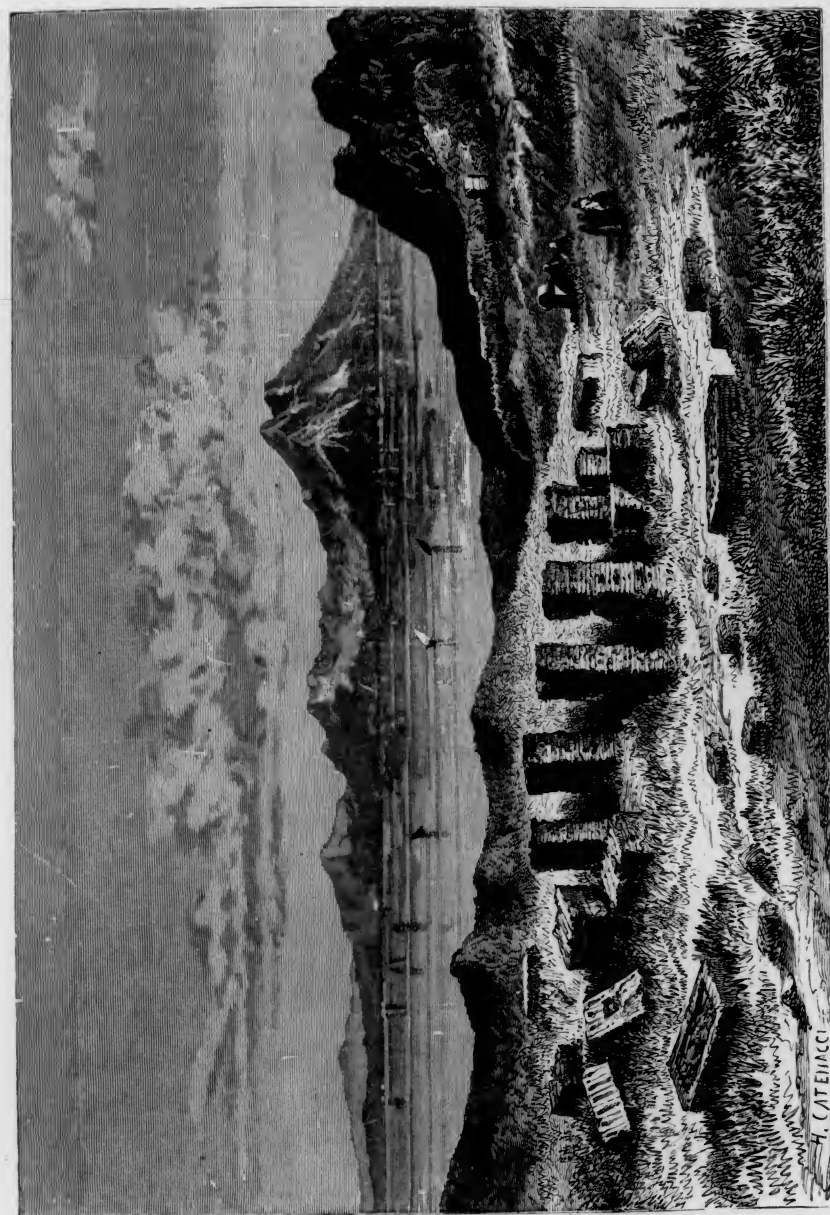
Ports of Carthage<sup>2</sup> (taken from Davis).

Phoenicians.<sup>3</sup> But the Roman colonies, always armed, encircled their metropolis with an impenetrable girdle. The establishments

<sup>1</sup> See in Livy the history of Sophonisba, and in Polybius, on p. 421, that of Naravas (i. 78 seq.). (Esalces, King of the Massylians, married also a niece of Hannibal. (Livy, xxix. 29.)

<sup>2</sup> The harbours of Carthage were situate to the S.E. of St. Louis's Chapel, at the point where the Bey's country house stands. The two little lakes, which are actually to be seen, are not remains of the ports, but an attempt at restoration, made some years ago by the son of the prime minister. (De Sainte-Marie, *La Tunisie Chrét.*)

<sup>3</sup> Arist., *Pol.*, vi. 3. Let us note that between the Carthaginians and the Africans there was a difference of origin, language, and manners which did not exist, at least to the same degree, between Rome and the Italians, even if the famous narrative of Procopius (*De B.*, V. ii. 20) should be admitted respecting the presence in Africa of Canaanites, that is to say, of men of Phœnician language and race before the arrival of colonists from Sidon and Tyre. In Italy the fusion was possible; it was so in Africa only by that intermediary race the Liby-Phœnicians, which was slow in forming, and which had not the same interests as Carthage. Just as the English are foreigners in India, so the genuine Carthaginians always remained for Africa. In Livy the ambassadors of Masinissa reproach them with it.



Ruins of the Temple of Bial-Hammon.



of Carthage, all unvalled, that a revolt might be impossible, were only, to say the truth, large agricultural villages, charged with the feeding of the immense population of the capital and provisioning its thousand ships and its armies. Thus is it that the Carthaginian cities appear to us; open to all attacks, and as incapable of defending themselves against Carthage as against her enemies. Spoletum, Casilinum, Nola, and the impregnable cities of central Italy saved Rome by their resistance to Hannibal; two hundred cities yielded to Agathocles as soon as he had set foot in Africa.

The senate had favoured the intermixture of its colonists with the Libyans (Berbers). But the people who went forth were regarded as an inferior class, excluded from honours and from office,<sup>1</sup> watched, treated as a hostile race, and thus urged on to revolt. The history of Mutin and of the Mercenary War shows both the fault of Carthage and its punishment; at Rome, Mutin would have become a consul; at Carthage, he was insulted, proscribed, and forced into treason to save his head.



*Ægypto-Roman Coin of Malta.*<sup>2</sup>

Carthage had been preceded or followed on this coast by other Phœnician colonies—Utica, Hippo, Hadrumetum, the two Leptis, all of which she compelled to recognise her supremacy, except Utica, which knew how to keep a real independence.<sup>3</sup> No longer having to fear their rivalry, having subjected the Numidian borderers, keeping the rest divided by policy or gold, she had full liberty to extend her maritime empire. Born of a merchant city, Carthage loved nothing but commerce, and made war simply to open up thoroughfares, to make sure of trading with new countries, or to destroy rival powers. The Greeks and the Phœnicians divided between them one of the two great basins of the

<sup>1</sup> It was the Liby-Phœnicians who composed, with the populace of the capital, the colonies sent out in such number. (Arist., *Pol.*, vi. 3.) [Mommson thinks the designation was really political, like the *Latin name*.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *MEAITAIQN*. Head of Iris, with her usual head-dress—three plumes and two urens (the serpent, mark of royalty); before her, the representation of the goddess Tanit. On the reverse, Osiris(?) carrying the two symbols of regularity—the claw, which holds, and the *flabellum* which moves or fans. Bronze coin of Malta.

<sup>3</sup> Polyb., iii. 24. Utica in Phœnician means the *old town*.

Mediterranean; Carthage sought to possess the other. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands commanded its navigation; she



Peno-Roman Coin of Gaulos.<sup>1</sup>

took possession of them. Sicily was better defended by the Greeks of Syracuse; she kept them in check by taking up her position at Malta, where she kept two thousand men as garrison, at Gaulos, at Cossura, which touch it, at the Ægates and the Lipari Islands, which dominate its coast on the west and north, in Sicily itself, two-thirds of which she finally occupied. Wherever she ruled as sovereign, hard laws—as merchants have always prescribed, even in our days, to defend their monopolies—oppressed the conquered. Whilst around her own walls she condemned the Libyans to work for her profit, it was forbidden, if we could believe the Greeks,



Peno-Roman Coin of Cossura.<sup>2</sup>

the inhabitants of Sardinia, under pain of death, to cultivate the soil.<sup>2</sup> In Africa, whose stormy coast she had fringed with her numerous factories; in Spain, where ancient Phœnician colonies served as commercial stations, she profited by the ignorance of the barbarians to make good bargains with them. She lost neither her time nor strength in conquering or civilizing them; she preferred to create wants for them, and to impose on them burdensome exchanges, taking for some slight tissues made at Malta, the gold dust of the African or silver of the Spaniard; always gaining on everything, and with all men.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Melkart. Before it, a *caduceus*, symbol of commerce. On the reverse, an object, the meaning of which is lost, and in a Roman crown of laurel the words "the ships." Bronze money used for paying sailors.

<sup>2</sup> *Auct. de Mirab.*, 104. This is a mistake; Sardinia furnished much corn to the fleets and armies of Carthage (Diod., xiv. 63, 77). But the Carthaginians spread this report to keep off foreign ships from the island which would have supported Carthage if a revolt or war deprived them of the corn of Africa. In the first treaty with Rome, the Romans were allowed to trade in Sardinia; in the second this permission was withdrawn. (Polyb., iii. 22-24.)

<sup>3</sup> Head of a veiled woman, image of the tutelary deity of the island, crowned by a Victory. Reverse, COSSURA, and the representation of Tanit in a crown of laurel (see p. 457, n. 2). Bronze coin of Cossura. These three coins show the two islands submitting to the triple influence of Phœnicia, Egypt, and Rome, and as two at least are of the Roman period, they prove also the persistence of the Punic nationality.

The Etruscans, Massaliots, Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the Greek cities of Italy created for her a severe competition. Against some she excited the hate and ambition of Rome (by the treaties of 509, 348, and 276 B.C.); against others she perhaps armed the Gauls and Ligurians; or else she mysteriously hid the route followed by her ships. Every foreign vessel caught in the waters of Sardinia or near the Pillars of Hercules was pillaged and the crew thrown into the sea.<sup>1</sup> After the Punic wars, this strange right of nations, as Montesquieu calls it, was modified. A Carthaginian vessel, seeing itself followed into the Atlantic by a Roman galley, ran itself aground rather than show the route to the Cassiterides (the Scilly Islands).<sup>2</sup> The love of gain rose almost to heroism. What is strange, the greatest commercial power of antiquity seems to have remained a long time without itself coining its gold and silver money; at least, the silver and gold coins which we possess of Punic Carthage all come from the mints which it had in Sicily, and where Greek artists worked for it. Syracuse even made them for it, as appears from the beauty of the type and image of the nymph Arethusa. These moneys do not even belong to the standard of weight, after which the true Punic coins were made.<sup>3</sup> Carthage, however, had them at the time of its independence; but, following the custom of Egypt and Western Asia, it made its exchanges principally with bullion, as China still does, and by barter, or with pieces of leather, which, bearing the stamp of the State,<sup>4</sup> played the part of our paper money. This practice need hardly surprise us, as something analagous to it has been found among the Assyrians, from whom Phœnicia borrowed so much.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. Pun.*, 4; Strabo, xvii. p. 802; Montesq., *Esp. des Loix*, xxi. 11

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iii. p. 176. The captain being saved, Carthage restored him, at the public expense, all he had lost.

<sup>3</sup> Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. i. p. 266. The author believes that Carthage began to coin pieces of gold at home only towards 350.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm.*, iv. 136.

<sup>5</sup> From the ninth century B.C. the Assyrians had small clay bricks, which were real letters of credit, enabling the merchants of Babylon and Nineveh to dispense with the cumbrous and sometimes dangerous transport of specie. (Lenormant, *ibid.*, vol. i. p. 113.)

## III.—MERCENARIES.

To give its commerce scope and security, to be mistress of the seas, Carthage only wanted quiet possession of the isles and coast line. However restricted these pretensions were, armies were required to realize them. But as soon as war becomes simply a commercial matter, a means of assuring the return of capital and the investment of merchandise, why should not the merchants pay soldiers as they pay agents and clerks? Venice, Milan, Florence—



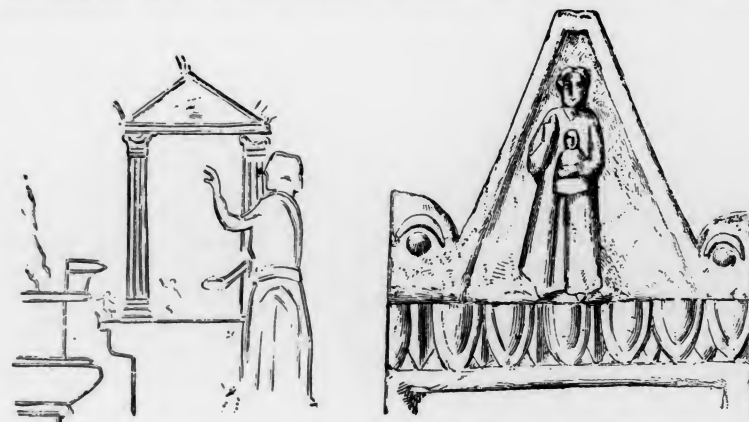
Figures placed at the Prows of Punic Ships.<sup>1</sup>

all the Italian republics of the 15th century had *condottieri*; England has often bought them. It was a Phœnician practice: "The Persians, Lydians, and the men of Libya," said Ezekiel to the city of Tyre, "were in thine army, thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness."<sup>2</sup> Carthage had, therefore, its mercenaries. Horses were bought and ships,

<sup>1</sup> We may suppose that Carthage followed the usage of Tyre and Sidon, who placed monstrous dwarfs at the prow of their ships (*Musée Napoléon*, iii. pl. 19). See (p. 452) what is said of Carthaginian art.

<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 10.

which they armed at the prow with deformed dwarfs to frighten people; they also bought men, and from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Atlas mountains there were plenty of swords for hire! Every one of Carthage's factories became a recruiting office. The prices were low, for the emulation was great amongst the poor and greedy barbarians who encircled the narrow border of the Carthaginian possessions. Besides, Carthage understood her business. She shipped the women, children, and even the effects of her mercenaries—they were so many hostages of their fidelity; or after



Offering (ex-voto).<sup>1</sup>

The Goddess Tanit (ex-voto).<sup>2</sup>

a murderous campaign they fell to the treasury. No one was refused, neither the Balearic slinger<sup>3</sup> nor the Numidian horseman,<sup>4</sup> armed with a buckler of elephant skin, and covered with the spoils of a lion or panther, nor the Spanish and Gallic foot-man, nor the Greek, whom they employed in every capacity—spy, sailor, builder, in time of need even general.<sup>5</sup>

The more different races there were in the Carthaginian army,

<sup>1</sup> A Carthaginian making an offering before an altar.

<sup>2</sup> Top of a *stèle* of the temple of Tanit, where the goddess, who was "the splendour of Bâal," that is to say, the moon, is reflection of the god, whose wife she was, is represented holding a child. To the right and left on the *acroteria* the crescent moon above the sun's disc.

<sup>3</sup> The reputation of these slingers is known. Strabo says (iii. p. 168) that the Balears gave bread to their children only by placing it on a spot which they had to reach by the sling. Cf. Florus (iii. 8), Lycophron (*Alex.*, p. 637), and Diodorus (v. 18), who say the same thing.

<sup>4</sup> Polyb., i. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Xanthippus. Polyb., i. 7. See in the chapter following the history of the Rhodian of Lilybæum.



the more the senate felt confidence; a revolt seemed impossible among so many men who could not understand one another. Besides the general, his principal officers, and guard, who were called the sacred battalion,<sup>1</sup> were Carthaginians, and the senators always kept some of their colleagues near him to watch over his conduct, and be assured that all his people were well earning their pay. The love of glory, patriotism, devotion to the State, all those great names which at Rome did miracles, had no currency with the senate of Carthage. They spoke much of receipts and expenditure—very little of national honour; thus the resources of the country were only measured by those of the treasury. Whilst that was full, they paid soldiers with a careless prodigality; when it was exhausted they retired or came to terms—it was a bad speculation. When she succeeded the expenses were well covered, and the mercenaries killed in the enterprise forgotten. What mattered it that there were forty or fifty thousand barbarians less in the world! These mercenaries could become dangerous. But the senators knew how to free themselves from their demands—witness the four thousand Gauls given up to the sword of the Romans, the troop abandoned on the desert Isle of Bones,<sup>2</sup> and Xanthippus, who perhaps perished like Carmagnola.

Such a system might last so long as distant expeditions only were concerned, but the moment that war drew near their own walls Carthage was lost. Its citizens having committed to mercenaries the care of their defence, found few resources in themselves when they stood alone in face of the enemy. Could they have had a senate able to send to the Romans, when making a descent on Africa, the answer of Appius to the King of Epirus! could they have made legionaries, as those of Aesculum and Beneventum, out of their shop boys! "A crowd of virtues belongs to the pursuit of arms,"<sup>3</sup> and war, while a great misfortune, gives to

<sup>1</sup> For the Carthaginian citizen military service was so meritorious that he desired to keep perpetual remembrance of it. The law considered that to gird the sword was quite an exploit, and authorized the citizen to wear as many rings as he had made campaigns. (Arist., *Polit.*, vii. 2, 6.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ὀρεσίωσις*. Diod., v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Chateaubriand says: "A people accustomed to see only the variations of the funds and the yard of cloth sold, if it find itself exposed to a disturbance will be able to show neither the

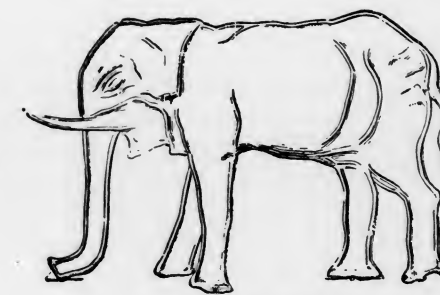
a military people qualities which outside camps are not known. Like the Jews and Tyrians, their brethren, the Carthaginians learnt how to fight only in their last days; but like them also, at the crisis they were heroic.

#### IV.—THE CONSTITUTION.

Besides, the mercenaries only appeared at periods of decadence—in Greece, after Alexander; in the Roman empire, after



Pomegranate (ex-voto).<sup>1</sup>



Elephant (ex-voto).<sup>1</sup>

the Antonines; in Italy, in the Middle Ages, after the Lombard League. When Rome and Carthage met, according to Polybius,<sup>2</sup> the former was in the full force of its robust constitution; the other had reached that senility of States when the enfeebled organisation is no longer directed by an energetic will. The assertion of the merits of poverty had disappeared with the declamations on the virtues of the golden age. The poor man is not necessarily a good citizen, and the rich a bad one, but riches as well as indigence can produce mischief. Now, there was at

energy of resistance nor the generosity of sacrifice. Repose begets cowardice; among shuttles there is fear of swords; a crowd of virtues belongs to arms."

<sup>1</sup> Taken from a *stèle* of the temple of Tanit. The pomegranate being consecrated to Adonis, this representation would indicate some relation between the worship of Tanit and that of Adonis. These two designs show more manual dexterity in the reproduction of animals and plants than is to be found in that of the human figure.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., vi. 51. [Greeks served for pay from early days as already mentioned.—*Ed.*]

Carthage too much opulence and too little of that high spirit which raises the soul above fortune. This great city had skilful merchants, bold voyagers, wise counsellors, and incomparable generals; we cannot name a poet, an artist, or a philosopher.<sup>1</sup> It will be



Ex-voto of the Temple of Tanit.<sup>2</sup>

quite enough to see the reproduction which we give of some specimens of the three thousand ex-votos found at Carthage to learn that, true to its origin, this people had no more art than their metropolis. It was active enough, but not thoughtful, and its religion, at once licentious and sanguinary, and for that reason very tenacious, exercised no moral influence on private life, no useful influence on the government, whilst that of the Romans promoted virtuous conduct, and its priests, nearly all magistrates or senators, spoke in the name of Heaven to give sanctions to political wisdom.

The Romans pillaged the enemy; they did not pillage the

<sup>1</sup> In spite of the luxury of the temples and palaces, art was at Rome, as at Tyre, only a foreign importation. In the Temple of Melkart at Tyre, where Herodotus (ii. 44) saw a gold column and one of emerald, there was no image of the god. The same in the temple of Gades: . . . *nulla effigies, simulacrave nota deorum*

*Majestate locum implevere timore.*

(Silius Italicus, *Punica*, iii, 30.)

There were some books at Carthage since the senate gave them to Masinissa, and Sallust (*Jug.*, p. 17) saw them; but there is no literary work extant but Mago's treatise on agriculture. It has been thought that the sculptor Boëthos was a Carthaginian, but the best editions of Pausanias have the reading *Χαλκηδώνιος* in place of *Καρθηδώνιος*, which makes Boëthos to be a Greek of Chalcedon (see the Pausanias ed. Didot, V. xvii. 4). They make Clitomachus also a Carthaginian, one of the chiefs of the New Academy, but he lived a long time at Athens, and there succeeded (in 129 B.C.) Carneades. He was still teaching there in 111 (Cicero, *De Orat.*, i. 11), and he is traced there as far as the year 100. He was a Greek, at least in education, as another Carthaginian, Terence, was a Roman.

<sup>2</sup> A pediment somewhat Greek, then two figures of geometrical appearance, and which are, in fact, the rudimentary representation of the sacred cone (Venus of Paphos, Tacit., *Hist.*, ii. 3, black stone of Emesa, Cybele, etc.), which was the image of Tanit, of whom the Græco-Romans have made the *Heavenly Virgin*. "There, indeed, where the Aryan mind sees atmospheric phenomena the Semite sees persons, who become united and beget others. . . . The open hand seen from the front is the hand of the divinity which blesses." (Berger, *Les Ex-voto du temple de Tanit*, p. 12.)

<sup>3</sup> Note explanatory of the figures of the plate (p. 455): No. 1, Attitude of adoration; No. 2, Hand of the goddess blessing, whose power is indicated by the immoderate size of the thumb, on which is graven its image; No. 3, The ears of the god "who hears" and his mouth, "which blesses"; No. 4, Disc of Venus surmounting the globe of the sun, with two *uræi*, symbols of



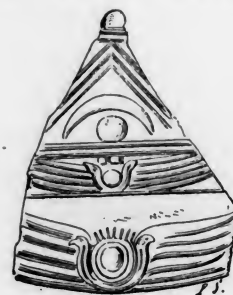
No. 1. Adoration.



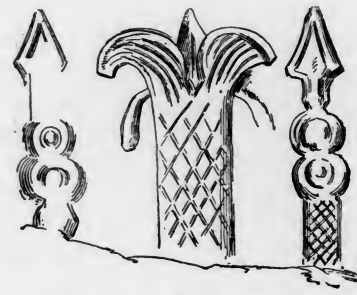
No. 2. Hand of a God Blessing.



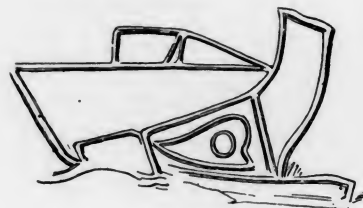
No. 3. Ex-voto.



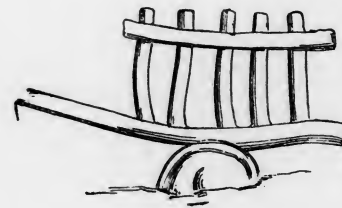
No. 4. Disc of Venus.



No. 5. Palm Tree and Ensigns.



No. 6. Ship.



No. 7. Chariot.



No. 8. Trophy.



No. 9. Plough.



No. 10. Candelabrum.

Remains of Carthaginian Art (see p. 454, note 3).

State. At Carthage, in the latter days, all was for sale and all was sold, principles as well as places. As wealth gave power, honours and pleasure, no means of acquiring it, whether by force or astuteness, seemed illegitimate. "Among the Carthaginians," says Polybius, "in whatever way riches are acquired, one is never blamed; high places are bought." Aristotle also says that the rich alone held office. Carthage loved gold; she got possession of it, and she died the very day when she lost it, *repperunt mercedem suam*.

Nevertheless, Aristotle boasts of the excellence of her government.<sup>1</sup> It was a constitution made up of different elements—royalty, aristocracy, democracy, but without the existence among these powers of the just balance which is the advantage of this kind of polity: oligarchy was really supreme. Two suffetes (*shophetim*, i.e., judges) chosen out of privileged families, and nominated, at first for life, by the general assembly, were the highest magistrates of the republic; some Greek and Latin writers give them the name of kings.<sup>2</sup> After them came the senate, in which all the great families had representatives. To facilitate the action of the government by concentrating it there was taken from the senate the council of the centumviri or of the hundred and four, according to Aristotle. The latter, by degrees, usurped the power, so that the suffetes became an annual office, and, being deprived of the command of the armies, were no more than presidents of this council and the religious chiefs of the nation. The centumviri who recruited themselves by co-option, could call the generals to

Baal-Hammon, formed by two crowned serpents surrounding the solar disc; No. 5, in the centre a palm tree with two clusters of dates, to the right and left two pikes representing ensigns; No. 6, Ship's prow; No. 7, Chariot with full wheels; No. 8, Panoply showing that the conical helmet represented is like the conical helmets found at Cannæ, and which, after our drawing, should be considered as Carthaginian; No. 9, Plough; No. 10, Candelabrum (extract from a memoir by Mons. Ph. Berger on *Les Ex-voto du temple de Tanit à Carthage*). Let what precious monuments come from the small town of Pompeii be compared with what the temple of Tanit yields to us, and whatever allowance we may make for profanations and pillage, the thought must strike us that the Carthaginians, in spite of their nearness to Sicily, had only rude forms of art.

<sup>1</sup> Arist., *Polit.*, ii. 8. Cicero says also: *Nec tantum Carthago habuisset opum sexcentos fere annos sine consiliis et disciplina.* (*De Rep.*, i., fragm. inc., 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Corn. Nepos (*Hannib.*, 7). Arist. (*Pol.*, ii. 8) compares them to the kings of Sparta, and calls them βασιλεις. Livy (xxx. 7) compares them to the consuls. Cf. Zon. viii. 8. Gades had two suffetes (Livy, xxviii. 37), and the case was probably the same in all the Phœnician and Carthaginian colonies.



account; they made use of this right to control all the military forces of the republic. In time the other magistrates and the senate itself found themselves subjected to their control.<sup>1</sup> As senators, they filled the committees formed in the senate to control each of the branches of the administration—the navy, internal police, military affairs, etc., and as centumviri they exercised, moreover, supervision over these committees. Finally they formed the tribunal before which were brought judicial matters, perhaps in the committee of the Thirty, whose members were for life,<sup>2</sup> and who seem to have been a privy council.<sup>3</sup> The nomination to offices and the right of intervening, in case of disagreement, between the suffetes and the senate constituted the sole prerogatives of the public assembly.

We cannot be quite sure that what has just been said is a faithful summary of the Carthaginian constitution. The information of the ancients is insufficient, and on many points contradictory;<sup>4</sup> but they agree in showing the lengthened preponderance in this republic of the oligarchy which, to keep away the poor from the government, had made, as at Rome, all public functions unsalaried, and permitted the same citizens to hold several offices at the same time. To select senators and judges Athens consulted the lot, which is very democratic; Carthage consulted wealth only, which is not so.

The senate, and in the senate the centumvirs, were for a long time the sole masters of government. If liberty, as the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxx. 16; xxxiii. 46. The tribunal of the Forty, at Venice, united also all their powers. (See Daru, Bk. xxxix.) Arist. (*Pol.*, ii. 8) speaks of the *συνέδριον τῶν ἑταίρων*. These associations where they prepared subjects for deliberation in the senate: *in circulis convivisque celebrata sermonibus res est, deinde in senatu quidam* (Livy, xxxiv. 61) were an element of strength to the aristocracy, which was besides renewed by the accession of the newly become rich. Observe that the Carthaginians had not family names any more than the Jews.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, xix. 2, 5, and Livy, xxxiii. 46: *res fama vitæque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum ejus ordinis offendisset, omnes adversos habebat.*

<sup>3</sup> ... *Triginta seniorum principes: id erat sanctius apud illos, consilium, maximeque ad ipsum senatum regendum vis.* (Livy, xxx. 16.)

<sup>4</sup> The two men who have spoken with the greatest authority respecting the institutions of Carthage, Aristotle and Polybius, are separated by two centuries, since the former died in 322, and the latter in 122. The one knew Carthage in prosperity, and finds its government excellent; the other saw its ruin, and blames its institutions. Both speak truly though inconsistently, and this difference is explained by the difference of the times when they lived. Yet Aristotle had said: "If ever any great reverse happen to them, if their subjects refuse them obedience, the Carthaginians will find no means in their constitution to save themselves."

of the decadence understood it, suffered, empire profited, for the Carthaginian senate had the immutable policy belonging to great aristocratic bodies which, pursuing the same designs with energy and prudence for several generations, do more for the future of States than the often-changing influence of popular assemblies.

It maintained during one whole war the same generals in office, for example, Hannibal,<sup>1</sup> the defender of Agrigentum; Carthalon, the destroyer of the Roman fleet among the rocks of Camarina; Adherbal, the conqueror at Drepanum;



Coin of Camarina.<sup>2</sup>

Himilco, who for nine years held Lilybæum; and, above all, Amilcar Barca, over whom for six years all the efforts of his powerful adversaries could not triumph. But it watched their acts and punished their faults, not always their misfortunes; thus he who was conquered at Mylæ, being surprised by an unusual manœuvre, did not lose its confidence. It is blamed for some rigorous decisions; it was right to remove from commands the incapable or to strike ambitious fools, who deserve the extremest severities when they have lost the army or compromised the State. In home affairs it did not, like Athens, give up the tribunals to the people, that is to say, justice to popular passions, and so well did it defend the civil power against military chiefs and demagogues, that there was not seen to arise, during a space of five hundred years, one of those tyrannies which were so often bred elsewhere from the favour of the army or demagogic excesses.<sup>3</sup> The populace, restrained by a whole system of aristocratic institutions, attached to

<sup>1</sup> The following are the meanings, as given by M. de Sauley, of some Carthaginian names: Hannibal (khanni-Baal), "Baal has taken me into favour;" Asdrubal (âzaron-lâal), "Baal has protected him," or "protects him;" Amilcar (âbd-Melkart), "the servant of Melkart;" Hannon (khannoun), "the gracious;" Maharbal (mahar-Baal), "present from Baal;" Bodostor (âbd-Astaroth), "the servant of Astarte;" Bomilcar (âbd-Melkart), "the servant of Melkart."

<sup>2</sup> Theatrical mask or head of Medusa; on the reverse, six globules, mark of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. (6 ounces). Very ancient bronze coin of Camarina.

<sup>3</sup> Two attempts at usurpation are quoted. Aristotle speaks of a Hanno, whom he compares to Pausanias, and who, in 340, was put to death after frightful tortures with his whole family; and according to Justin (xxi. 4), Bomilcar also attempted, in 308, to cause a revolution.

the government by the opulence of the charitable establishments,<sup>1</sup> was also periodically enfeebled by the sending abroad of numerous colonies. Carthage thus got rid of this populace without native ties and without gods, which collects in great merchant cities, and in whom low instincts, brutal passions, hatred, envy, and all covetousness were at work. War stopped this current of emigration, and seditious mobs gathered in Carthage. If we believe the wisest historian of antiquity, the Punic wars, which at Rome consolidated union, modified the constitution for the profit of the multitude. He says, "Among the Carthaginians, it was the people, before the war of Hannibal, who decided all; at Rome it was the senate. So the Romans, often beaten, triumphed at last by the prudence of their plans."<sup>2</sup> We must attribute, if we follow Polybius, this great fall of Carthage to its demagogues; they have caused that of many other states!

<sup>1</sup> "The Carthaginians have rich establishments where they take care to place a large number of citizens of the lower class. It is thus that they remedy the fault of their government, and assure tranquillity at home. (Arist., ii. 8.)

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., vi. 51; Cf. xv. 30.



Head of Apollo crowned with laurel; on the reverse, AIAYBAITAN and a lyre. Bronze coin of Lilybæum.

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241).

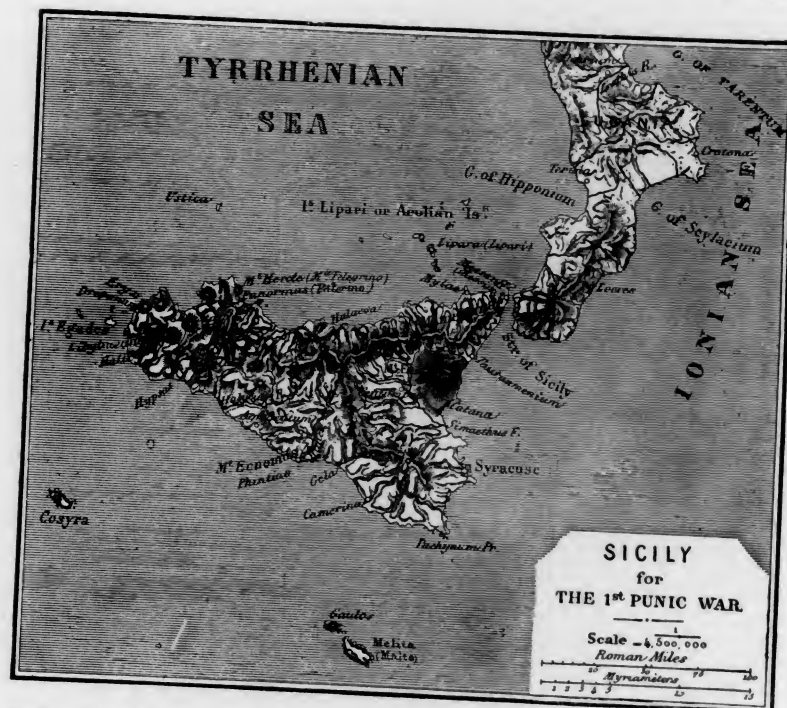
#### I.—THE TREATIES BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE (509-279).

ROME and Carthage had known each other for a long time; three times they had sealed their alliance by treaties, for they had the same enemies—the pirates who infested the Tyrrhenian Sea, and pillaged the coasts of Latium; later on the Italiot Greeks and Pyrrhus.

We can still quote these monuments of a very ancient diplomacy: Polybius had read them on tables of bronze preserved in the archives of the ædiles. They are doubly interesting—as regards the history of political events, and that of the law of nations. The most ancient, which is at once a treaty of alliance and of commerce, was negotiated by Tarquin, and concluded by the first consuls of the republic (509). "Between the Romans and their allies on the one part, the Carthaginians and their allies on the other, there shall be peace and amity on the following conditions: the Romans and their allies shall not sail their war-ships beyond [east of] Cape Bon (Prom. Pulchrum), unless they be driven thither by tempest or chased by their enemies. In that case they shall be permitted to buy there or to take thence what shall be necessary for the repair of the vessels, and for sacrifices to the gods, and they shall undertake to leave in five days. Their merchant-ships shall be able to trade at Carthage, but no bargain shall be valid unless it shall have been made by the medium of the public crier and writer. For everything sold in their presence, the public credit shall be a guarantee as regards the seller. The same shall apply in Africa (on the territory of Carthage), in Sardinia, and in the part of Sicily under the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians shall do no harm to the peoples of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circei and Terracina, nor to any other Latin people subject to Rome.

They shall abstain from attacking (in that part of Italy) the cities not subjects of the Romans; if they take one, they shall hand it over to the Romans without doing it damage. They shall not build any forts in Latium, and if they disembark in arms on the lands of the Latins, they shall not pass the night there."

This treaty shows what degree of power Rome had reached



under its kings, how it then protected its subjects and Latin allies, and what advantages it assured their commerce even on the distant shores of Libya, without however, obtaining from Carthage for their ships free entrance into the Levant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Rather from entering the gulf of Carthage, and proceeding to the rich country about the lesser Syrtes, Pyracium and Emporia. The genuineness of this treaty, as to age, being attacked by Mommsen, has been recently defended by many scholars, and seems fairly established. Cf. the account in Neumann's *Zeitalter der Pun. Kriege*, pp. 53-8, when the editor (Faltin) cites the recent literature on the subject, especially Nissen in the *Jahrbücher f. Klas. Phil.* for 1867, pp. 321 seq.—Ed.]

The second treaty is later by more than a century and a half (348 B.C.). Rome had employed its hundred and sixty-two years in recovering that which the setting up of the republic had cost. Carthage, on the contrary, secure from revolutions under its aristocratic government, had grown in strength and riches. Among its allies it names this time Utica and Tyre, because it now represents all the ambitions of the Phœnician race, united against those Greeks who come into so rude a rivalry with the ancient masters of the Mediterranean, who dispute with them Sicily, and threaten at the same time the Roman coast of Latium and the Punic factories of the Tyrrhenian Sea. So its words are more haughty and its concessions less favourable. By the former treaty it interdicted the Romans from navigating the Eastern Mediterranean; it maintains this prohibition and adds another, that of not passing the Pillars of Hercules. It takes from them the right of traffic in Sardinia and Africa, and no longer engages not to molest the Latin cities which it might take outside the Roman territory. It still consents, indeed, to give up such towns to its allies, but cleared of gold and captives which this time it intends to keep.<sup>1</sup>

The third treaty is in the year 279 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Pyrrhus being then in Italy, and disturbing both Carthage and Rome, these two cities renewed their old compact of friendship. They stipulated that neither of the two nations should accept from the king conditions contrary to the alliance, and that if one of the two peoples were attacked by the Epirots, the other should have the right to help it.<sup>3</sup> "Carthage shall furnish transport ships for the voyage out and back, but the auxiliaries shall be paid by the State which sends them. The Carthaginians shall bring help to the Romans on sea, should the latter need it; yet the ships' crews shall not be forced to land if they refuse."

These treaties were confirmed by oaths. The Carthaginians swore by the gods of their fathers; the Romans, in the former

<sup>1</sup> [This treaty was mainly concerned with international limitations of piracy, which, since the fall of the Etruscan and Dionysian naval powers, was restricted by no powerful marine, and was particularly injurious to the Romans, who had no fleet to overcome it. Cf. Livy, vii. 26, and Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 60, seq.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [Really the fourth. The third was in 306 B.C., but its terms are unknown—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> . . . ἵνα ἐξῇ βοηθεῖν ἀλλήλοις. (Polyb., iii. 25.)



treaties by Jupiter Lapis, in the last by Mars and Enyalius.<sup>1</sup> The oath by Jupiter Lapis was thus taken: "The fecial takes a stone in his hand, and, after having sworn by the public faith that the conventions shall be faithfully kept, he adds: 'If I speak the truth, let happiness be mine; if I think differently from what I say, let every one else preserve in peace, in his own country and under its laws, his property, penates and their tombs; as for myself, let me be cast away as I cast away this stone.' And while saying these words he throws the stone far away."

Coin of Sicily.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen that the Carthaginians, to fulfil one of the clauses of the treaty, before it had even been requested by Rome, sent to Ostia a hundred and twenty galleys.<sup>3</sup> The senate did not accept this help; under their refusal was hidden the confidence which the Romans had of conquering alone, or the distrust with which such forward allies inspired them. From Ostia the admiral sailed to Tarentum, and offered his mediation to Pyrrhus.<sup>4</sup> The Carthaginians were evidently very desirous to restore the king to the delights of his Epirot royalty. He, on the contrary, dreamt only of battles; he passed into Sicily, made war there for three years, and when quitting the island exclaimed: "What a fair battlefield we are leaving to the Romans and Carthaginians!"<sup>5</sup>

## II.—OPERATIONS IN SICILY (264 B.C.).

Neither Rome nor Carthage could yield to a rival power the fine island situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, which adjoins Italy, and from which Africa is almost visible. If

<sup>1</sup> Enyalius, or the *bellicose*, was at first a surname of Mars; later on they made him a son of that god. He holds probably, in the language of Polybius, the place of Quirinus.

<sup>2</sup> Woman's head (probably the queen Philistis, whom some assign as wife to Hiero II.) veiled and crowned with corn ears; behind, a leaf. On the reverse, ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΑΝ and a monogram. Victory in a quadriga. Coin of the Sicilians.

<sup>3</sup> Justin, xviii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, xviii. 2. Livy tells of presents which Carthage sent in the years 342 and 306 to Rome, in congratulating them on their successes over the Samnites, vii. 38; ix. 43.

<sup>5</sup> A quarrel had already been near breaking out on the subject of Tarentum. See p. 383.

Carthage were mistress of it, she would shut up the Romans in the peninsula, whose people her intrigues and gold would unceasingly be arousing to revolt. If Rome ruled there, the commerce of Carthage would be intercepted, and a fair wind could in less than a night convey the legions to the foot of her walls.

Coin of Messina.<sup>1</sup>

Three powers divided the island between them: Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse since the year 270, the Carthaginians, and the Mamertines or sons of Mars. The last, who had been mercenaries of Agathocles,<sup>2</sup> had by treason seized Messina, and from this port they infested the whole island.<sup>3</sup> Diodorus represents them pillaging even on the south coast, where they laid waste Gela which was rising from its ruins. Hiero wished to rid Sicily of them; he beat them, threw them back on Messina, and was going to receive their submission when the Carthaginian governor of Lipari, Hanno, disputed this conquest with him. The Mamertines then remembered that they were Italians, and preferring a protector at a distance to friends so close at hand, they sent an embassy to Rome. The Mamertines were notorious pillagers. What the garrison of

Coin of Hiero II.<sup>4</sup>The Triquetra.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ. Hare running; above, head of Pan; below, a leaf. On the reverse, a figure seated in a biga and crowned by a Victory; below, a leaf. Silver tetradrachma of Messina.

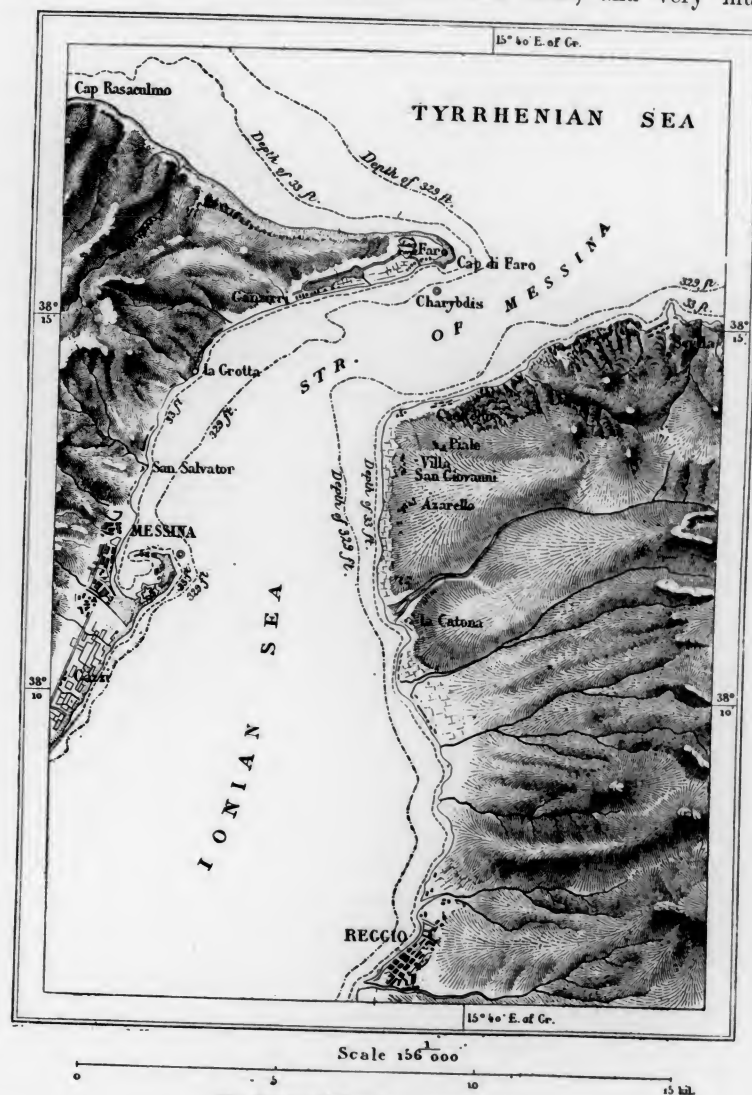
<sup>2</sup> Festus regards them as a sacred spring of the Samnites. See p. cxxi.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 371.

<sup>4</sup> Head with diadem of Hiero II.; the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a quadriga at a gallop; in the field a star. Silver octodrachma.

<sup>5</sup> The *triquetra*, a symbol of Sicily, the island of three promontories, *Trinacria*; on the reverse, ΙΕΝΤ. COS. Jupiter standing, holding a thunderbolt and an eagle; in the field a strigil. Silver penny of the Cornelian family.

Rhegium, so severely punished, had just done on one of the coasts of the Straits, the Mamertines had done, and very much



The Straits of Messina (present state).

worse, on the other side. The senate hesitated at undertaking their defence. The consuls, less scrupulous, carried the matter

before the people. They recalled the equivocal conduct of the Carthaginians at Tarentum, and pointed out the establishments of this people in Corsica, in Sardinia, in the Lipari islands, in Sicily, like a chain which already closed the Tyrrhenian Sea, and which must be broken. The ambition of the Romans was a mixture of pride and avarice. They wished to command, because they considered themselves to be already the greatest people of the earth; they wished to conquer to satisfy their taste for plunder; Sicily and Carthage were such a rich prey! The people decided that succour should be sent to the Mamertines; the consul dispatched in great haste the legionary tribune C. Claudius to Messina.

He was, like all those of his race, an energetic man, who stopped at nothing if he could gain his end. He passed the Straits at the risk of being seized by the enemy, and on his arrival at Messina found Hanno established in the citadel which a faction had delivered to him.<sup>3</sup> Claudius wished to bring over troops, but the Carthaginian vessels closed the Straits. "Not a ship shall pass," said Hanno, "and not one of your soldiers shall ever wash his hands in the waters of Sicily." However, he consented to an interview with the tribune; in the midst of the conference Claudius caused him to be seized, and to obtain his liberty, Hanno surrendered the citadel. On his return to Carthage he was



Coin of Agathocles.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Lipari.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΚΟΡΑΣ. Head of a Proserpine; the reverse, victory setting up a trophy; in the field the triquetra. As inscription, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ. Silver coin of Agathocles, King of Syracuse.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Vulcan; on the reverse, ΑΠΗΛΙΟΝ and a prow of a vessel with the acrostolium, an ornament which terminates a ship's prow; the six globules are the mark of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius, large sized bronze money of Lipari.

<sup>3</sup> [No doubt this party argued that the example of Rhegium made the Romans more unsafe allies than the Carthaginians.—Ed.]

crucified, but Rome had commenced the period of its great wars by an act of perfidy, which, with many others, was forgotten by her orators when they arraigned "Punic faith" in the senate and the Forum.

Coin of the Mamertines.<sup>1</sup>

Hiero and the Carthaginians united in laying siege to Messina. With horrible precaution the Carthaginians massacred their Italian mercenaries; but as the strait was scarcely more than 2 miles in the narrowest part, the allies could not prevent the consul Appius Caudex<sup>2</sup> taking advantage of a dark night to send across twenty thousand men on barks and small boats, lent by all the cities on the coast. Appius defeated or cowed the two besieging armies



Coin of Gela.

which were not very considerable, for Polybius does not say that their retreat was the result of a victory by the Romans. The consul pursued Hiero as far as the walls of Syracuse; the place was too strong to be taken by a sudden attack, and the malaria of the marshes the Anapus forced him to retire (264). He retired to Messina, where he left a garrison.<sup>3</sup> The occupation of this natural and secure harbour, large enough to hold six hundred galleys of the ancients, and deep enough to receive the largest of modern vessels, was worth more to Rome than a victory. She possessed there the port of the island, and she took measures for its safe preservation. This prosperous commencement encouraged the senate to push on the war vigorously. The two consuls and thirty-six thousand legionaries passed the following year in Sicily, where sixty-seven towns, and amongst them Catana, at the foot of Etna, fell into their power. Segesta, the most ancient ally of Carthage in the island, had

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled head of young Mars and his Greek name, AΠΕΟΣ; on the reverse, MAMEPTINON. An eagle on a thunderbolt. Bronze coin of the Mamertines.

<sup>2</sup> From the name of his transport ships, *caudicariae*. [Most writers call him Claudius.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [Rather he was defeated and driven into Messina, where his siege was raised by the victory of the succeeding consul (Messalla). In this year too the first Roman fleet was built. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 86.—Ed.]

massacred its Punic garrison, and had pleaded its pretended Trojan descent in order to obtain favourable terms from the Romans.

The senate was not likely to refuse a people, which attracted its nobility by flattering Roman vanity, and which gave such pledges of its relationship. The Segestans were declared *liberi et immunes*. Hiero, dismayed, and reflecting that Syracuse had more to lose, in the matter of its commerce, by siding with Carthage than with Rome, hastened to negotiate; he gave up his prisoners, payed 100 talents,<sup>3</sup> and remained for fifty years the faithful ally of the Romans.

Coin of Rhegium.<sup>1</sup>

Never was Syracuse in a happier condition. Theocritus was there then, cursing the war, and praying the gods to cast into the Sardinian sea the enemies who were destroying the Sicilian cities.<sup>4</sup> We would wish to believe that these idylls were a true picture of the happiness of this little corner of land, while the rest of the world was shaken by the collision of two great nations.

Coin of Segesta.<sup>2</sup>

There then, cursing the war, and praying the gods to cast into the Sardinian sea the enemies who were destroying the Sicilian cities.<sup>4</sup> We would wish to believe that these idylls were a true picture of the happiness of this little corner of land, while the rest of the world was shaken by the collision of two great nations.



Coin of Agrigentum.

<sup>1</sup> The head of a lion, with a branch of laurel on the left. On the reverse, the name of the town ΠΕΡΙΝΟΣ, in ancient Greek backwards. Jupiter sitting; an eagle under the seat of the god; the whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachma of Rhegium.

<sup>2</sup> ΣΕΓΕΣΤΑ (boustrophedon, see p. 38, n. 1). Head of a woman with a head-band; on the back, a dog drinking. A silver didrachma of Segesta.

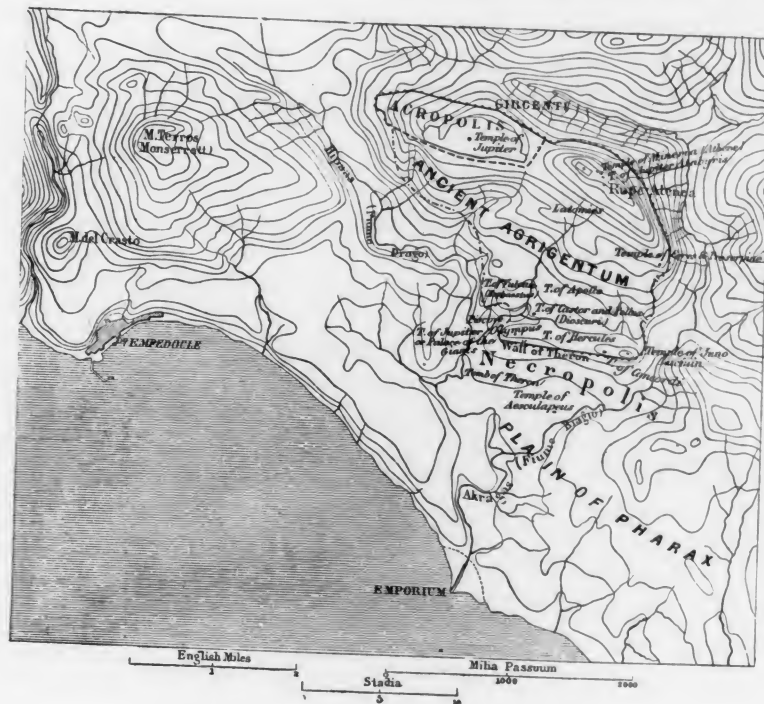
<sup>3</sup> Diodorus (xxiii. 5) said 150,000 drachmas, Polybius 100 talents, Orosius and Eutropius 200. [The prisoners restored were those taken in the defeat of Ap. Claudius.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> See Idyll xvi., especially lines 82-97—

ἰχθυοὺς ἐκ νάσοιο κακὰ πέμψεν ἀνάγκη  
 Σαρδόνιον κατὰ κύμα . . .  
 ἄγρους δ' ἐργάζονται τεθλόστας, αἱ δ' ἀνάρθμοι  
 μῆλων χελιδὲς βοτάνᾳ διαπαιθεῖσαι  
 ἄμ πεδῖον βληχοῖντο, βόες δ' ἀγελῆδ' ἐς αὐλιν  
 ἀρχαῖα δ' εἰς ὄπλ' ἀράχου  
 λεπτὰ διανοῖσαντο, βοᾶς δ' ἔτι μὲν ὄνομα εἶη.

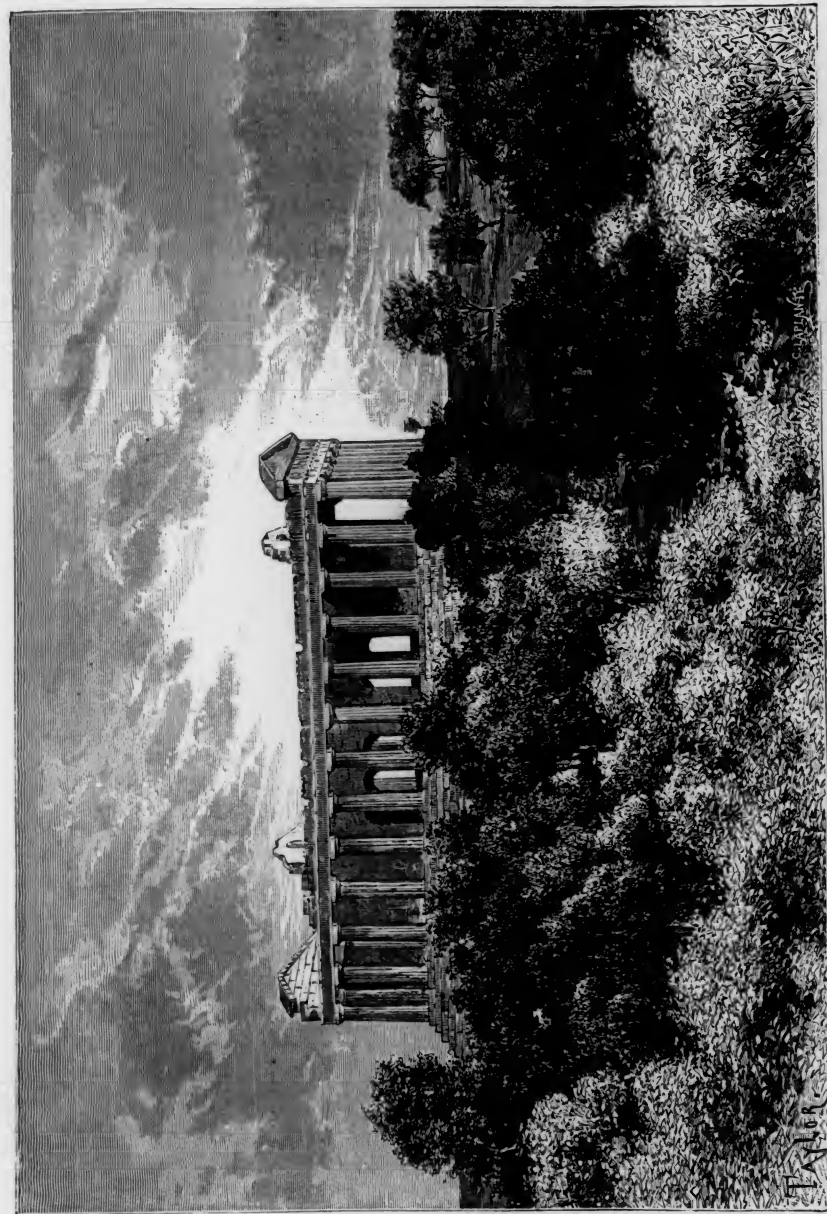


The treaty with Hiero assured to the Romans the alliance of the national party in Sicily, and relieved them from the necessity of sending from Latium provisions and stores, which the enemy's fleet would have been able to intercept. The ambition of the senate increased, and it resolved to drive out the Carthaginians from the whole island, where the excesses of their barbarous bands for two centuries had made their rule odious.



Plan of Agrigentum.

Agrigentum, famous among all the Sicilian towns by the number and the colossal proportions of its monuments, was a very strong position, and the Carthaginians had made their arsenal in the island. Built on rocks, of which some, those of the citadel, seemed cut perpendicularly, and surrounded by two water courses, which uniting below it, fell together into the sea, *fiume de Gurgenti*, it would have been impregnable, if its distance from the shore—



Temple of Concord (?) at Gurgenti.

18 stadia, or about 2 miles—had not rendered its re-victualling impossible.<sup>1</sup> The Romans besieged it. Not knowing yet how to take a place by the aid of engines of war, which the Greeks had long since used, they established themselves at the east and west of the town in two camps, which a double line of defences protected against sorties, and succours from without. There they stayed for seven months, until famine opened the gates for them. Without Hiero, they would themselves, more than once, have suffered from scarcity. Hannibal, the son of Gisco, defended the place with a strong garrison; the provisions therein diminished the more quickly. Carthage sent an army to succour it under Hanno, who seized on Heraclea and Herbessus, where the two consuls kept their stores; the convoys of Hiero maintained abundance in the Roman camp, and Hanno was compelled to risk a battle, which he lost in spite of his elephants. Since the time of Pyrrhus the legions no longer feared these clumsy engines of war. They killed thirty of them, and took eleven alive. Profiting by the darkness of a winter's night, and by the negligence of the sentinels rendered over-confident by the late victory, Hannibal crossed the Roman lines with a part of his troops. The unfortunate town was sacked by the conquerors, who sold as slaves twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants. These three campaigns and this long siege had already tried the finances of Carthage, and she was for a while compelled to stop the pay of her mercenaries. To get rid of the too spirited complaints of four thousand Gauls, who threatened to go over to the enemy, a Carthaginian general promised them the pillage of Entella. They hastened thither; but he had secretly warned the Roman general



Coin of Agrigentum.



Coin of Entella.

<sup>1</sup> [The site of Agrigentum is peculiar. It is a great oval plateau, with scarped edges, laid on the slope of a hill, and reaching from the summit half way to the sea. Along the lower edge of this plateau there is a splendid row of temples, from which you look over the descending slope to the sea. Syracuse has similar features on its land side, that is to say, at the summit of the slope there is the same kind of steep rock, protecting the city from the land side. Pindar seems to have thought Agrigentum the most beautiful of Greek towns.—*Ed.*]

and the Gauls, having fallen into an ambuscade, were killed almost to a man. The legionaries were also without pay; but not a complaint was heard among the army of citizens. Before Agrigentum, a number of soldiers suffered themselves to be killed at the gates of the camp to give the dispersed legions the time to rally, and if any quarrels arose between them and their allies, it was to obtain the most perilous post in the battle.<sup>1</sup>

From the third year of the war, Carthage possessed only some maritime places in Sicily. But her fleets ravaged the coasts of Italy, closed the Straits, and rendered all conquest precarious.<sup>2</sup> The senate understood that it must attack the enemy on his own element (261). Thus their object was enlarged, as it constantly receded. It was at first to prevent the Carthaginians from getting possession of Messina; then to drive them from the island; now the senate wished to sweep them from the sea.

### III.—MARITIME OPERATIONS; LANDING OF THE ROMANS

#### IN AFRICA (260-255).

The Romans were not so ignorant of maritime affairs as has been supposed. They were acquainted with the construction and the management of triremes; it must be remembered that the appearance of a Roman fleet into the harbour of Tarentum had provoked the war with Pyrrhus. But they did not like the sea; they distrusted the "treacherous element," and as their military life was spent on land, they had no permanent fleet, although they elected magistrates, *duumviri navales*,<sup>3</sup> to watch over the maintenance of a fixed naval stock. Also, when they had need of vessels, they demanded them of their Etruscan and Greek subjects. But in the struggle against Carthage they had need of ships of the line, that is to say, vessels with high bulwarks and five ranks of rowers. A Carthaginian quinquereme, which had foundered on the coast of Italy, served as a model. Such was then the imperfection of this art, which has become so

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> [Hence Pliny (xvi. 192) says they built a fleet in 45 days against Hiero, viz. 263 B.C.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [Viz. *duumviri classis ornandæ reficiendæque causâ*, in 311 B.C.—Ed.]

difficult, that two months sufficed to fell the wood, build and launch one hundred and twenty ships, and to form and train the crews.<sup>1</sup> All these sailors were not novices; the allies had furnished many seamen and experienced pilots. They nevertheless, needed courage to make an attack with such a fleet on the first maritime power in the world. The consul Cornelius Scipio, was taken, it is true, with seventeen vessels, in an attempt on the Æolian Islands (Lipari); but his colleague Duillius defeated near Mylæ (Milazzo), the Carthaginian fleet (260).



War-ship with a Double Beak-head.<sup>2</sup>

In the naval battles of antiquity, the vessels armed with a ram at the prow, sought to strike each other at the water-line; the lightness of the ship, and the activity of the sailors were then, as at present, the first conditions of success, and the galley-slaves did more than the soldiers embarked on board, ordinarily few in number. Athens used to put but ten on their triremes with 200 rowers.<sup>3</sup> After the first campaign the military genius of the Romans invented a new form of tactics. Their vessels, roughly constructed of green timber, were heavy machines, which could however, by the aid of oars, be forced straight at the enemy. At the bows of the ship Duillius placed a gangway,<sup>4</sup> which, falling upon an enemy's galley, seized it with its grappling-iron, held it fast and made a causeway for the soldiers. The science of the Carthaginian pilots became useless; it was a mere land battle in which the legionaries regained their advantage, and Duillius had as many as a hundred and twenty on board each ship.<sup>5</sup> When the Carthaginians saw the Roman



Beak-head of a Ship.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A few months suffice the Carthaginians to open a new outlet to their internal harbour and to build a fleet with the debris of their houses. One cannot but be astonished at an art remaining so long in its infancy, which was practised by so many people.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved gem of the Museum of Berlin.

<sup>3</sup> During the Peloponnesian war. Thucyd. ii. 23, 102; iii. 91, 95 and iv. 76, 101. Cf. Bœckh, *Staatsh.*, vol. i. p. 390.

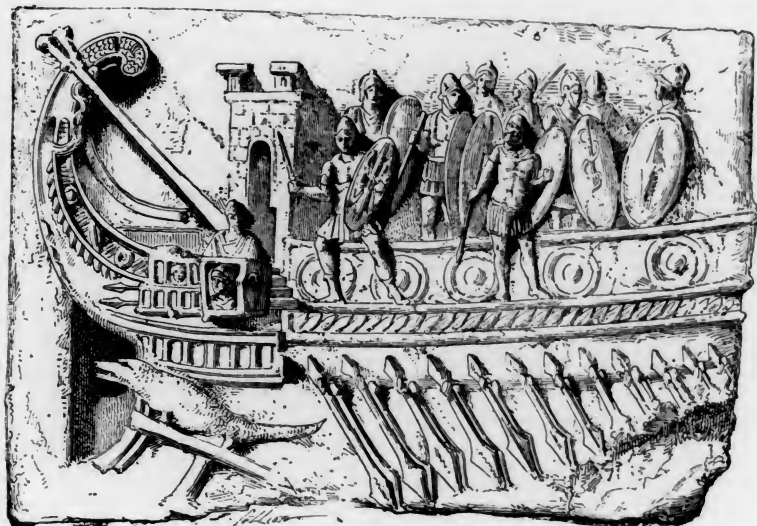
<sup>4</sup> According to the description, a little obscure, of Polybius, this bridge, which was called *corvus*, and which worked all round, and used at the prow, stern or at the sides.

<sup>5</sup> Reverse of a sextans of bronze of the town of Tuder.

<sup>6</sup> There was less than this number at Ecnomus (Polyb., i. 5). Others give 200 as the number of soldiers Duillius put on board each ship.



fleet advancing, they came on as if to certain victory. Thirty ships, which formed the vanguard, reached it first. Seized by the crews, not one escaped. The admiral's galley, with seven rows of oars, was itself taken, and Hannibal, the ancient defender of Agrigentum, who was on board, had but time to escape in a boat. He directed, however, his other galleys to the flank and astern of the Roman vessels. But, despite the rapidity of their



Roman Galley. (Cast from Museum of S. Germain.)

evolutions, they always met in front of them the formidable crew. Twenty galleys more were taken: three thousand men were killed, and six thousand prisoners; the rest fled terror-struck. The land army raised in all haste the siege of Segesta; the troops, which were defending Macella, allowed the place to be taken by storm, and the Carthaginian general, having retired to Sardinia with some troops, was crucified there by the mutinous mercenaries.

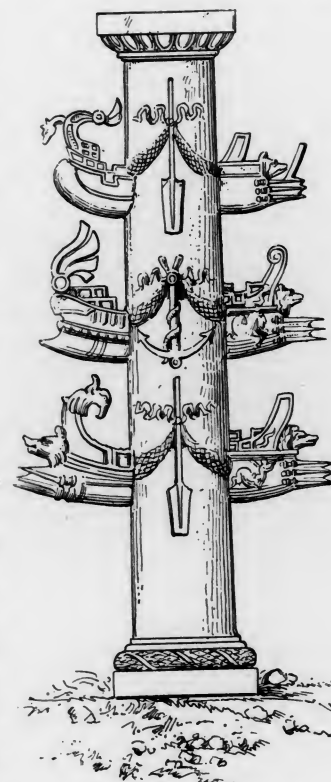
These successes were the material result of the victory; but there was a greater. The prestige of the maritime superiority of Carthage was dispelled, and whatever disasters befell the Roman fleets in the future did not cause the senate to give up the sea. It knew now that Carthage could be conquered, and the late events made them understand that the conquest

of islands must be accomplished by sea. Already it was directing a fleet against Sardinia, and it was meditating an attack on Africa: very unusual honours were given to Duillius. Besides the triumph, he had a column in the Forum, and the right of being escorted home in the evening by torch-light and the sound of flutes. The simplicity of this time knew no better way of honouring the first conqueror of Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

After the victory of Mylæ, the Romans had divided their forces; while the land army succoured Segesta, the consul Corn. Scipio, with a part of the fleet, pursued as far as Sardinia the vessels which had escaped at the first disaster, destroyed them, and commenced the conquest of that island and of Corsica, of which he took the capital, Aleria. Caught, on his return, in a stormy sea, he dedicated a sanctuary to *Tempesta*, and desired that on his tomb there might be preserved the two fold remembrance of his conquest, and of the protection with which this peculiar deity had sheltered him:

Hic cepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem  
Dedit Tempestatibus aidem merito.

Carthage sent then to Panormus a great general, Amilcar. By skilful manœuvres, he enclosed the legions in a defile, whence



Rostral Column of Duillius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Florus Fl. 2, and Val. Maximus speak of these honours bestowed on himself by Duillius. The inscription of his rostral column would be one of the oldest monuments of the Latin language, if the text, which we have, had not been repaired towards the middle of the first century of our era, when the monument was restored.

<sup>2</sup> Restoration of Canina, vol. iv. p. 264. This monument of one of the greatest victories of Rome is actually disgraced by a street lamp!

they were only able to escape through the devotion of Calpurnius Flamma. He was a legionary tribune, who offered to occupy, with four hundred men, a hill, from whence he could cover the retreat, and stop the enemy. "I give my life to thee and to the republic," said he to the consul. All fell except the tribune, who was found alive, under a heap of corpses. He received a crown of grass. "At that time," says Pliny, "it was the highest reward."<sup>1</sup> Cato compares him to Leonidas, and complains of the caprice of fortune which has left his name in obscurity. He forgot that it is the end for which we die, which gives immortality to the victim. Calpurnius, like so many soldiers in our annals, saved only one legion (258); Leonidas had saved his country, the whole of Greece, and the civilization of the world.

Notwithstanding, the war languished; Amilcar destroyed the town of Eryx, of which he left standing only the temple, built, it was said, in honour of his divine mother, Venus Erycina, whom the Phœnicians confounded with their goddess Astarte. He carried the population to Drepanum, and concentrated his forces in that town and in Lilybæum, two inexpugnable places, the approaches to which were protected by the sea, and by several cities, which the Carthaginians still occupied on the coasts and in the interior.

The fortune of Rome seemed declining, and some dangerous defections resulted. In the centre of the island, Enna, the sacred town whose civic divinity Ceres was honoured throughout Sicily, on the southern coast the great city of Camarina, and even Agrigentum, came round to the Carthaginians. If the legions had returned to Rome at the end of the summer, according to custom, and had not wintered in the island, all would have been lost. But the consul of 258 retook the lost places, putting to death the principal citizens and selling the rest. It was the custom, and was

Venus Erycina.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxii. 11 : Aul. Gell. (iii. 7) calls him Cæcidius, others Laberius.  
<sup>2</sup> On the obverse, Venus Erycina, diademed, and crowned with myrtle or laurel, and the inscription, C. CONSIDI. NONIANI. S. C. On the reverse, ERVC, and the temple of Venus. Silver money of the family Considia. The coin represents the temple at the summit of the hill with the deep enclosure, which surrounded it, and which the artist, to render his drawing lighter, has represented as open work.

practised on both sides. Among the ancients, when the city fell, the individuals perished. Fortune destroyed, family lost, no home, no household gods; yesterday enjoying the honours of the patriciate, to-morrow in the miseries of slavery; such was the lot of the conquered, when on the day of defeat they had not fallen beneath the sword of the soldier or under the axe of the licitor. By way of compensation the fierce character of war gave to patriotism an energy long since passed away.

These successes in the interior of the island, and a fresh naval battle, which the consul Atilius claimed to have gained near Lipari, decided the senate to the boldest enterprise. Three hundred and thirty vessels were equipped, one hundred thousand seamen and soldiers, and the two consuls, Manlius Vulso, and Atilius Regulus embarked with the determination of passing through the Carthaginian fleet, and making an attack on Africa.

The two fleets met off Ecnomus.<sup>2</sup> It was the greatest spectacle

Astarte.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statuette found in Phœnicia (Cf. *Acad. des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, 7th series, vol. xix., No. 4, p. 1, fig. 2), and which does not give a very great superiority to the artists of the metropolis over those of Carthage. "The goddess is standing in full dress. On the forehead a rich fillet. The hair falls in many tresses behind and on each side. On the neck two symbolical necklaces; a circle shut by a square bezel, and a triple row of pearls. The bare forearm is ornamented up to the wrists with open bracelets, closing by a clasp, the two ends of which are decorated with heads of antelopes. An upper dress made of a supple and fine material, opens in front, forming on each side symmetrical little folds. Sleeves with clasps cover the top of the arm. The robe, falling from the neck to the feet, covers the heels, and is provided with a train which the left hand holds, and brings to the front. The bare feet have sandals with straps. The whole of this dress is heavy and seems strange. The goddess thus resembles the *squaw* of a Red-skin." (Georges Colonna Ceccaldi, *Revue archéol. de janvier*, 1878, p. 16, note 1.)

<sup>2</sup> A mountain between Gela and Agrigentum.

the Mediterranean had yet seen; three hundred thousand men were about to fight on its waves. The Roman armament in the form of a triangle, which surrounded the transport ships, could not be forced, and the Carthaginians, despite a clever manœuvre to draw into the high sea the van of the hostile fleet, and to separate it from its powerful rear-guard, lost ninety-four ships out of three hundred and fifty; twenty-four Roman galleys only were sunk (256).

The remains of the conquered army fled to Carthage. Some vessels were equipped there in all haste, and troops raised to guard the coast. But the greatest confusion still reigned in the town, when it was learnt that the Romans, having disembarked near the promontory of Mercury (Cape Bon), were already besieging Clypea. Regulus had only taken sufficient time to repair his disabled ships, and to get provisions. The troops began to



Regulus.

be afraid of a war in Africa, that land of monsters whence such terrible tales reached them, *Africa portentosa*;<sup>1</sup> even a tribune had dared to murmur. Regulus threatened him with the axe, and the army, despite its superstitious fears, set out. Clypea having been taken, and no position, no army protecting the country, the Romans spread over these rich plains, which, since Agathocles, had not seen an enemy, and whose fertility was secured by a good system of irrigation. In a few days they took twenty thousand prisoners and immense booty.

The senate, deceived by its first successes, recalled Manlius and his legions; it was a mistake. Regulus himself, it was said, had requested to return, because the farmer, whom he had left to cultivate a field of seven acres, his sole patrimony, had run away and taken the plough and oxen. The senate replied that all would be re-purchased for him, his field cultivated, and his wife and children kept at the expense of the treasury. He remained in Africa with fifteen thousand men and five hundred horses. These forces were sufficient for him to defeat the enemy on all sides, to

<sup>1</sup> Livy xxxiv. 62. Such is the suspicious history of the serpent of Bagradas, 120 feet long, and whose head, sent to Rome, was still shown there in the time of the Numantian war. Cf. Flor., ii. 2. Polybius does not mention it. However, such large serpents now exist in the highlands of Algeria, that it may only have been an exaggerated fact.

take three hundred towns and seize Tunis, three leagues from Carthage, after a victory near Adys, which cost the Carthaginians seventeen thousand killed, five hundred prisoners, and eighteen elephants. The town was hard pressed. From the amount of tribute imposed on Leptis Parva—a talent a day—we can understand that the yoke of Carthage was heavy. In consequence of these defeats the subjects revolted, and the Numidians plundered that which had escaped the Romans; a treaty was proposed. Regulus demanded the abandonment of Sicily and Sardinia, an annual tribute, the giving up of the Roman prisoners, the ransom of the Carthaginian captives, the destruction of the whole fleet of war, the promise to make neither alliance nor war without the consent of the senate, etc. Such conditions offered no inducement for treating; the war was resumed.<sup>1</sup> The fanaticism of the people was excited by human sacrifices, and vessels laden with gold went to Greece and Spain to buy soldiers. Among the mercenaries which came from Greece was the Lacedæmonian Xanthippus. Carthage had still twelve thousand infantry,<sup>2</sup> four thousand horse, and one hundred elephants. The Lacedæmonian undertook, with this army, which he carefully drilled for some weeks, to fight the enemy. "The question is only," said he, "to find a field of battle which may suit us." Instead of pitching his camp on the heights where the elephants and cavalry were useless, he descended into the plain; and the legions, disordered by the elephants, and charged by a numerous cavalry, fell into confusion, two thousand only escaped by reaching Clypea. Regulus and five hundred of the bravest were made prisoners; the rest perished. Xanthippus, richly rewarded, left the town before gratitude had given place to envy.<sup>3</sup>

Carthage was saved. However, the victorious army was

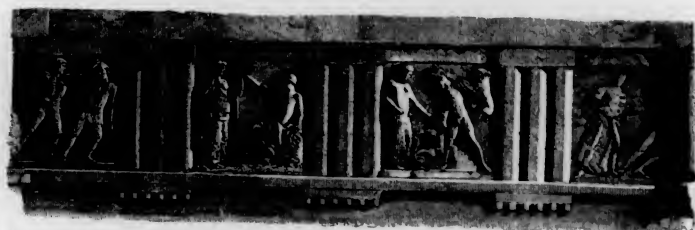
<sup>1</sup> [This whole campaign shows the extraordinary helplessness of Carthage, owing to the counter-suspensions of its oligarchical factions, and the gross incompetence of Regulus, who, if he had used the Numidian cavalry, ought to have carried the day. Amilcar had been recalled from Sicily, but was only joint commander with two others. Surely such a general was as well able to defeat Regulus, as a Greek mercenary. So the demands of Regulus, who had no siege-train, were as severe as those demanded by Scipio at the end of the 2nd Punic war. Nothing is stranger, than that such a man should have been exalted into a national hero.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [These numbers are probably lessened to increase the glory of Xanthippus.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The Carthaginians have been accused of having drowned him. (Zonaras, viii. 13; Silius Ital., vi. 632); but they had no interest in this crime contradicted elsewhere by Polybius.



repulsed at the siege of Clypea, and a Carthaginian fleet was again beaten in sight of this place. But the destruction of the whole of an army, the capture of a consul, and the difficulty of crossing incessantly a stormy sea, in order to re-victual the legions of Clypea, decided the senate to relinquish Africa. At the same time a frightful disaster closed the way. Two hundred and seventy galleys were shattered by a tempest along the coasts of Camarina; it was nearly the whole fleet. The Carthaginians hastened to put down their rebel subjects; the chiefs were crucified; the towns gave 1000 talents and twenty thousand oxen; then the preparations were pushed forward with vigour for carrying the war again into Sicily (255).



Frieze of Selinus, taken from photographs, dating about 460 B.C. (see pp. 484-486).

#### IV.—THE WAR IS CARRIED BACK INTO SICILY (254-241).

A new fleet, a new army, and one hundred and forty elephants set out from Carthage. Agrigentum was retaken. On her side, Rome, in three months, built two hundred and twenty galleys, and the consuls, proceeding along the northern coast of Sicily, took by treachery the strong position of Cephalædium,<sup>1</sup> and that of Panormus, which gave them an excellent port. Those of the inhabitants of Panormus, who were unable to pay a ransom of two silver minæ (200 drachmas, or nearly eight guineas) were sold as slaves. There were thirteen thousand of them.

The following year the fleet ravaged the coast of Africa, but

<sup>1</sup> It was built on a steep promontory, whence its Greek name signifying head; it is now Cefalu.

a tempest on its return again destroyed one hundred and fifty vessels near Cape Palinurus, on the coast of Lucania (253). These repeated disasters seemed a menace of the gods; the senate gave up the sea, as it had given up Africa.

The two adversaries, wearied out by the struggle which had already lasted eleven years, rested on their arms; the Carthaginians, in a strong position, which they occupied at the western extremity of Sicily; the legions, at some distance in the rear, on the heights, from which they watched the enemy. This inaction became detrimental to the Roman discipline. It was necessary at one time to degrade four hundred *equites*, who had refused to obey the consul; at another time to make a military tribune of the illustrious house of Valerius run the gauntlet.<sup>1</sup> Carthage, on her side, occupied without doubt in reconstituting in Africa her rule, which the Roman invasion had shattered, confined herself in Sicily to a prudent defensive. She



Coin of Cephalædium.<sup>2</sup>

even made no effort in 252 to prevent Scipio, who was conquered in the first naval action, from taking his revenge at Lipari, by seizing upon this island with the ships lent by the faithful Hiero. The blow was a severe one, for from Lipari her privateers incessantly came forth, ravaging the Italian coasts. Accordingly the year after, Carthage made a vigorous effort. Hasdrubal, with two hundred vessels, carrying thirty thousand men, and one hundred and forty elephants, attempted to retake Panormus. The pro-consul, Metellus, kept his army shut up there; but, by means of his light troops, he challenged the enemy, and drew them to the foot of the wall; and while the elephants, pierced with darts, rushed furiously back on the Carthaginian



Coin Commemorative of the Victory of Metellus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., II. ix. 7; Front, Strat., iv. The knights were degraded to the rank of *æarii*. In 252 Aurelius Pecuniola having, in the absence of the consul, Cotta, his cousin, permitted the burning of a redoubt, and almost lost his camp before Lipari, Cotta had him flogged and reduced him to the rank of a common soldier. (Val. Max., II. vii. 4.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of Jupiter, crowned with laurel; on the reverse, KEΦA. Goat skin, club and quiver. Bronze money.

<sup>3</sup> METELLUS in a car drawn by elephants, and crowned by Victory. The reverse, of a piece of silver money of the Cæcilian family.

army, which they threw into disorder, Metellus attacked with all his forces. Twenty thousand Africans perished; one hundred and four elephants were taken; they were conducted to Rome, where they followed the car of the conqueror, and as it was found too expensive to keep them, they were hunted down in the great circus that the people by familiarity might cease to dread them (251).



Metope from the latest Temple at Selinus.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to Carthage, the incapable Hasdrubal was crucified. At Rome Metellus received great honour; he was twice made consul, dictator, sovereign pontiff, and when, in a fire in the temple of Vesta, he lost his eyes in saving the Palladium, the people gave him the right, which none had up to this time obtained, of going in his car to the senate. In the funeral oration, which the son of the conqueror of Panormus delivered in honour of his father, we can see what a Roman of this time esteemed as the sovereign good. "He attained," he said, "and in perfection, ten very great things, which the wise pass their life in seeking. He wished to be the best soldier, the first of orators, the ablest of generals, the most eminent of senators, and he desired to conduct under his auspices the gravest affairs, to attain to the highest magistracies, to supreme political wisdom, and a great fortune acquired by honourable means, and finally to leave behind him many children, and to be the most respected of all his fellow citizens."<sup>2</sup> This is the ideal of Roman virtue. It is not a very elevated one; but if it did not make sages, in the true sense of the word, it made great citizens.

Many noble Carthaginians had been made prisoners before

<sup>1</sup> It represents Heracles fighting an Amazon. The setting of the extant sculptures is the restoration in the museum at Palermo.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 45.

Panormus; others had long been so. The Carthaginians, we are told, proposed an exchange, and sent Regulus to Rome to support their demand. That general had nobly borne his captivity. He was unwilling to enter the city: "I am no longer a citizen," said he, as Postumius had said after the Caudine Forks; and when he spoke on the proposal, he dissuaded the senators from accepting it. They tried to move him to have pity on himself: "My days are numbered," said he; "they have given me a slow poison," and he set out on his return, repelling the embraces of his wife, Marcia, and his children.



Coin of Panormus.<sup>1</sup>

Horace has celebrated this mythical story, so dear to Roman pride: "It is said that he held his manly countenance bent towards the ground until his heroic counsel had fixed the hesitations of the senate. Then, noble exile! he quitted his family in tears, though he knew what tortures the African executioners were preparing for him. He waved aside the friends who would have detained him and the populace which opposed his departure as if, after having brought the long business matters of his clients to an end, he were going to seek relaxation in the fields of Venafrum or Tarentum."<sup>3</sup> On his return to Carthage he died, it is affirmed, a cruel death.<sup>4</sup> If this tradition be true, in spite of the silence of Polybius, we must not forget either the treatment inflicted by the Romans themselves on hostile chiefs who fell into their power, or that other tradition, according to which two Carthaginian generals were given up to Marcia and by her cruelly tortured.<sup>5</sup>



Coin of Selinontum.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Double head under a horse. On the reverse, PANOPMI.... and an eagle. Bronze coin of Palermo (Panormus).

<sup>2</sup> Parsley leaf. On the reverse, a square hollowed in compartments. Silver coin of Selinus; very ancient.

<sup>3</sup> *Carm.*, iii. v.; Cf. *Sil. Ital.*, *Pun.*, vi. 346-385.

<sup>4</sup> *Resectis palpebris, illigatum in machina, vigilando, necaverunt.* (Cic., *in Pison.*, 18.)

<sup>5</sup> *Diod.*, *Fragm. de Virt. et Vit.*, xxiv.; Aulus Gell., vii. 4; Zonaras, viii. 15, etc. [It is

imposed too severe conditions, etc. No doubt he would have been wiser to restrain himself within bounds; but what general would have acted otherwise? It was by aiming at a very lofty ideal, often even above their powers, that the Romans did such great things. A nation does not become great by merely being always a nation of wise men.

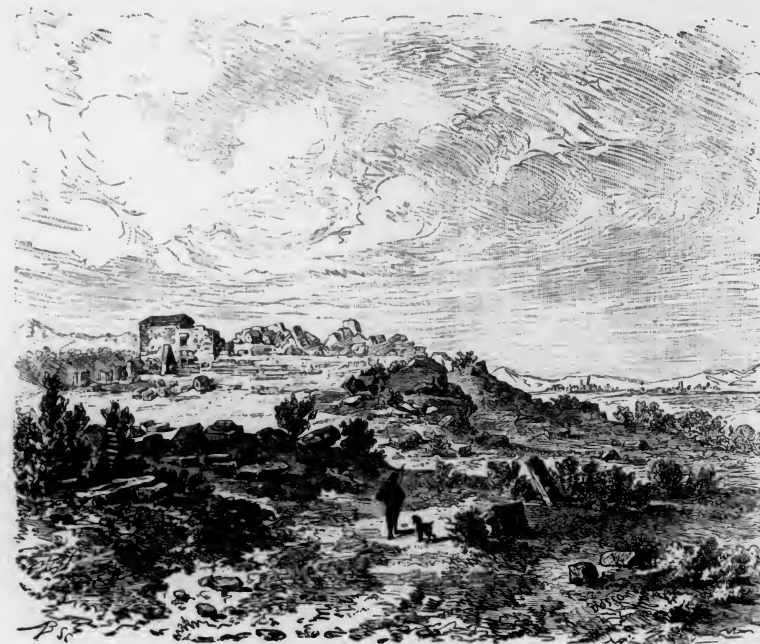


Zeus and Here (see p. 482).

The victory of Panormus put an end to the great battles. The Carthaginians once more fell back to the western extremity of the island, to Drepanum and Lilybæum, whither they transported all the inhabitants of Selinus, after having destroyed their town. Lilybæum surrounded on two sides by a sea rendered dangerous even to the most skilful pilots by sand-banks, reefs just beneath the surface, and rapid currents, was shut in on the land side by a high wall, and defended by a very wide and deep ditch. In the autumn of the year 250, two consuls, four legions, and two hundred ships of war blockaded the place, and a new siege of Troy began. The Romans at first tried to close the entry to the port by sinking fifteen vessels loaded with stones there, but the current swept them all away. The passage remained open, and fifty vessels, bearing provisions and ten thousand soldiers to Lilybæum, were able to pass through it under the very eyes of the powerless Roman fleet. On the land side the Romans in several places filled up the ditch and mined the walls, but when their battering rams had made a breach they found themselves faced by another wall which Himilco had raised. Some mercenaries plotted the surrender of the town; Himilco

now generally surmised that the legend of the tortures of Regulus arose from the desire to palliate the disgrace of these tortures, which seem well established, and were actually stopped by State interference. Regulus is said in other traditions to have spent several years at Carthage, and to have died there. The re-appointment as consul, and the triumph, of the Scipio surprised and captured at Lipari refutes the poetical nonsense of Horace.—*Ed.*

discovered the conspiracy, and burnt the engines of the Romans in a sortie, thus obliging them to change the siege into a blockade. When the new consul, P. Claudius, son of Appius the censor, came to take the command, sickness had already carried off many of the soldiers. The Carthaginian fleet was stationed in the neighbouring port of Drepanum. Claudius wished to fall upon it by



Remains of Selinus.

surprise. The omens were sinister; the sacred chickens refused to eat. "Well, let them drink, then," said the consul, and he had them thrown into the sea. The army was beaten beforehand by this impious act, which Claudius could not repair by the cleverest manoeuvres:<sup>1</sup> ninety-three vessels taken or sunk, eight thousand men killed, and twenty thousand prisoners—such were the results of the battle of Drepanum (249). Junius Pullus, the colleague of Claudius, had no better fortune. He was at Syracuse with eight hundred merchant vessels destined for the revictualling of

<sup>1</sup> Polybius knows nothing of this story of the sacred chickens, but Cicero relates it.



the camp at Lilybæum. Carthalo, who watched his departure from the coast of Agrigentum, first intercepted several convoys, and then by a clever manœuvre drove the whole of Junius's fleet into the midst of the reefs of Camarina, where furious winds broke it up, while he himself, running before the storm, went and sheltered his vessels behind Cape Pachynum. All the transports and a hundred and five galleys had been destroyed. The occupation of the high hill near Drepanum, on which stood the fortified temple of Venus Erycina, was not compensation for so many sad losses.

The disaster of the year 249, the saddest in all the war for Rome, compelled the senate again to renounce the idea of fleets. Claudius was recalled and obliged to name a dictator. He chose the son of a freedman, named Claudius Glicia, his client and clerk. The senate annulled the insulting choice, and a sentence passed by the people severely punished this bold contemner of things human and divine. Junius, accused, like his colleague, of having despised the auspices, killed himself before his con-



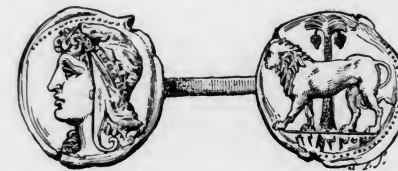
Metope of Temple at Selinus (now at Palermo).

demnation; Claudius had, perhaps, set him the example of a voluntary death. Three years laterwards another sentence struck the haughty race. The sister of Claudius, finding herself one day pressed by the crowd, cried, "Would it might please the gods that my brother should still command the armies of the republic." The ædiles punished this homicidal wish with a fine.

By a singular fatality, at the time when Rome could no longer find any but incapable leaders, Carthage placed able generals at the head of her forces—Himilco, the defender of Lilybæum; Hannibal, who had so successfully revictualled that place; Adherbal, the conqueror of Drepanum; Carthalo, who, before destroying

<sup>1</sup> [This very archaic sculpture is one of the most remarkable remains of nascent Greek art, and dates from the 7th century B.C. It represents Heracles carrying off the Kerkopes.—Ed.]

Junius' fleet, had burnt a part of that before Lilybæum and ravaged the coasts of Italy; and, finally, the greatest of all, Amilcar, father of Hannibal, surnamed Lightning, *Barca*. Unfortunately, discipline was often wanting in these armies of Carthage, and a violent sedition of the mercenaries had just brought her into the greatest peril. Amilcar found means to satisfy their requirements. He led them to the pillage of Italy. When the booty gained in Bruttium had won him their confidence, he boldly advanced and took possession of Mount Ercte (Monte Pellegrino), near Panormus (247).<sup>3</sup> For six years all the strength of the two republics was concentrated in this corner



Coin of Ercte.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Tauromenium.<sup>2</sup>

of Sicily; the Romans were at Panormus, on the summit of Mount Eryx,<sup>4</sup> in the ancient town of that name, and before Lilybæum and Drepanum. The Carthaginians occupied these two places and Mount Ercte. From the top of this almost inaccessible mountain Amilcar watched all the enemy's movements, and swept quickly down from it to intercept his convoys, cut up his detachments, and carry his ravages to the very heart of the island; or, again, from the port at the foot of his mountain he set sail with a fleet of light vessels and ravaged the Italian coast as far as the middle

<sup>1</sup> Bust of a woman. On the reverse, a lion before a palm tree. Below, a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." This was a coin struck for the pay of the troops, *moneta castrensis*. It was struck in Sicily, but engraved by an artist, who did not know Punic, for the inscription is written the wrong way. M. De Sauley, who has kindly furnished me with this note, does not believe that this silver tetradrachm attributed to Ercte by the Duc de Luynes belonged to that town, or, at least, it was not struck there during Amilcar's occupation.

<sup>2</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Apollo. On the reverse, TAYPOMENITAN, and a serpent round a vase, called *cortina*. Silver coin.

<sup>3</sup> Mount Ercte, the foot of which is washed by the sea, is protected on its flanks by sharp rocks, and separated from the mountains which run west of Panormus by a broad plain, so that it forms a vast natural fortress rising above the town to a height of 2,000 feet.

<sup>4</sup> Mount Eryx, at 6 miles from Drepanum, is only 2,180 feet high, but its isolated situation makes it appear much loftier. It was a still stronger position than Mount Ercte. On the summit of the mountain was the temple of Venus Erycina. The town was built half way up.

of Campania.<sup>1</sup> For six years there were continual and bloody fights. They were like two athletes of equal strength wrestling on a rock high above the waves.<sup>2</sup>

The armies were but a few stadia apart; they drew still nearer. Amilcar took the town of Eryx by surprise, and placed



Remains of the Town of Eryx.<sup>3</sup>

himself between the two Roman camps established at the base and on the summit of the mountain. The war advanced none the quicker; an equal tenacity paralysed every effort. At last the soldiers, weary of useless conflicts, and each side esteeming equally the valour of the other, "plaited," says Polybius,<sup>4</sup> "the sacred crown," which was offered to the gods when the victory remained undecided, and abstained by common accord from fighting.

<sup>1</sup> These cruises obliged the senate to found several maritime colonies at Alsium, Fregellæ, and Brundisium.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, i. 56, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from *Monum. della Sicilia* of Fr. Cavallari, parte 1<sup>a</sup>, tav. 26. There is no more mention of Eryx in Roman history after its destruction by Amilcar.

<sup>4</sup> Polybius, i. 58.

Since the commencement of hostilities the Romans had lost many more galleys than the Carthaginians; but for Rome, a continental power, vessels were but so much wood and iron, which were easily replaced, whereas for Carthage, a maritime and com-



View from Mt. Eryx (Monte san Giuliano).<sup>1</sup>

mercial power, they were strength and riches. The one then was like a ship struck in a vital part, the other like a fortress, of which only a few battlements had fallen. This was plainly seen when, in 241, the senate decided upon a fresh effort. In order to avoid expenses which no longer appeared necessary, and to pass them over to their commercial fleets, the merchants of Carthage had disarmed all their remaining war vessels, and leaving Amilcar alone to keep in check from his mountain-top all the forces of Rome, they had resumed their long voyages, their business relations with the whole world. They willingly forgot that devastated island, without industry or commerce, whence there came only

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. (See page 489, note 4.)

troublesome sounds of warfare and ceaseless demands for money. The sea remained free, but a Roman fleet reappeared. It had been necessary to make an appeal to the devotion of the citizens to build it. The treasury was empty; patriotism, that wealth which excels all other, replenished it. The rich lent money to the State, or built vessels at their own expense. Many armed privateers.<sup>1</sup> Two hundred vessels were once more launched. Lutatius took the command and led them to Drepanum. It was near



Greek Tomb-reliefs (now in the museum of Palermo).

the end of winter. The fleet, which for economical reasons the Carthaginians recalled during that season, had not yet returned, so that Lutatius had no difficulty in making himself master of the port, and closely beleaguering the place. Carthage in all haste sent ships laden with provisions, but with no soldiers, as the admiral was to take on board Amilcar's veterans. In order to reach Ercte he had to pass before Drepanum; Lutatius barred the way by placing himself near the Ægates. "Never was fought a more furious naval battle," says Florus. "The Carthaginian vessels were overladen with provisions, arms, and engines of all kinds. The Roman fleet, on the other hand, brisk, active, and light, resembled a land army. It was like a cavalry action. Our ships obeyed the oar as a horse does the bit, and with their movable

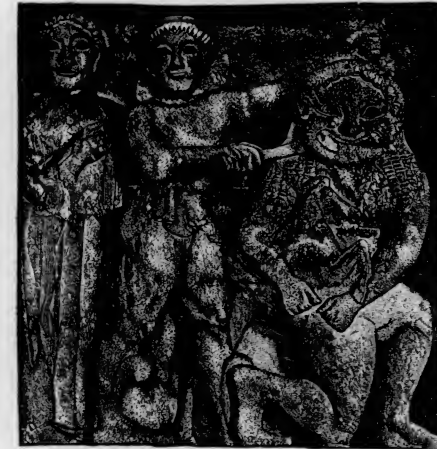
<sup>1</sup> Zonar., viii. 16.



Mount Ercte (Monte Pellegrino), near Palermo (Panormus). See p. 489, n. 3.



beaks darted so well, now against one vessel, now another, that they might have been living creatures." Lutatius sank five of these defenceless ships and took seventy (10th March, 241). The Romans became undisputed masters of the sea again, and Drepanum, Lilybæum, and Amilcar could be starved into surrender. Moreover, twenty-four years of war, expense, and sufferings were enough—nay, too much—for these merchants, for the third time they asked to treat for peace. Lutatius was anxious that Amilcar should lay down his arms. "Never," replied the indignant hero, "will I lay down these arms that were given me to fight against you." The consul agreed to allow the Carthaginian army to evacuate Sicily freely. Peace was signed on the following conditions: Carthage should not attack Hiero or his allies; she should abandon Sicily and the Æolian Islands; should restore all prisoners without ransom, and pay 3,200 Euboic talents (nearly £760,000) within ten years.



Archaic Metope from Selinus.<sup>1</sup>

"Thus ended the war of the Romans against the Carthaginians regarding Sicily, after lasting twenty-four years without interruption; the longest and most important war of which we have ever heard. . . . Some Greeks assure us that the Romans owe their successes only to fortune. But after having prepared themselves for great enterprises by expeditions of such importance, they had nothing better to do than to propose to themselves the conquest of the universe, and this project was likely to be successful."<sup>2</sup> Polybius is right; and if he could have been shown beforehand how much blood, how many tears, and what ruin were necessary to

<sup>1</sup> It represents Perseus, aided by Athene, cutting off Medusa's head, and is of the same age as that given on p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, i. 63. That historian is the principal source of information concerning this war.

erect the edifice of Roman greatness, he would doubtless have replied: "Before Rome as much blood had flowed, without her, more would have flowed." Indeed, after her final victory, she allowed none to be shed for centuries.



This African elephant differs from the Asiatic one in height, which is less, and his ears, which are larger, being as much as 4 feet 5 inches in length, and 4 feet in breadth. Livingstone saw a negro shelter himself from the rain beneath this strange cover. The ancient engraver has faithfully reproduced this characteristic feature.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## CONQUESTS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS (240-219).

## I.—ROMAN EXPEDITIONS ROUND ITALY AND INTO GALLIA CISALPINA.

ROME had just displayed an admirable constancy; but it seemed as though, after such long efforts, she must be exhausted. The population had, in the space of five years, fallen from 297,797 fighting men to 241,212.<sup>1</sup> Seven hundred war-ships had been destroyed, with an immense number of ships of burden;<sup>2</sup> the treasury was swamped with debts to private persons who had advanced money; and, in order to furnish means for so burdensome a war, the senate had been obliged to have recourse to the dangerous expedient of debasing the currency. The weight of the *as* had been successively reduced from 12 ounces to 6, 4, 3, and 2, and as the State, on account of its armaments, was the universal debtor, this depreciation of the coinage gave it a profit of five-sixths of its debts, or more than 80 per cent., an operation which, as far as its creditors were concerned, was equivalent to an actual bankruptcy.<sup>4</sup> There was the same diminution of weight in the silver coinage. In 269, forty denarii went

Silver Denarius of 16 *Ases*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xviii. and xix. The latter figure—241,212—is that of the year 247. The loss of the Romans during this war has been set down at 200,000 men.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, i. 63.

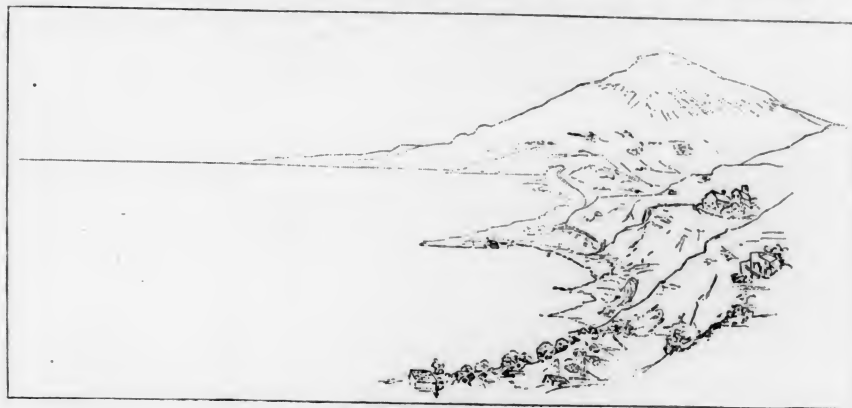
<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, head of Rome or Pallas; behind, the mark xvi. On the reverse, C.TITINI, and in the exergue, ROMA; Victory in a biga. Silver denarius of the Titinian family.

<sup>4</sup> *Ita quinque partes lucri factæ dissolutumque æs alienum.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 13.)

to the pound; in 244, seventy-five; in 241, eighty-four, though the denarius always represented ten ases.<sup>1</sup>

But the strength of Rome did not consist in its wealth; as for the populace, the foundation of several colonies, a very liberal distribution of land, and the formation, in 241, of two new tribes, *Velina* and *Quirina*, reconstituted the class of small proprietors which the war had decimated.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Rome soon found herself ready for fresh wars.

The first Punic war had cost Carthage Sicily and the empire of the sea; this was too great a shame and loss to be endured;



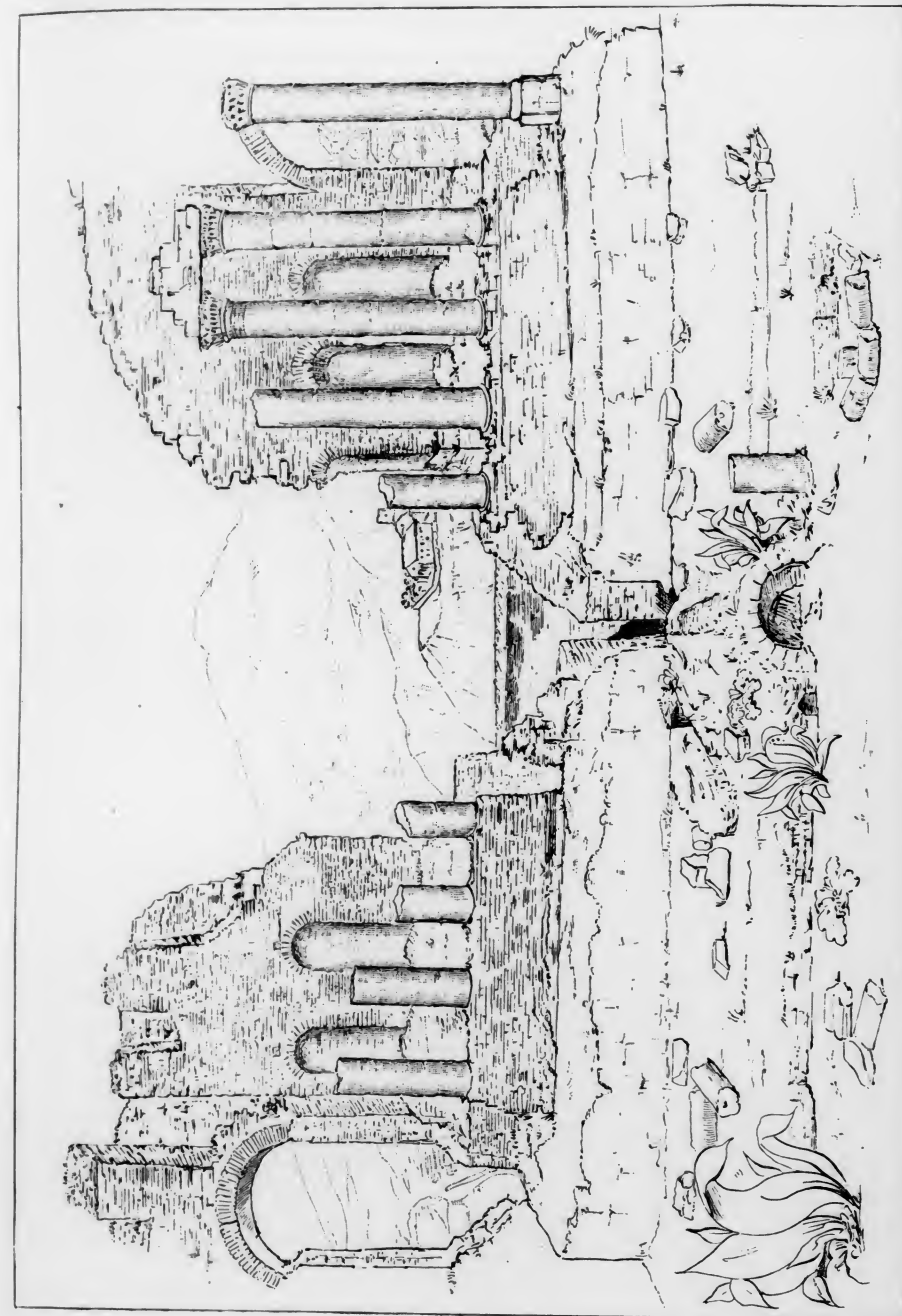
Etna, from Taormina.

the peace which had just been signed was, in fact, nothing but a truce. The senate understood this, and employed the twenty-three years of its duration in fortifying their position in the peninsula by occupying all the points from which it could be menaced—Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, Cisalpine Gaul, and Illyria. They desired to make Italy a fortress.

Sicily, the theatre of the first Punic war, had seen her towns by turns taken and retaken, often pillaged, and their inhabitants sold. For twenty-three years she had exhausted her fields to

<sup>1</sup> But the *as* was then at two ounces. In 216 it is no longer more than one ounce; in 89, half an ounce. Yet during the republic, though the weight was altered, the name was not, and the coins were almost free from alloy. M. D'Arcet found 983 to be the mean value of the silver coinage. The silver denarius was originally worth 10 pounds of copper, *dena*, hence its name.

<sup>2</sup> This distribution, the date of which is uncertain, but which must have occurred at the



Teatro Greco, Taormina.



support fleets and armies which sometimes counted more than two hundred thousand men; but this land, so admirably fertile, soon repaired its losses. The senate hastened to declare it a Roman province;<sup>1</sup> this was a new condition. It was not needful, in point of fact, to employ with the Sicilians the same political caution as the Romans had used with the nations of Italy. Now that the centre of their empire was protected by municipalities, colonies, and allies, there must be outside nothing but *subjects* liable to taxation and drudgery.<sup>2</sup> Lutatius disarmed all the inhabitants, and made part of it public domain, and two hundred towns only recovered their territory on condition of paying a tribute, to be fixed every year by the Roman censors, and the tithe of all the products of the soil; often, indeed, the senate exacted a double tithe. Lutatius also wrote the *formula*, giving the subject cities a uniform organisation, in which, following the example of Rome, aristocratic principles predominated. Each year a prætor was sent into the new province with absolute power, from which there was no appeal till after its execution. True to its maxim of never laying an equal yoke on all, the senate accorded privileges to certain chosen towns, which were few in number, however, for Sicily was too rich for Rome to deprive herself of the right of despoiling it at leisure. Thus Panormus, Egesta, Centuripa, Halæsa, and Halicyæ were free, and exempt from the tribute, but bound to military service; the little republic of Tauromenium and that of the Mamertines remained independent, as was the kingdom of Syracuse; later on, too, there were colonies. Messina owed that favour to the part it played in the first Punic war; Syracuse to the long fidelity of Hiero. As for Tauromenium, built on a mountain 900

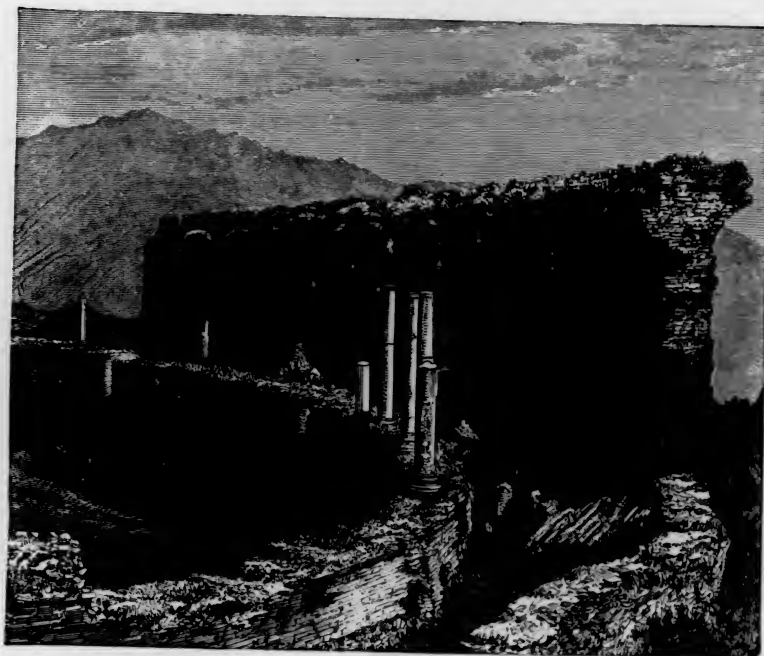
end or in the last days of the first Punic war, was so great that fifteen commissioners were needed for the division. Among them Pliny (vii. 45) names L. Metellus, the conqueror of Panormus.

<sup>1</sup> Festus derives this word from *provincit*, for *ante vicit*; Niebuhr from *proventus*. In the former case the word province would have reminded men that the Romans claimed to exercise in the provinces all the rights of conquest; in the second, that the provinces, not having the right to possess arms, would serve the sovereign State in an exclusively financial manner. But *provincia* more especially denotes an office which one has engaged upon oath to fulfil, and consequently the object of that office: thus it means the duty of holding elections (Livy, xxxv. 20) to manage the water supply (Cic., *in Vat.* §5). The formal organization of the province of Sicily did not take place till 227 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxi. 31: *civitates stipendiarias ac vectigales*. We will return to the subject of the condition of these provinces later on.

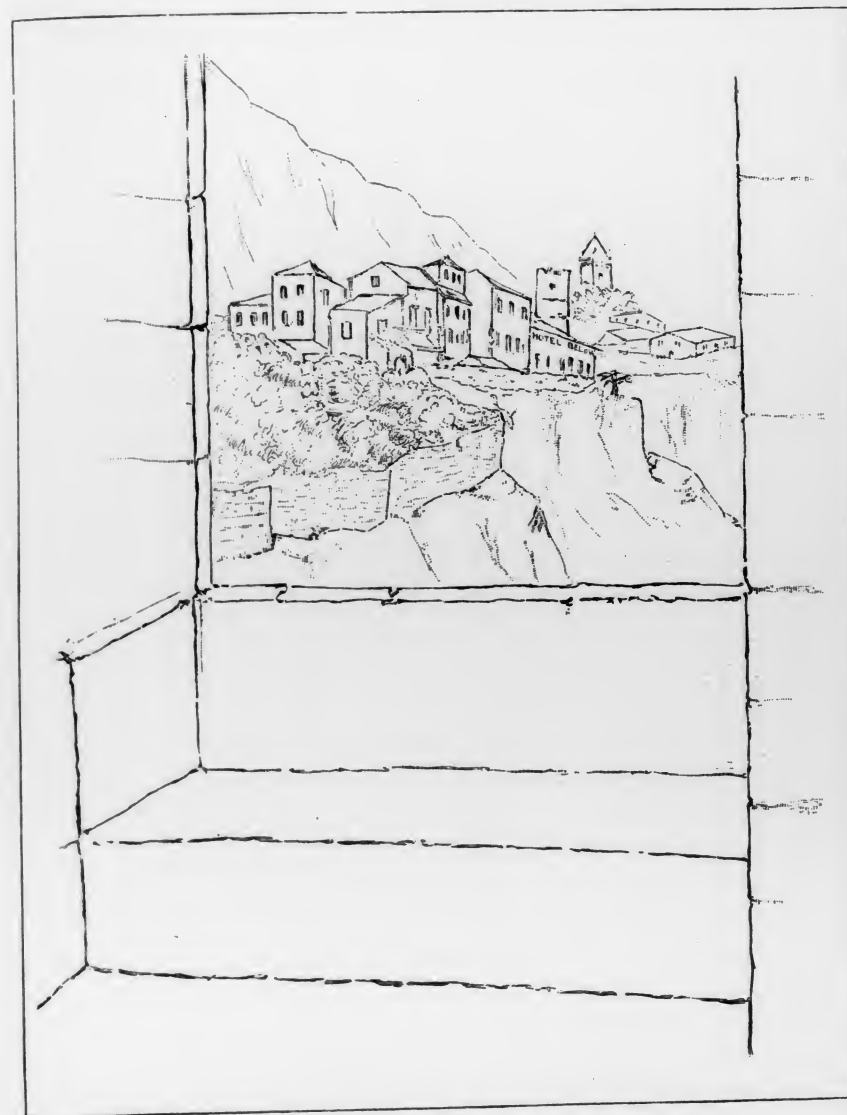
feet above the sea, and defended by a citadel built 492 feet higher, on an almost inaccessible rock, it had doubtless displayed in those times the sentiments which it manifested in later days to Marcellus, and which gained it the title of *civitas foederata*.

As had been done for the greater part of the Italians, so here it was forbidden to the inhabitants to acquire any possessions beyond the territory of their cities. Thence there came a great fall in the price of land, of which the Roman speculators, who



Theatre of Taormina.

could buy anywhere, took advantage to monopolize the best estates. From day to day the number of indigenous proprietors diminished, and Cicero could scarcely find a few in each town. With the small properties, the class of free husbandmen disappeared from the whole island. Immense farms, cultivated for rich Roman knights by an innumerable multitude of slaves—harvests, but no more poets or artists; such is henceforth the state of Sicily. Having become the granary of Rome, she saves the people and



View of Taormina from a Loggia of Dominican Convent.

army from famine more than once. But from her bosom, too, there issue the Servile wars, the cruel expiation of impolitic measures. It is a law of humanity—evil breeds evil. We have seen it in our own days in Ireland, which has long been, from analogous causes, a thorn in England's side.

Sardinia and Corsica were acquired at the cost of a piece of



treachery. At the news that the mercenaries of Carthage, who had been led back from Sicily into Africa, had revolted,<sup>1</sup> those left in Sardinia had massacred their leaders and all the Carthaginians in the island; a rising of the inhabitants against this soldiery obliged it to put itself under the protection of Rome. The senate,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 522.



which had supported the soldiers in Africa in their revolt by allowing provisions to be taken to them from all the ports of Italy,<sup>1</sup> did not hesitate to take advantage of the embarrassment of their rival to declare that as the rule of Carthage had ceased in the island, they could, without a breach of treaty, take possession of Sardinia. Then, on the report that Carthage was making some preparations, they pretended to think that Italy was threatened, and declared war. Their wrath was appeased by the offer of 1,200 talents, and the abandonment of Sardinia. It was still necessary to conquer the Sardinians, whom their old masters probably supported in secret. The senate employed eight years over it, and two consuls came back thence to triumph. One of these, Pomponius Matho, in order to track the islanders to their remotest retreats, had made use of dogs trained to hunt men, an expedient which the Spaniards renewed in the new world. This conquest ended, as it had begun, by hateful means.

Corsica shared the fate of the neighbouring island; the senate declared it a Roman province; in reality it preserved that liberty which no enemy dared to spoil, in the depths of its impenetrable coverts.<sup>2</sup> Too wild and too poor to furnish tribute in wheat, like Sardinia, Corsica paid it in the honey of its bees; it promised 100,000 pounds of it.<sup>3</sup> The creation of these two provinces obliged the number of prætors to be raised to four; two, the *prætor urbanus* and the *prætor peregrinus*, remained at Rome; the other two were appointed, one to govern Sicily, the other Sardinia and Corsica (227 B.C.).

Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica being subdued, the Tyrrhenian Sea became a Roman lake. On the other sea the coast was guarded from Rimini to Brundisium by six colonies.<sup>4</sup> But the coast of Illyria, with its numberless islands, has been inhabited in all ages by dangerous pirates. At the time of which we are speaking the Adriatic was infested with them. Nothing passed without paying toll; the coasts of Greece were ceaselessly

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, i. 83. They forbade it when the mercenaries were on the point of triumphing.

<sup>2</sup> Livy says even of the Sardinians in the time of Augustus: *gente ne nunc quidem pacata*. (xi. 34.)

<sup>3</sup> Val. Max., iii. 5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xv. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ariminum, Sena, Hatria, Castrum Novum, Firmum, Brundisium.

devastated, those of Italy threatened.<sup>1</sup> A few years previously they had beaten the Ætolians and Epirotes, taken Phœnice, the richest town in Epirus, pillaged Elis and Messenia, and drawn the Acarnanians into alliance with them.

On complaints being raised on all sides, the senate sent ambassadors to Teuta, the widow of their last king, who governed a port of Illyria in the name of her son Pineus.<sup>2</sup> She



Coin of Coreyra.<sup>3</sup>

proudly replied that it was not the custom of the kings of Illyria to forbid their subjects to cruise for their own profit. At these words, the youngest of the deputies, one Coruncanus, replied: "With us, queen, the custom is never to leave unpunished the wrongs suffered by our fellow-citizens, and we will so do, if it please the gods, that you yourself will set about reforming the customs of the

Illyrian kings." Teuta, in irritation, caused the bold youth to be slain, with those who had promoted this Roman embassy, and had the commanders of the vessels which had brought it burnt alive. Then the



Coin of Apollonia.<sup>4</sup>

pirating began again with more boldness than before; Coreyra was taken, Epidamnus and Apollonia besieged, and an Achæan fleet beaten.

This was a good opportunity for the Romans to show themselves to the Greeks. The senate saw what advantage they might derive from these events, and loftily assumed the character of protector of Greece,<sup>5</sup> which they played to the last with so much

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, iii. 26) calls an Illyrian tribe, the Vardæi, *populatores quondam Italiæ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀγρων ἢ βασιλεὺς Ἰλλυριῶν μέγας*. (Appian, *Illyr.*, 7.)

<sup>3</sup> Cow suckling her calf. On the reverse, K backwards, the initial letter of the name of Coreyra. Plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs, celebrated by Homer. Silver coin of Coreyra.

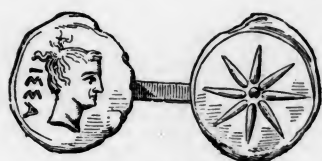
<sup>4</sup> *ΑΡΧΕΑΙΟΣ*. Head of Apollo. On the reverse, *ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΔΥΣΩΝΟΣ*, the names of two magistrates. Three girls dancing; between them we read, *ΑΠΟΛΛ*. Silver drachma of Apollonia in Illyria.

<sup>5</sup> Two years later they also took the Greeks of Saguntum under their protection. In the year 267 they had concluded an alliance with the Apollonians (Livy, *Epit.*, xv.), and in 237, on the demand of the Acarnanians, they had ordered the Ætolians to respect Acarnania, the only country in all Greece, said their ambassadors, which had not taken part in the Trojan war! (Just., xxviii. 1 and 2.)

success. In order to give a great idea of their power, they sent against these miserable enemies two hundred vessels, twenty thousand legionaries, and the two consuls (229). They had not

Coin of Acarnania.<sup>1</sup>

done so much against Carthage at first. Coreyra was given up by a traitor, Demetrius; the Illyrians were besieging Issa in the island of the same name (Lissa), they were driven from it, and not one of the places that attempted

Coin of Issa.<sup>2</sup>

resistance could hold out. Teuta, in affright, yielded all that Rome demanded, a tribute, the cession of a part of Illyria, a promise not to send more than two vessels to sea beyond the Lissus, and the heads of her chief counsellors, in order to appease with the shedding of their blood the irritated manes of the young Coruncanus (228). The Greek towns subdued by the Illyrians, Coreyra and Apollonia, were restored to their independence.<sup>3</sup>

The consuls hastened to make this treaty known to the Greeks, reminding them that it was for their protection they had crossed the sea. The deputies showed themselves in every town amid the applause of the crowd. At Corinth they were admitted to the Isthmian games, at Athens the citizenship was bestowed on them, and they were initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis. Thus began the first [political] relations between Rome and Greece.

The Romans had given Demetrius the island of Pharos and some districts of Illyria. Not considering himself sufficiently

<sup>1</sup> AKAPNANQN. Head of the river Achelotis, with two horns, which figure the rapidity of its current or call to mind that he changed himself into a bull to fight Hercules. The hero tore off one of his horns, which became the horn of plenty, a pleasing image of the works executed in order to embank the river and restore vast tracts to agriculture; beneath, a serpent, another symbol of the winding course of the stream. On the reverse, the name of a magistrate, MENNEIAE, and behind Apollo, who is seated on a rock, and holds a bow; in the field, a torch. Silver coin of the Acarnanians.

<sup>2</sup> On the obverse, a woman's head and the name of the town. On the reverse, a star. Bronze coin. Issa was an important island on the Illyrian coast. The Romans, whom it had furnished with the opportunity of acquiring a valuable province, exempted it from all tribute (Livy, xlv. 26), and its inhabitants afterwards received the *jus civitatis*. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 21.)

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, ii. 11; Zonaras, viii. 19. Cf. for this war, Appian, *Illyr.*, 7.

recompensed, he joined the corsairs, and led king Pineus into revolt with him. The Gallic war, of which we shall presently speak, was ended, and the senate, free from all disquietude in Italy, was able to send another consul into Illyria.

Demetrius took refuge with the king of Macedonia, whom he soon afterwards induced to take arms against the Romans. and Pineus submitted to the conditions of the former treaty (219). Rome thus possessed good

Coin of Pharos.<sup>1</sup>

ports and a vast province on the Greek continent, a kind of outpost, which protected Italy, and threatened Macedonia. The Adriatic was pacified like the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the merchant cities of Italy heartily united themselves with the fortune of a government which gave security and impulse to their commerce.<sup>2</sup>

From Sicily to the northern extremities of Umbria and Etruria the Roman sway was accepted, or endured in silence. Beyond the Rubicon and the Apennines all remained free; Cisalpine Gaul, notwithstanding the defeat of the Boii at Lake Vadimon in 283, had not been subjugated. The fertility of these plains, which make Lombardy a garden, astonished Polybius, even after he had seen Sicily and Africa. "Such abundance of grain," says he, "is reaped there when the land is cultivated, that we have seen a measure of wheat at 4 oboli, and one of barley at half that price. A measure of wine is exchanged for an equal measure of barley. Millet grows there in abundance. Numerous woods of oak furnish such quantities of mast that the plains of the Po produce a great part of the pork of which so much is used in Italy, either for the nourishment of the people or the provisioning of the armies. In short, one can satisfy all the needs of life for so small an expenditure that travellers who stop at the hostelrys do not offer a separate price for each thing provided, but pay their reckoning

<sup>1</sup> Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter. On the reverse, ΦΑΡΙQN; goat standing before a serpent. Bronze coin of Pharos.

<sup>2</sup> This commerce was much more considerable than is supposed, and Rome protected it most energetically. The motive of the war declared against Carthage during the mercenary war was the capture of a great number of merchant vessels belonging to Italy, and the piracies of Teuta's subjects on Italian commerce were the first cause of the Illyrian war.

by the head; and it often happens that they settle the whole bill with the fourth part of an obolus."<sup>1</sup>

In this fruitful country the Gallic race had increased with incredible fertility. Cato counted one hundred and two Boian tribes. Polybius, who saw them almost a century after the period to which our story has led us, found them inhabitants of unwalled villages, sleeping on grass or straw, without any furniture, and eating only meat. Warfare was their principal occupation, gold or cattle the only wealth which they esteemed, because they could transport it wherever their adventurous life led them.



Coin of the Boii.<sup>2</sup>

Intestine wars, arising from the rivalry of their chiefs, the jealousy of the tribes, the hatred of the Taurini against the Insubres, of the Cenomani against the Boii, of the Venetians against them all, and the lucrative service in the armies of Carthage, which attracted the most restless of these adventurers, had for forty-five years saved the peninsula from the dangers of a Gallic invasion. The repose which the peace of 241 had restored to the world did not suit these campaigners. In 238 two Boian chiefs, supported by the youth of the land, were anxious, in spite of the old men, to drag their nation into a war against Rome. They called in some tribes from the Alps and fell upon Ariminum. But the peace party carried the day; the two chiefs were murdered, their auxiliaries driven away, and calm restored before the legions could reach the frontier.

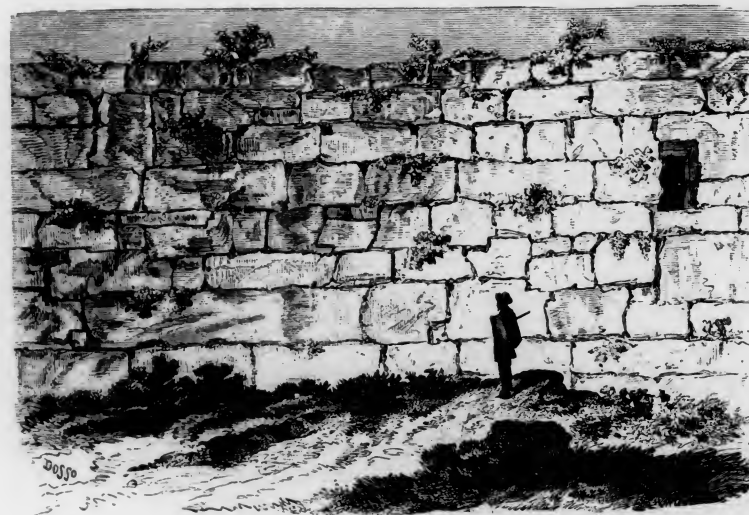
At this time the expeditions to Sardinia and Illyria had not commenced; the Gauls appeared intimidated, and Carthage was beaten; the senate closed the temple of Janus perhaps for the first time since Numa. Almost immediately troubles broke out on all sides, and Rome again became the city of Mars.

The Ligurians descended from their mountains and pillaged the Etruscan plains; to drive them back again required six years and

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, ii. 15, 17. This picture is to this day partly true. One can live very cheaply in the plain of the Po outside the great hotels, and Bologna sends its sausages all over Europe.

<sup>2</sup> On the obverse (here represented above), an uncertain object. On the reverse, a rainbow above a boat. Gold coin of the Boii.

the talents of Fabius. This war was only tedious, that against the Boii was dangerous. The senate had forbidden the sale of arms to them, and the tribune, Flaminius, had proposed the division of the land of the Senones, lying along the frontier, which had remained almost deserted since the war of extermination in 283. This proposition was in accordance with the policy of Rome: it relieved the city of its poor, rewarded the veterans of the Punic war, and placed at



Walls of Fiesole (Fiesole).<sup>1</sup>

the approaches to Cisalpine Gaul a Roman population, which would act as a living rampart against Gallic invasions. But it deprived the nobles of the pastures which they considered as their property; they violently rejected it, and when Flaminius had it voted by the tribes in the comitia, in spite of the opposition of the senate, they accused him of having caused the revolt of the Boii. The latter, terrified at the idea of having the Romans for neighbours, joined with the Insubres, and called in from Transalpine Gaul a formidable army of Gæsates, warriors belonging to various tribes, but united by a common taste for adventures. "Never," says Polybius, "had braver soldiers crossed the Alps." Happily the Cenomani and Venetians betrayed the common cause. Rome had

<sup>1</sup> From a print in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.



for a long time come to an understanding with the former; the others had always been hostile to the Cisalpine Gauls. This diversion obliged the confederates to leave a portion of their forces for the protection of their homesteads; the remainder, consisting of 50,000 foot-soldiers and 20,000 horsemen, or soldiers mounted on war-chariots, set out for Rome. The Cisalpines were commanded by Britomar, the Insubrian; the Gæsates, armed with an unpointed sword, sharp only one edge, the *gaïs*, followed their kings, Concolitan and Anercestus. All had sworn, leaders and soldiers, not to take off their baldrics till they had ascended the Capitol.

Terror was at its height in the town; the Sibylline books were consulted, and demanded the sacrifice of a Gallic man and woman, and a Grecian man and woman. They were buried alive in the midst of the forum Boarium, and the oracle which announced that the Gauls and Greeks should take possession of the Roman soil was thought to be accomplished. But, according to the popular belief, these unhappy beings might after their death become formidable; so, in order to appease their anger, a sacrifice was instituted, which was yearly celebrated "on the Gallic grave." Having thus settled accounts with the gods and the murdered victims, Rome set herself about warding off the danger. Vain terrors did not banish manly resolutions; she trusted to the gods, but especially to herself, and this was what made her so great, in spite of her superstitious spirit.

The senate declared that there was a *tumultus*, and every man fit to carry a sword took arms, even such of the priests as the law dispensed from service; 150,000 soldiers were drawn up before Rome, and 620,000, furnished by the allies, were held in reserve. The Samnites had promised 70,000 foot and 16,000 horse; the Latins, 80,000 foot and 5000 horse; the Iapyges and Messapians, 50,000 foot and 16,000 horse; the Lucanians, 30,000 foot and 3000 horse; the Marsic confederation, 20,000 foot and 4000 horse. The Romans and Campanians alone could furnish 273,000 men. Thus the whole of Italy rose to defend Rome, and drive back the barbarians.

Two routes led from Upper Italy into the valley of the Tiber. In order to close them, one of the consuls stationed himself on

the east of the Apennines before Ariminum; a prætor established himself on the west, near Fæsulæ, with 54,000 Etruscans and Sabines, and the other consular army was recalled in haste from Sardinia, with orders to land at Pisa, and guard the passes of the Apennines in Liguria, if it was not too late. So many precautions and preparations almost turned out useless. The Gauls, crossing the Apennines at a place where the legions did not expect them, left behind them the prætorian army, which guarded the mountain passage on the Umbrian side, and arrived within three days' march of Rome. The prætor had followed them; they turned upon him, killed six thousand of his men, and hemmed in the remains of his legion upon a hill. Fortunately the consul, Æmilius, arrived during the night, having hastened from Ariminum at the news of this bold march. The Gauls, being embarrassed with immense plunder, and many captives, were desirous of placing their acquisitions in safety at home, then to return and engage in battle. This resolution was their ruin. They were marching along the coast, followed by Æmilius, in order to reach Liguria, when the consul, Atilius, having landed at Pisa with his legions, fell upon their vanguard near Cape Telamon (near the mouth of the Ombrone). The Gauls were caught between three armies; they stationed their chariots on the flanks to protect them, their booty and captives they placed on a hill in their midst, and whilst the Gæsates and Insubres faced Æmilius in the rear, the Boii and Taurisci resisted the consul Atilius in the front. "It was a strange



Etruscan Warrior.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a bas-relief found at Fæsulæ. (Micali, pl. ii. fig. 3.)

sight; innumerable trumpets and the war-cries of the barbarians filled the air with fearful noises which the hills re-echoed, and the great naked bodies were seen violently brandishing their arms. But, if their shouts caused terror, the golden collars and bracelets which loaded their arms and necks gave hope of a rich booty." The consul Atilius was killed in a cavalry skirmish which preceded the general action. The latter was commenced by the archers of the legions, who showered upon the enemy's line a hail of arrows, not one of which was lost, for the Gæsates, who, with ostentatious courage, and in order to be more free in their movements, had stripped off their clothing down to their belts, could not shelter themselves under their small shields. After the archers the infantry, clad in excellent armour, came on at racing speed, and fell to the attack with their short strong swords well sharpened on each edge and at the point. The Gauls, whose sabres bent at every blow, for some time resisted by their mass and their indomitable courage, "If they had had the weapons of the Romans, they would have gained the victory." And Polybius, in so saying, expressed the opinion of the oldest historian of Rome, Fabius Pictor, who had been present at the battle<sup>1</sup> when the Roman cavalry, breaking through the line of chariots, charged them on the flank, and a frightful confusion broke out in the barbarian army, thus pressed from before, behind, and on the side. Forty thousand barbarians were left on the battlefield: ten thousand were made prisoners. One of the Gallie brems, Concolitan, was taken; another, Anercestus, slew with his own hand those of his devoted band who had survived the combat, and stabbed himself (225). The fate of Britomar is not known. The captives kept their oath; they ascended to the Capitol wearing their baldries, but preceding the triumphal car of Æmilius. Midway they laid them aside to enter the Tullianum, whence none came out alive.

Rome had been frightened. The senate decided to free Italy from such fears, and in the following year sent the two consuls into Cisalpine Gaul to begin the conquest of it. The Gauls on the south of the Po, enfeebled by the great disaster of Telamon, gave hostages, and delivered up three of their strongholds to the Romans,

<sup>1</sup> .... *Qui ei bello interfuit.* (Eutrop., iii. 5.)

amongst them Modena (224). But those on the north, the Insubres, met the consuls with vigour, when in the following year the latter for the first time risked the Roman standards on the north bank of the river. The Romans were glad to accept a treaty which allowed them to retire without fighting. They reached the country

of the Cenomani, where a few days rest and plenty restored strength to their troops; then, forgetting the treaty, they again entered the Insubrian territory at the foot of the Alps. Fifty thousand men marched against them to avenge this perfidy. They had taken from their temples their sacred flags, the *Immovables*, which were never brought out except in the greatest dangers. Flaminius, one of the consuls, was that former tribune so hateful to the nobles on account of his proposition to distribute the lands of the Senones. The senate, not being able to hinder his election, made the

gods speak to annul it; miracles multiplied, and the augurs declared the appointment of Flaminius and his colleague Furius illegal. A decree recalled them; Flaminius received it at the moment of commencing the battle, and took no notice of it; he



Group from the villa Ludovisi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was long thought that this group represented the death of Arria and Pætus; we dare not assert that the artist wished to consecrate the famous remembrance of the suicide of Anercestus, but it is certainly a barbarian killing his wife and himself after a defeat.

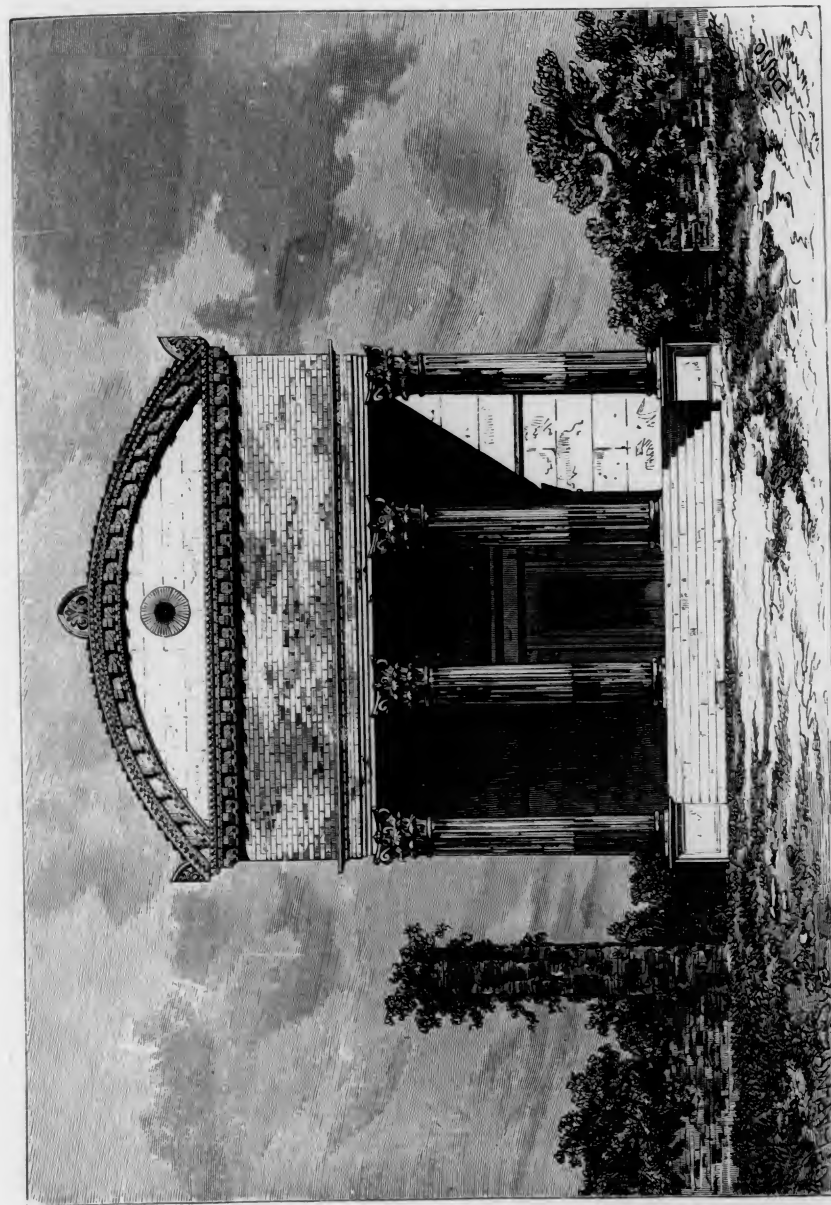
could only escape condemnation by a victory, he impressed the necessity of it upon his soldiers, posting them in front of a deep river, and breaking down the bridges behind them. The swords of the barbarians, badly tempered and pointless, grew blunt and bent easily. After the first blow the soldiers were obliged to press them against the ground and straighten them with their feet. Having observed this at the battle of Cape Telamon, the tribunes distributed the pikes of the *triarii* among the men of the first rank, with orders not to attack with the sword till they saw that the sabres of the Gauls had been bent by striking on the iron of the pike. The Insubres lost eight thousand dead,



Tomb of the gens Furia.<sup>1</sup>

and ten thousand prisoners (223 B.C.). They asked for peace, and, on the refusal of the senate, hastily called in from the Transalpine regions thirty thousand Gæsates, commanded by King Viridomar, who came and proudly laid siege to the stronghold of Clastidium, on the south of the Po, which, in the hands of Rome, had become one of the fetters of Cisalpine Gaul. The Roman consul, Marcellus, he who some years later won, against Hannibal, the surname of the *Sword of Rome*, hastened to relieve it. As he was drawing up his line of battle, his horse, frightened by the confused cries of the barbarians, suddenly turned and carried him, in spite of himself, to the rear. With such superstitious soldiers as the Romans were, this natural incident might be taken for a presage of defeat, and might lead to it. Marcellus, on the contrary, turned it to advantage. He pretended to be anxious to accomplish a religious act, made his horse complete the circle, and when he had returned in front of the enemy, worshipped the sun. After that they could fight; it was only one of the ordinary ceremonies of the adoration of the gods. When the king of the Gæsates perceived Marcellus, judging by the splendour of his arms that he must be

<sup>1</sup> The Furii appear to have been originally from Tusculum, where the remains of a tomb of that family are seen.



Temple of Courage (restored).



the chief, he spurred his horse out of the ranks, and challenged him to single combat between the two armies.

The consul had just vowed to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful arms that should be taken from the enemy. At the sight of this Gaul, whose armour was resplendent with the blaze of gold, silver, and purple, Marcellus had no doubt that these were the promised spoils, and that the gods had sent the barbarian to fall beneath his blows. He rushed straight at him at the full gallop of his horse, and struck him with his lance right on the breast with such force that the cuirass was pierced, and Virdumar fell. Before he could rise, Marcellus dealt him another blow, then sprang to the ground, tore off his arms, and raising them towards heaven, cried, "Jupiter, receive the spoils which I offer thee, and deign to grant us like fortune in the course of this war." The Romans, excited by the exploit of their leader, fell impetuously on the enemy. After a bloody affray the Gælates took to flight. Despair seized the Insubres. They yielded themselves to the discretion of the senate, who made them pay a heavy indemnity, and confiscated a part of their territory in order to establish colonies there (222).

All that was most magnificent in the arrangements of the Roman festivals was employed to celebrate the victory of Marcellus, the third who had triumphed with the *spolia opima*. The streets through which the procession was to pass were strewn with flowers, and incense smoked everywhere. A numerous band of musicians led the march; then came the oxen for sacrifice, with their horns gilded, and, after a long string of chariots, bearing the arms taken from the enemy, the Gallic captives, whose high stature and martial bearing struck every eye. A clown, dressed as a woman, and a troop of satyrs, insulted their grief by joyful songs. Finally, amid the smoke of perfumes, there appeared the triumpher, clad in a purple robe embroidered with gold, his head crowned with laurels and his face painted with vermilion like the statues of the gods; on his shoulder he bore the helmet, cuirass, and tunic of Virdumar, arranged round the trunk of an oak. At the sight of this glorious trophy the crowd made the air resound with the cry of "*Triumph! triumph!*" interrupted only by the warrior hymns of the soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The procession was formed on the Field of Mars, and crossed the Flaminian Circus, the

"As the triumphal car began to turn from the Forum towards the Capitol, Marcellus made a sign, and the flower of the Gallic captives were led to a prison, where the executioners were waiting, and axes prepared; then the procession went, according to custom to wait on the Capitol in the temple of Jupiter till a lictor should bring the news that the barbarians were despatched. Then Marcellus intoned the hymn of praise, and the sacrifice was over. Before leaving the Capitol the triumpher with his own hands planted his trophy in the precincts of the temple. The rest of the day passed in rejoicings and festivities, and on the morrow perhaps some orator of the senate or people again began the customary declamations against that Gallic race which must be exterminated, because it butchered its prisoners and offered the blood of men to its gods."<sup>1</sup>



Marcellus at the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius.<sup>2</sup>

Marcellus had promised on his victory to raise a temple to Honour and Courage. The pontiffs refused to unite the two deities in the same sanctuary. "Should the lightning fall there," said they, "or should some prodigy be manifested, it would be difficult to make the expiations, because it would not be known to which god to offer the sacrifice, and the rites do not permit to immolate the same victim to two deities." Marcellus dedicated the temple to Honour, and built another to Courage, which his son dedicated seventeen years later.<sup>3</sup>

The defeat of the Insubres advanced the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. In order to consolidate their power there the senate, in 218, sent two colonies, each of six thousand Roman families, to Cremona and Placentia; they were to guard the line of the Po, already defended by Tannetum, Clastidium, and Modena. The

Triumphal Gate, where the senators and magistrates awaited it, then the Circus Maximus, and by the valley which separated the Caelian from the Palatine, reached the Via Sacra, and arrived at the Capitol by the *clivus Victorie*. See the plan of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Amédée Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois*, i. 257.

<sup>2</sup> MARCELLINVS. Head of Marcellus. Behind, the *triquetra* (see p. cxii. note 2). On the reverse, MARCELLVS COS. QVINQ. (consul for the fifth time); Marcellus bearing a trophy to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Silver denarius of the Claudian family.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxvii. 25, and xxix. 11.

military road commenced by the censor Flaminius, leading across the Apennines from Rome as far as the middle of the country of the Senones, was continued in order to connect these advanced posts with the great place of Ariminum.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Roman sway drew near the Alps, "that bulwark raised by a divine hand," says Cicero, "for the defence of Italy," and the plough was about to finish the work of the sword in Cisalpine Gaul, when the arrival of Hannibal put a stop to everything.



Honour and Virtue.<sup>2</sup>

In 221 the Romans had also occupied Istria; there they were masters of one of the gates of Italy, and they established themselves on the north of Macedonia, which they already menaced on the side of Illyria.

Since the defeat of Pyrrhus they had maintained friendly relations with the kings of Egypt. The latter naturally drew near a people who might some day become a formidable adversary to the enemies that the Ptolemies had in Greece. After the first Punic war Euergetes renewed the alliance that his father had concluded with Rome. The senate offered him troops as auxiliaries against Antiochus of Syria.<sup>4</sup> He refused them, but remained faithful to his friendship with the Romans.



Ptolemy III., Euergetes.<sup>3</sup>

## II.—CARTHAGE: WARS OF THE MERCENARIES; CONQUEST OF SPAIN.

During these twenty-three years so well employed by Rome Carthage had also extended her empire, but only after having passed through a crisis which nearly destroyed her, and which gave her constitution a lasting shock.

<sup>1</sup> HO. VIR. Laurel-crowned head of Honour, with the helmeted head of Virtue (Valour); beneath, the word KALENI, the surname of the Trufian family, who had this silver coin struck.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (v. p. 217) attributes to Æmilius, who was consul in 187, the Æmilian Way, which led from Ariminum to Bononia and Aquileia, going round the marshes, and following the foot of the Alps.

<sup>3</sup> Bust of Ptolemy Euergetes, with a sceptre and the ægis. From a gold tetradrachma.

<sup>4</sup> Zonar., viii. 6; Eutrop., iii. 1.

When Amilcar signed the peace with Lutatius, there were in Sicily twenty thousand mercenaries, who had long been paid with nothing but words. When the war was ended they claimed the execution of these promises and their pay. Gisco, the governor of Lilybæum, sent them back to Carthage by detachments, in order to give the senate time to satisfy or disperse them. But the treasury was empty; all were allowed to arrive, and when they were assembled the distress of the republic was pictured to them, and an appeal was made to their disinterestedness. Yet gold and silver shone on all sides in this opulent metropolis of Africa; the mercenaries began to pay themselves with their own hands. The senate feared a pillage; they ordered the officers to lead the army to Sicca, giving each soldier a piece of gold for the most pressing needs. The Carthaginians might have detained their women and children as hostages, but they sent them away that these foreigners might not be tempted to come back in search of them. Then, closing their gates, they believed themselves to be sheltered from all anger behind their high walls.

The mercenaries, says Polybius, whose account we are abridging, met at Sicca. For such troops idleness is an evil counsellor; they began to reckon and to exaggerate what was owing to them, and what had been promised them in hours of danger; and in those greedy souls there sprang up vast desires.

Hanno was sent to them, who, instead of bringing gold, asked for sacrifices, speaking humbly of the destitution of the republic. Citizens might have understood this language. The mercenaries grew irritated, and sedition broke out; first the men of each nation gathered together, then all the nations united. They could not understand each other, but they all agreed in hurling a thousand imprecations. Hanno essayed to speak to the soldiers through their leaders; the leaders repeated quite different things from what was said to them, and the anger of the crowd increased. "Why, too," asked the mercenaries, "had there been sent them, instead of the generals who had seen them at work, and who knew what was due to them, Hanno, who knew nothing about them?" They struck their camp, marched upon Carthage, and stopped at 120 stadia from the town, at the place called Tunis.

Carthage had neither soldiers to drive off these barbarians, nor

hostages to stay them. She tried to appease them; she sent them provisions, the price of which they themselves fixed, and deputies who promised that all they might demand should be granted. These proofs of cowardice increased their boldness. They had held their own against the Romans in Sicily, who then would dare to look them in the face? Certainly not the Carthaginians. . . . And every day they invented new demands, laying claims, besides their pay, to the price of their horses that had been killed, and requiring that they should be paid for the provisions owing to them at the exorbitant price they had reached during the war. To put an end to this, Gisco, one of their generals in Sicily, was sent to them, who had always had their interests at heart, and who came with a large quantity of gold. He took the leaders aside, and then assembled each nation separately to give them their pay. An arrangement was almost arrived at; but there was in the army a certain Spendius, a Campanian, formerly a slave at Rome, who feared lest he should be delivered up to his master, and an African named Matho, the principal author of these troubles; they both expected, if an agreement was made, to pay for all. Matho pointed out to the Libyans that when the other nations were gone away, Carthage would let all the weight of her wrath fall on them, and chastise them in such a manner as to frighten their compatriots. A great agitation followed this discourse, and as Gisco put off till another time the payment for



Carthaginian Warrior (?)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bearded warrior, standing, clad in a cuirass, found in Sicily in 1762. He held in his right hand a sword, of which only the hilt remains. Caylus calls it a Carthaginian soldier. Statuette in bronze, 5 inches in height. *Cabinet de France*: No. 2976 in Chabouillet's catalogue.



provisions and horses, the Libyans assembled tumultuously. They would hear only Spendius and Matho; if any other orator attempted to speak, he was immediately stoned. A single word was understood by all these barbarians: Strike! As soon as anyone said Strike! they all struck, and so quickly, that it was impossible to escape. Many soldiers, and even leaders, thus perished; and at length Spendius and Matho were chosen generals.

Gisco knew that if once these ferocious beasts were let loose, Carthage would be lost. At the peril of his life he remained in the camp, trying to bring back the leaders to reason. But one day, when the Africans, who had not received their pay, insolently demanded it, he told them to address themselves to Matho. At these words they fell upon the money, seized Gisco and his companions, and loaded them with chains.

Carthage was in terror. All bruised and bleeding yet from her defeats in Sicily, she had hoped, when peace was once made with Rome, for a little rest and safety, and here was a war breaking out more terrible than ever; for it was no longer a question of Sicily, but of the safety and even the existence of the country. She had neither army nor fleet; her granaries were empty, her treasury exhausted, her allies indifferent or hostile. Her sway over the nations of Africa had been cruel. In the last war she had exacted from the inhabitants of the country half their incomes, and doubled the taxes in the towns; Leptis Parva owed her a talent a day. The poorest could hope for neither grace nor mercy from the Carthaginian governors; for to be popular at Carthage it was necessary to be pitiless towards her subjects, and extract large sums of money from them.

Accordingly, as soon as Matho had stirred up the towns of Africa to revolt, the very women, who had so often seen their husbands and kindred dragged to prison for the payment of the tax, swore among themselves to hide none of their effects; they gave all they had in the way of furniture and ornaments, and money abounded in the camp of the mercenaries. Their troops were augmented by numerous auxiliaries, the army rose to seventy thousand men, with whom they laid siege to Utica and Hippo, the only two towns which had not responded to their appeal.

The Carthaginians at first confided the conduct of the war

to Hanno; but he twice let slip an occasion to destroy the enemy. Amilcar was put in his place; with ten thousand men and seventy-five elephants he managed to make the mercenaries raise the siege of Utica, free the approaches of Carthage, and gain a second battle against Spendius. Then the Numidians went over to him, he found himself master of the country, and the mercenaries began to lack provisions. At the same time he showed much mildness with regard to his prisoners. The chiefs feared defections; in order to prevent them they assembled the army, and brought forward a man who they pretended had just arrived from Sardinia with a letter, in which their friends invited them to keep a close watch upon Gisco and the other prisoners, to mistrust the secret practices going on in the camp in favour of the Carthaginians. Spendius then addressed them, pointing out the perfidious mildness of Amilcar, and the danger of sending back Gisco. He was still speaking when a fresh messenger, who said he had arrived from Tunis, brought another letter in similar terms to the first. Autaritus, chief of the Gauls, declared that there was no safety except in a rupture beyond reparation with the Carthaginians, that all those who spoke otherwise were traitors, and that in order to avoid all agreement it was necessary to slay Gisco and the other prisoners. . . . This Autaritus had the advantage of speaking Phœnician, and thus making himself understood by the greatest number, for the length of the war gradually made Phœnician the common language, and the soldiers generally saluted in that language.

After Autaritus, men of every nation spoke who had obligations towards Gisco, and who demanded that he should be at least spared torture; as they all spoke together, and each in his own language, nothing they said could be understood; but as soon as it was perceived what they wished to say, and some one cried, Kill! kill! these unhappy intercessors were struck down with stones. Then Gisco was taken with his companions, to the number of seven hundred; they were led out of the camp, their hands and ears cut off, their legs broken, and they were thrown alive into a ditch. When Amilcar sent to demand at least their corpses, the barbarians declared that the deputies should be treated in the same manner, and proclaimed as law that every Carthaginian prisoner should perish by torture, and that every ally of Carthage

should be sent back with his hands cut off, and this law was vigorously observed. Amilear in reprisal threw all his prisoners before the elephants.

The affairs of the Carthaginians were assuming a favourable aspect, when sudden reverses threw them back into their earlier state. Sardinia revolted; a tempest sunk a great convoy of provisions; Hippo and Utica went over and murdered their garrisons, and Matho already dreamt of leading his mercenaries to the foot of the walls of Carthage. But Hiero, whom the final victory of this barbarian army would have menaced, afforded all the help that the Carthaginians demanded; even Rome [now] showed herself favourable. The senate restored what remained of the prisoners taken in Sicily, allowed Italian merchants to bear them provisions, and refused the offer of the inhabitants of Utica to give themselves to the Romans. A second time Amilear drove the mercenaries from the neighbourhood of Carthage, and, with his Numidian cavalry, forced them into the mountains, where he succeeded in enclosing one of their two armies in the defiles of the Axe. There, unable to fight or flee, they found themselves reduced to eating one another. The prisoners and slaves went first; when this resource failed, Spendius, Autaritus and the other leaders, threatened by the multitude, were obliged to ask for a safe conduct to go in search of Amilear. He did not refuse it, and made an agreement with them that, with the exception of ten men whom he should choose, he would send away the others, leaving each of them a coat. When the treaty was concluded, Amilear said to the envoys: "*You are among the ten*," and he detained them. The mercenaries, on learning the arrest of their leaders, thought they were betrayed, and rushed to arms; they were so surrounded, that of forty thousand not one escaped. Meanwhile Matho, who was besieged in Tunis, offered an energetic resistance; in a sortie he captured Hannibal, the colleague of Amilear, and bound him to the cross of Spendius. Thirty of the principal Carthaginians perished in fearful tortures; but, being drawn into the level country, he was overcome in a great battle, led to Carthage, and given up to the people for their sport.

The *inexpiable war*, as it was called, had lasted three years and four months. "I know not," says Polybius, "that in any other

barbarity and impiety have been carried so far." Man had fallen, as he often does, below the wild beast, which kills to live, but does not torture.

In a commercial republic, which allows itself to be drawn into long wars, there is necessarily formed a military party, whose importance grows with their services, and who end by sacrificing the liberties of the country to their chief. Thus perished the Dutch republic,<sup>1</sup> thus Carthage was to end. Moreover, a constitution must be firmly rooted in a country, not to be shaken by an unsuccessful war. The Carthaginian oligarchy bore the penalty of the disasters of the first Punic war, and the necessity of arming the citizens to resist the mercenaries had still further enfeebled it, by strengthening the popular element. If the inner life of Carthage were better known to us, we should find therein some curious revelations about the two great parties which divided it, and of which historians scarcely give us a glimpse. Perhaps Hanno and his friends, who are represented to us as sold to Rome, or basely jealous of Amilear and his son, would appear as citizens justly alarmed at the growing favour among the populace and soldiers of a family, which appeared to be invested by hereditary right with the command of the armies, and who threatened Carthage with a military dictatorship. In the first Punic war, Amilear had rendered immense services; yet Hanno was appointed against the mercenaries. When his incapacity had obliged the senate to yield Amilear to the desires of the army, another Hanno was appointed as his colleague. But the soldiers drove him away,<sup>2</sup> and Amilear replaced him by a general called Hannibal, and probably of his faction. When he was dead the senate hastened to send Hanno again, with thirty senators to reconcile the two leaders, and keep watch over Amilear. The hero was compelled to share with his rival the glory of terminating this war. The saviour of Carthage deserved brilliant rewards; he was humiliated by shameful accusations.<sup>3</sup> The army and the people were for him; but, either

<sup>1</sup> Hannibal was the future stathouder of Carthage—the Hanno's were its De Witts. It was the same at Syracuse, in all the Greek republics of Sicily, and in all those of Italy in the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb., i. 82 . . . βάρκας δὲ παραλαβὼν Ἀννίβαν τὸν στρατηγὸν . . . ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννωνα τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκρινε δεῖν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> Corn. Nepos, *Amilear*.

through patriotism, or a consciousness of the strength which the party which insulted him still retained, or a desire to increase his renown and the influence of his party by fresh victories, he allowed himself to be exiled with his victorious troops, and set out to subdue for Carthage the coasts of Africa and Spain. This conquest would, it was thought, be a compensation for the loss of Corsica and Sardinia.<sup>1</sup>

Amilcar spent there nine years, during which, says Polybius, he subdued a great number of nations by arms and by treaties, till he perished in a battle against the Lusitanians, on the banks of the Guadiana. The booty won in Spain had served to buy the people and a part of the senate.<sup>2</sup> The Barcine faction increased, and, as its principal support was in the people, it favoured the encroachments of the popular assembly, which by degrees came to preponderate in the government.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Amilcar, and favourite of the people at Carthage, succeeded to his father-in-law's command in spite of the senate.<sup>4</sup> He continued his conquests with an army of fifty-six thousand soldiers, and two hundred elephants, pushed on as far as the Ebro, where the Romans, frightened at his progress, stopped him by a treaty (227); and, in order to consolidate his power, founded Carthagera<sup>5</sup> in a well-chosen position, in the middle of the Spanish coast, facing Africa, at a large harbour, and near mines which daily yielded him 300 pounds weight of silver. Immense works made a great town of it in a few years; it was, as it were, the capital of the future States of the Barcine house.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Appian he set out, in spite of the senate, for Spain, where Carthage already had some possessions and commercial relations.

<sup>2</sup> . . . pecunia totam locupletavit Africam. (Corn. Nep., Amilcar, 4.)

<sup>3</sup> . . . τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς διαβουλοῖς . . . ὁ δῆμος ἤδη μετελήφει (Polyb., vi. 51; Cf. Appian, vi. 5; see page 436). The first Punic war, by staying the course of emigration, which periodically removed a part of the poor from the towns, augmented the influence of the people.

<sup>4</sup> Factionis Barcinæ opibus, quæ apud milites plebemque plus quam modicæ erant, haud sane voluntate principum, in imperio potius (Livy, xxi. 2). According to Cornelius Nepos (Amilcar, 3): largitione vetustos pervertit mores.

<sup>5</sup> Gades was the Phœnician capital of Spain, but the Barcas desired a new town; Gades, moreover, occupied too eccentric a position, and preserved the bitter regret of its independence, which Hasdrubal had suppressed.

<sup>6</sup> Hanno, in opposing himself to Hannibal's being sent to Hasdrubal, said: *An hoc timeamus, ne . . . nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem videat . . . ?* And he adds, in speaking of Amilcar: *cujus regis . . .* and of the army: *hereditarii exercitus . . .* (Livy, xxi. 3). These speeches of Hanno are made by Livy, but they represent the opinion which the

Hasdrubal was, however, assassinated by a Gallic slave, who avenged on him the death of his master, slain by treason. The soldiers elected in his place Hannibal, the son of their ancient commander, who had fought in their ranks for three years. The people confirmed,<sup>1</sup> and the senate accepted the new king. Spain and the army were, in fact, no longer anything but a heritage of the Barcas.<sup>2</sup>

Such was, in 219, the situation at Carthage. Everything announced a coming transformation in that ancient republic. But Hannibal, like Cæsar two centuries later, needed soldiers and victories to enable him to re-enter his fatherland as its master. Cæsar won the dictatorship in Gaul, Hannibal sought it in this second Punic war, which his father had bequeathed him.

Romans held, and which, according to all indications we must ourselves hold, of the ambition of the Barcas. A military chief, Malchus, had already led his army against Carthage, and taken the town, without, however, proclaiming himself king. But he was condemned, and put to death on the accusation of having aspired to the tyranny. (Justin., xviii. 7.)

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, iii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The historian Fabius, a contemporary of Amilcar and senator of Rome, expressly said that Hasdrubal, after having tried to seize the tyranny of Carthage: . . . εἰς μοναρχίαν περιστῆσαι τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Καρχηδονίων, had behaved in Spain as if the country belonged to him: . . . τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν χειρίζων κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν, οὐ προσέχοντα τῷ συνιδρύτῃ τῶν Καρχηδονίων (Polyb., iii. 8). Polybius himself says (x. 10) of Hasdrubal that he had built a kingly palace at Carthagera: βασιλεία κατισκεύασται πολυτελῶς, ἣ φασιν . . . ποιῆσαι, μοναρχικῆς ὀρεγόμενον ἱξουσίας.



## CHAPTER XXII.

### INTERNAL STATE OF ROME IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS.

#### I.—COMMENCEMENT OF ROMAN LITERATURE, POPULAR GAMES AND FESTIVALS.

TO furnish Italy with her natural adjuncts, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and make these islands the outposts of the new Empire, to protect her commerce against the pirates of Illyria, her quiet and fortune against the land-pirates settled in Cisalpine Gaul, Rome had fought numerous battles and set immortal lessons of perseverance. From these terrible struggles she had issued with an assurance of her own strength and of the fidelity of her subjects; this is the golden age of her republican existence.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, since the Samnite war, everything—manners, religion, and political organization—had made a step in advance. The riches found in the pillage of industrious commercial cities, the tribute paid by Sicily and Carthage, the ideas acquired by contact with so many men and things, produced novelties to which the Romans insensibly grew accustomed. In less than three-quarters of a century Rome is no longer in Rome. Let us follow these slow infiltrations of foreign ideas and customs, which are about to modify so profoundly the Latino-Sabine society of early times. In the study of these inevitable transformations lies the interest and profit of history.

The Latin language, that sonorous but imperfect instrument, preserved the commanding majesty which is so clearly marked

<sup>1</sup> Polybius says of this government (vi. 57); *Ἦν καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ τέλειον ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιβατικοῖς καιροῖς*

in the Twelve Tables, and which, after the flowing eloquence of Cicero and Livy, it again resumes in the masculine terseness of Tacitus and the great lawyers of the Empire. It was always unfit for the rendering of abstract ideas, which, indeed, this people did not possess; Aristotle and Plato would have found difficulty in using it.

By the very fact of being used, however, it grew more supple and lost its asperities. In the Forum and in the curia Rome had orators of note. In the camp, and even on the field of battle, generals harangued their troops to convince before commanding them.<sup>1</sup> And it could not be otherwise in a republican State, in which speech is as powerful as the sword in the good and evil it can effect. Eloquence had even its tutelary god, Mercury, whose statue, erected in the public place of the towns, there presided at once over commerce and deliberations.



Mercury.<sup>3</sup>

The custom of funeral orations was very ancient. We have cited a fragment of that which Q. Metellus consecrated to the victor of Panormus.<sup>2</sup> It is a fashion which rises rapidly to perfection; in the following generation the Temporiser pronounced before all the people over the bier of his son a harangue which Plutarch ventures to compare with those of Thucydides.

Another branch of literature also commenced, which develops till it becomes one of the purest glories of Rome. The first

<sup>1</sup> [It is, however, certain that the great majority, if not all, the speeches of this kind reported in our Roman histories are the invention of rhetorical historians copying the fashions of Greek historiography. The whole tenor of Roman military discipline seems foreign to such speech-making.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Fabius*, initio. Cf. p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> Mercury, with the travelling cap and winged shoes, holding a purse in his right hand and his caduceus in his left. Bronze figure found at Arles. See p. 74, the Mercury Agorius of Praeneste. Collection of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2996 in Chabouillet's catalogue.

plebeian high pontiff (254), Coruncanus, had just opened a school of jurisprudence,<sup>1</sup> that is to say, for explaining the law to all who presented themselves, instead of admitting, like his predecessors, only those patricians who counted upon canvassing for a place in the college of pontiffs. These schools multiplied, and therein was formed the only science which the Romans created, jurisprudence.

Oral tradition preserved many things, but intellectual needs were so limited that the recitals of the atrium and the hearth<sup>2</sup> sufficed for a curiosity which was seldom stimulated.



Coin of F. Pictor.<sup>3</sup>

Rome existed for five hundred years without making a book or a poem, or even one of those soldier-songs, one of those warrior lays which are found among all nations. The first play of Livius Andronicus, the Tarentine, who had been set free by a man of consular rank, was represented in 240, at the celebration of the Roman games; that of the Campanian Nævius, appears to belong to 231, and in the interval between the two Punic wars, Fabius Pictor began his books of *Annals*.<sup>4</sup> They opened with the arrival of Æneas in Latium, and the soldier of Thrasimene continued them down to the events which he himself had witnessed.<sup>5</sup> Polybius,

<sup>1</sup> Dig., i. 2, § 35.

<sup>2</sup> Cato, however, says that the guests used to sing in round, to the sound of flutes, the exploits and virtues of their ancestors (Cic., *Tusc.*, iv. 2, and Val. Max., II. i. 10). Horace bears witness that this was an ancient custom, *more patrum* (*Carm.*, IV. xv. 26—33). There were also *Nenie*, or funeral wailings. But tradition, usually so tenacious in preserving popular songs, has retained nothing of these rude poems of Rome, which leads us to think that they never stirred the national spirit very deeply.

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, a head of Pallas, which we do not give. On the reverse, Rome holding an *aper* and a spear; behind her, a shield, with the word, QUIRINUS, and the legend, FABIUS PICTOR. It is not certain that this coin is our historian's; it belongs at least to some one of his family.

<sup>4</sup> After the battle of Cannæ. F. Pictor was sent to Delphi to consult the oracle of Apollo. Polybius calls him a senator.

<sup>5</sup> About the time of Pyrrhus the belief in the Trojan origin of Rome was already established, and at the end of the first Punic war the Romans claimed, on the strength of it, a right to intervene in Greece in favour of the Acarnanians (Dionys., i. 52; Just., xxviii. 1). Nævius, Ennius, and Fabius Pictor had no doubt about it. On a box lately found at Præneste, with all its contents, an Italian artist, inspired by Greek art, has depicted this legend and the combats of Turnus and Æneas a century and a half before Vergil. As the upper part of the cist no longer exists, only one half of the fight and the combatants is seen (see page 391), but the lid represents the last scene. Æneas had demanded the hand of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus and Amata, but the latter, who had promised her to Turnus, refuses. Æneas wounds Turnus mortally; Amata kills herself, and Lavinia marries Æneas, who makes peace with Latinus. These are the last acts of the drama represented on the lid. Æneas has the body of Turnus borne before Latinus; on the other side, Amata, in despair, flies to put herself to death, whilst

Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Dion Cassius made much of his work, which was lacking in art, but in which a vast quantity of precious information on the subject of institutions was found. He wrote it in Greek, in contempt for the vulgar idiom. It is believed, however, that he made a Latin translation of it.<sup>1</sup>

It is not our duty to study these early writings more closely; literary history is only of interest here as an expression of the state of mind and manners. It will be sufficient to remark that the period at which we have now arrived is that in which, under the influence of the great events which take place, and by the influence of Greece, which gradually gains ground, Latin genius is at last awaking to intellectual things.

Why this long slumber, and why these beginnings of literature due to foreigners? It is because this people loves above all things strength and practical talent, and that, having no leaning towards the ideal, nor the imagination which leads thereto, they only see the reality of things, and know not how to clothe it in graceful fictions. They will have none of the art of Æschylus or Sophocles, and the religious terrors of the Athenian theatre; they are only moved in the face of real pangs, of life blood issuing from deadly wounds. Were the comedies of Menander offered them they would hasten away to the floral games and the Atellan farces, to coarseness and obscenity. What the Greeks told with poetic anger or enveloped in a religious myth they would put in action on the stage—Leda, for instance, and the swan, or Pasiphaë, who was represented in the theatres of the Empire.

The Romans certainly had many very solemn festivals, and in

Lavinia refuses to follow her. The third woman represented is no doubt a nymph, a sibyl, or some other fortune-telling female, an interpreter and revealer of future destinies. Latinus is taking Æneas' hand, and with the other swearing peace, while his feet trample on arms and shields. The two winged figures are Sleep and Death, or genii represented by an artist who no longer understands the old theology, or, perhaps, the *Diræ* of Virgil (*Æn.*, xii. 845), "daughters of dark night." Both are of the male sex. One is about to carry off Turnus; the other still slumbers, but will awake when Amata has accomplished her design. The figures placed below the principal scene do not enter into its action. One is a corpulent Silenus; the other, the river Numicius; the female is the fountain of Juturna, sad at losing itself in the deep river (Virgil, *ibid.*, xii. 885—6):—

*Caput glauco contexit amictu,*

*Multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.*

H. Brunn (*Ann. du Bull. archéol.*, 1864, p. 367) fixes the date of this cist in the sixth century of Rome, about the end of the second Punic war, or shortly afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Peter, *Rel. Hist. Rom.*, p. lxxvi., who refers the Latin history to a later Fabius.

their religious processions choirs of boys and maidens sang pious hymns that every ear might hear. Livy mentions several of them,<sup>1</sup> and Catullus has preserved us one, which is however, the poet's own [adapted from Sappho].

"We who have vowed ourselves to the worship of Diana, maidens and boys of pure hearts, we celebrate her praises.

"O mighty daughter of Jupiter! Thou who reignest over the mountain and the green forests, the mysterious groves and resounding billows;

"Thou whom women invoke in the pangs of labour; thou, too, mighty Hecate, to whom the sun lends his light;

"Who in thy monthly course tracest the circle of the year and fillest with an abundant harvest the barn of the rustic husbandman;

"O most holy! By whatever name it may please thee to be invoked, be, as thou ever wast, helpful to the ancient race of Romulus."



Diana or the Moon.<sup>3</sup>

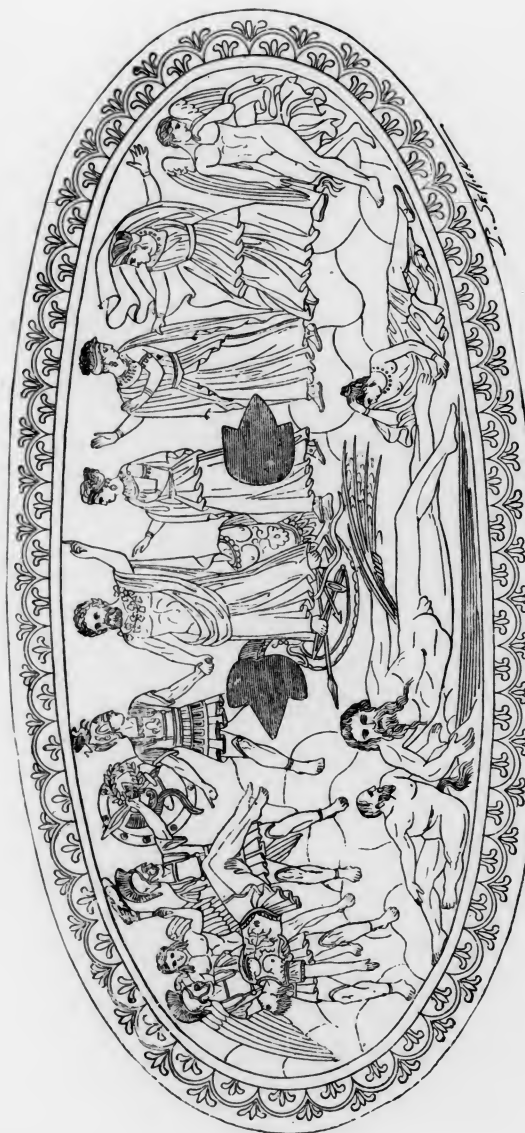
But these people, who were so pious and habitually grave, were at the same time very coarse. They loved at once the solemn and the grotesque. Amid the triumphal pomp which we picture to ourselves, with the triple majesty of the senate, the people, and the army, advancing between two rows of temples towards the Capitol of the hundred steps, there marched gigantic dancing figures and masks, *Lamiae* with pointed teeth, a kind of vampire, out of which were taken alive the children whom they had devoured,<sup>4</sup> and *Manducus*, a colossal bogy, which advanced "with large, broad, and horrible jaws, well provided with teeth, above as well as below, which by means of a little hidden cord were made to click one against the other in a terrible

<sup>1</sup> Livius Andronicus composed one, P. Licinius Tegula another, at the commencement of the war against Macedonia in 200, to avert evil presages. (Livy, xxxi. 12.)

<sup>2</sup> *Carm.*, xxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Diana, or the moon, in a car, drawn by two horses, which she herself drives. The goddess has her hair bound up with a diadem, and is clad in a long robe. Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*.

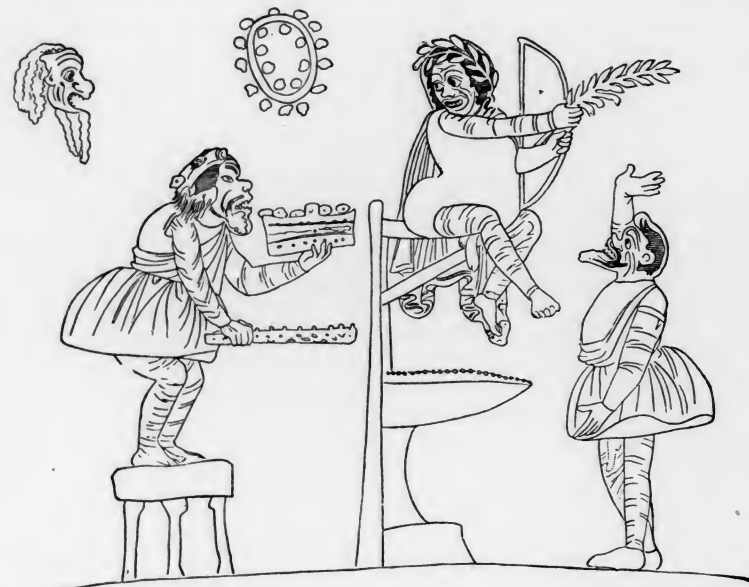
<sup>4</sup> . . . . *pransæ Lamiae vicum puerum extrahat alvo.* (Hor., *Ars poet.*, 340.)



Lid of the Preneste box. See p. 532, n. 5.



manner."<sup>1</sup> The monstrous machines made the children cry, the women shriek, and the men laugh, and the feast was complete. We like the soldier who, behind the triumphal car, makes his general pay with keen sarcasms the ransom of his glory, and who, in order to be more free in his railing verse, hides himself in



Comic Scene.<sup>2</sup>

a buck's skin and covers his head with a tuft of bristly fur.<sup>3</sup> We love, too, to hear the slave appointed to hold the golden crown over the triumpher's head murmur in his ear, "Remember that thou art a man."<sup>4</sup> But Petreia, the drunken old woman, who leads the procession, disgusts us, and the remarks which Citeria, the gossip with the sharp tongue, throws at the spectators as she passes would not amuse us.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, iv. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Taken, as is also the engraving on the following page, from two Etruscan vases. (*Atlas du Bull. archéol.*, vol. vi.—vii. pl. 34.)

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus, vii. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Tertull., *Apol.*, 33.

<sup>5</sup> Festus, *s.v.* These two women were two masks. We know that each great town in Italy has still its own—Pulcinello at Naples; Pasquino at Rome; Stenterello at Florence;

They afforded great amusement to the Romans, who, the moment they ceased to be serious, desired coarse laughter, sharp words, and biting epigrams. The refined Horace disliked these bold and ribald improvisations, which, expressed in the freest of verse, the Saturnian, assumed an appearance of literature—a very low literature, it is true, but so national in Italy that it is still the delight of the masses, sometimes even that of men of letters. "The husbandmen of former times," says he, "robust and easily



Comic Scene.

contented, recreated themselves, when the harvest was gathered, by feasts. With their slaves, children, and wives they offered a hog to the earth, milk to Silvanus, and flowers and wine to the genius of the hearth. The fescennine licence springing from these festivals poured out its rustic sarcasms in dialogue. At first it was only a gay pastime, but this jesting ended by becoming spiteful, and assailed the most honourable families. Those whom this cruel tooth had wounded obtained the passing of the law<sup>1</sup> which forbade, under pain of chastisement, any personal attack. The custom was changed for fear of the rod."<sup>2</sup> But the rod

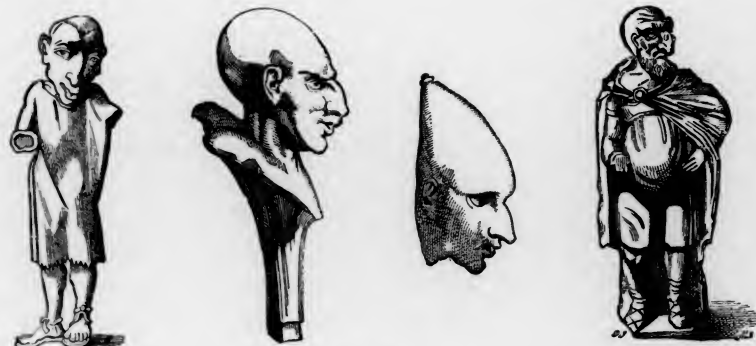
Arlequino at Bergamo: Pantalone at Venice, etc. We have seen, on page 318, that the *Tubines* on certain days ran through the streets in all sorts of costumes, even in women's clothes, uttering a thousand buffooneries, such, no doubt, as are still heard during the Roman carnival. Cf. Censor, *De Die Nat.*, 12, 1.

<sup>1</sup> In the Twelve Tables, see p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, *Ep.*, II. i. 139, seq.

was not always called in. In fact, when Pasquino, who is so old at Rome, reformed, the nobility perhaps gained by it, but not the public taste; for centuries, maidens, on the day of their espousals, had to listen to fescennine verses.

The inhabitants of Atella, in Campania, took pleasure in coarse farces, lazzi and grimaces, blows and kicks, very vulgar and sometimes very acute jokes, allusions to the events of the day, and domestic mishaps, the whole sphere, in short, of the *Commedia dell' arte* of modern Italians, the hero of which, "the very sprightly Signor Pulcinella," is descended in a direct line from Maccus, the jolly gossip of ancient Campania. When the jesters of Atella, who travelled through Italy, arrived at Rome, Roman gravity unbent so far that the citizens, who left the representation of the serious plays of Livius Andronicus to actors, played in masks the *Fabule Atellane*, in which everything was

Maccus.<sup>1</sup>Atellane Personages.<sup>2</sup>

laughed at. "It was settled," says Livy, "that a man might play in them without being excluded from his tribe or the legions."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maccus, or the ancient Punch. Mask with an enormous crooked nose, and wearing a sort of cap. Bronze figure from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3096, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> See, in the *Diet. des Antiq., grecques et rom.*, figures 593-597, and on page 513 and the following ones, M. Boissier's article, *Atellane fabule*.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 2.

The grand period of the Atellane farces comes later than the time of which we are now speaking, but the personages already had their traditional costume and character. Maccus was the good-for-nothing, whom his gluttony and luxury were always getting into scrapes; Bucco, the parasite, the impudent and clever glutton, who always managed to find a dinner; Pappus, the old

Comic Actor.<sup>1</sup>

miser, in search of his wife and his money, which he had been robbed of; and Dossennus, a philosopher who afforded great laughter by the contrast between his conduct and his speeches. Fescennine verse and Atellane farces mingled in the scenic games. In 364 a pestilence desolated Rome; they had recourse to the gods, who turned a deaf ear; then to the Etruscans, who had the reputation of being able to avert plagues. They replied that the gods would be satisfied if they were honoured by scenic games, and, that the Romans might be able to celebrate these games, they sent them at the same time actors, who executed religious dances to the sound of the flute; as the pestilence then ended, the remedy appeared efficacious, and the counsel was followed. Young Romans learnt the dances introduced from Etruria, and marked the rhythm of them by songs, often improvised, which ended by being accompanied with action.<sup>2</sup> Roman comedy was discovered, but it recalled the fact that it had sprung from the plays of mountebanks till the day when a poet of genius, Plautus, took possession of it, or rather, turned it into the streets, by producing in the theatre Greek comedy, which he made sufficiently Roman for us to find the manners of the Romans here and there.

The floral games date from the present epoch. They were instituted in 238 in order to induce Flora, the goddess of Spring, to grant that all the flowers wherewith the fields were covered on the days of her festival<sup>3</sup> should bring forth fruit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Figure found at Rome. No. 3093, in the Chabouillet catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> This mixture of music, words and dancing, was called a *satura*. The *satura*, which must not be confounded with the *satire*, long remained the true Roman drama. The actors who afforded this diversion were paid by the *ædiles*.

<sup>3</sup> From the 28th of April to the 3rd of May.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut omnia bene deflorescerent.* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xviii. 69.)

Goddess of joyous fruitfulness, Flora inspired no grave thoughts; her games were celebrated with noisy magnificence, and a liberty which presently passed into all licence. In the following century the dancing girls of Flora appear unveiled before the spectators, and Cato the censor, in order to avoid placing any restraint on the pleasures of the people, who would not dare to demand "these *tableaux vivants*" before so grave a personage, leaves the theatre before the dancers showed themselves.<sup>2</sup> The postures and words of the *mimes* were as bad as the ballet dancing, and later on even worse.

Flora.<sup>1</sup>

The festivals of Anna Perenna, the goddess of life, were an occasion for joyous gatherings in the meadows which the Tiber washes with his eternal waters (*perennes*). In these festivities, to drink till they lost their reason, and to call to mind in the freest verse the mistakes of Mars in taking a decrepit goddess for the beautiful Minerva, were looked upon as pious works, and the care of singing this story fell to young maidens.<sup>3</sup>

The native modesty of woman no doubt protested in some

Genii of the Chariot-races.<sup>4</sup>

cases, but the ancients understood this sentiment otherwise than we; they did not place it in the "blessed ignorance" of the maiden, but in the fidelity of the wife. Lucretia was the model of

<sup>1</sup> Silver coin of the Servilian family, presenting on the obverse, to the right, the legend FLORIAL (ia) PRIMVS (*fecit*, understood). Head of Flora crowned with flowers; behind, the *lituus* or augural rod. After being suspended during the long woes of the second Punic war, these games were re-established, after a bad harvest, in 173, on the order of the senate, by the *ædile* C. Servilius.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max., II. x. 8; Mart., i., pr.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fast.*, iii. 675-6:

*Nunc mihi, cur cantent, superest, obscena puellæ,  
Dicere; nam cœunt, certaque probra canunt.*

<sup>4</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre, No. 449, Clarac catalogue. We have explained, on p. cxxxvi.



matrons, and single marriages gained the name of chastity for the *univira* woman.<sup>1</sup> The basis of paganism being the worship of life, to transmit it became a duty and a quasi-religious act. Everywhere was seen the expressive symbol, and the allusions made to it were listened to without virtue being troubled thereby, as in the time of the Trouvères and of Rabelais, of Molière and La Fontaine, our grandmothers heard many things which would shock us now.



Athletic Victor in  
Boxing.<sup>3</sup>

The great Roman games were more ancient; the institution of them was referred to the first Tarquin. They consisted of chariot races and pugilistic contests, and were celebrated in the Circus Maximus, between the Aventine and the Palatine, in honour of the three civic deities of Rome—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The citizens were present at them, but, unlike the Greeks, did not descend into the arena, which was given up to paid grooms and professional coachmen.<sup>2</sup>

It is well to notice this origin of the public games of Rome, which were all established with a view of appeasing the gods or of gaining their favour,<sup>4</sup> and it must be borne in mind in order to understand how, even at the period of the greatest excesses, they always preserved the character of national and religious festivals.

the doctrine of the *genii* which the Romans of later ages developed. But in this bas-relief, as in many paintings at Pompeii, the artist has only employed Cupids for the object of a graceful theme for decoration. We recognise the different details of the circus, the statue of Diana, the dolphins half hidden by one of the runners, the boundaries, *metasque imitata cupressus* (Ovid, *Met.*, x. 106), placed at either extremity of the *spina*, which divided the circus in two, and finally the columns supporting the seven *ova* which served to mark the number of times that the chariots had made the circuit of the *spina*.

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Corona pudicitiae honorabantur.* (Val. Max., II. i. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> The citizens only took part in the *consualia*, races celebrated in honour of the god Consus, who afterwards became the equestrian Neptune. The *Equiria* (Festus, s. v., *Equiria*, and Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, vi. 13) were probably races of free horses, like those of the *barberi* in the modern Corso.

<sup>3</sup> Statue found in the ruins of the Forum, *Archæmorium*. Louvre Museum, No. 702, in the Clarac catalogue.

<sup>4</sup> *Ludorum primum initium . . . . procurandis religionibus datum.* (Livy, vii. 3.)

"Varro," says S. Augustine, "ranks theatrical things with things divine."<sup>1</sup>

The combats of gladiators themselves came from the religious idea that the manes loved blood, an old belief which was general in ancient times, and which still holds amongst barbarous nations. The Greeks, who immolated captives and slaves on the tombs of their heroes, renounced that custom, which they replaced by sham fights and a war-like dance, the Pyrrhic; the Etruscans preserved it, and transmitted it to the Romans. The first combat of gladiators seen at Rome was that which the Brutus family gave at the funeral ceremonies of their father, in the same year in which the Punic war began (264).



Gladiator.<sup>2</sup>

## II.—CHANGES IN MANNERS, RELIGION, AND CONSTITUTION.

Rome, having become rich and powerful, desired to beautify herself without sacrificing too much to the graces. The Colossus of Carvilius, the Wolf of the Capitol,<sup>3</sup> placed by the ædiles on the Palatine Hill near the Ruminal fig tree in 296, and the paintings of Fabius Pictor in the Temple of Safety (302) show that, until the Punic wars, art had remained sacerdotal—I mean that it had served more especially for the ornamentation of temples. The Romans, who adopted everything from their neighbours, were very slow in adopting the fair dalliance of art. They carried off statues from Veii, Volsinii, and Syracuse, but they themselves made none. If, in order to recall patriotic memories, they set up, in the fifth century, the statue of Hermodorus, who had aided the decemvirs with his counsel, and those of the Roman ambassadors slain at Fidenæ, and in the fourth and fifth those of the augur Navius, Horatius Cocles, and of Clelia, of the kings of Rome and of Brutus, Greek or Etruscan artists must have carved these images,

<sup>1</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gladiator (*mirmillo*) fully armed, sword in hand, shield on arm. Rarely represented on intaglios. Engraved gem for the *Cabinet de France*, double the actual size, No. 1876 in the Chabouillet catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> This group is still in existence; it is an Etruscan work. The twins appear to be of a later date. See next page.

for Romulus and Tatius were represented without any clothing, as the Greek heroes always were.

With the product of the fines the ædiles widened the streets of ancient Rome, which were so narrow that the vestals and matrons alone had the right to pass through them in chariots to attend religious solemnities, and, after the example set by Appius,<sup>1</sup> the bold constructor of the Appian way and of the first Roman



She-wolf of the Capitol.

aqueduct, a part of the State resources was employed in the completion of great works of public utility. Manius Curius had, after the second war of Pyrrhus, constructed a second aqueduct, and Flaminius, after the defeat of the Insubres, commenced a second military road, the *via Flaminia*, which started from Rome and reached beyond the Apennines to Ariminum, the Adriatic, and Gallia Cisalpina, as the *via Appia* would lead across the Apennines on the south to Beneventum, Brundisium, and the Ionian Sea.<sup>2</sup> In time, both were bordered with magnificent tombs, and the

<sup>1</sup> See page 312.

<sup>2</sup> Flaminius also built at Rome the circus which bears his name, and procured the means necessary for these great works by rigorously gathering in the taxes which the holders of State forests, pasture-lands and mines owed to the treasury, and which, by the connivance of the senate, they sometimes forgot to pay.

traveller arriving from the smiling cities of Campania met the great dead of Rome before seeing her consuls and her emperors. The tombs of the Flaminian road have been replaced by the prosaic houses of the Corso, but the Appian way retains some of those upon it; and before these ruins, to which the majestic horizon of the Latin mountains forms so fine a frame, we forget the vulgar side of Rome's manners to contemplate the solemnity of her spirit.

The temples also multiplied; all consuls were not like the parsimonious Papirius, who, on the day of the battle of Aquilonia, promised Jupiter a cup of good wine if the legions were victorious, "an offering," says Livy gravely, "which was well received by the god."<sup>1</sup> Each time that a general found himself in a difficulty he promised some deity to build him a sanctuary on condition that he gave him the victory. Rome, the city of the three hundred and sixty-five churches, possessed almost as many temples when Jupiter reigned there. The pagans had enough gods at their disposition for dedications, and when any were wanting appropriate to the circumstances an epithet added to the name made a new god of an old one. Jupiter, Juno, Fortune, etc., had thus an infinity of surnames. I do not know whether piety gained much thereby, but family vanity found an advantage in it. These monuments, which ceaselessly recalled the glory of those who had raised them, prepared favourable elections for themselves and their children. When there were no longer any comitia at Rome, to decorate one's town with a temple or a divine image was still, in the towns of the upper empire, the surest means of gaining public favour.

Private individuals sought for themselves that luxury which was formerly only displayed for the gods. Greek art gained entrance into Rome, where it decorated the vast tomb which the Scipios had raised to themselves, and some houses, says Florus, already showed gold, purple, statues, and all the refinements of the luxury of Tarentum. The words temples and statues must not, however, give us the idea of a town in which civilization had already obtained its citizenship. In the first place, there never was a Roman art,

<sup>1</sup> *Id votum diis cordi fuit* (x. 42). Papirius judged of Jupiter's tastes by his own; he was accused of loving wine, and Livy says of him: . . . *ferunt cibi vinique capacissimum* (ix. 16; Dion., fr. 92).

although there were, at a later date, magnificent monuments



Sun-dial or Astrological Altar of the Fabii.<sup>1</sup> (Museum of the Louvre.)

inspired by the genius of Rome. It is a singular thing that

<sup>1</sup> A monument unique of its kind, found at Gabii in 1792. It is composed of two independent parts:—First, a *patella* (hollow plate), around which are carved the heads of the twelve

Christian Rome was no more fruitful in artists;<sup>1</sup> but, in them both, what statesmen! But certain facts still prove great want of cultivation. The introduction into Rome, about the year 300, of the custom which the Greeks had of shaving their beards has no significance. But we see Papirius Cursor shortly afterwards bring back thither as a triumphal object a sun dial, which he placed on the walls of the temple of Quirinus.<sup>2</sup> It was much admired there. Unfortunately, this *solarium*, not having been constructed for the latitude of Rome, did not mark the true hour, and it was half a century before they could make a more exact one. They waited still longer, until the year 159, to have a public clepsydra [water-clock], which marked the hour by night as well as by day.<sup>3</sup> In 219 a Greek doctor named Archagathos came and settled at Rome. At first he was welcomed there, received the citizenship, and induced the senate to buy him with the public money a house, in which he could treat the sick and dress their wounds. He was only applied to in cases of fracture or sores, for internal maladies belonged to the province of the quacks and the gods. Accordingly he was called *vulnerarius*, the doctor for wounds. For some time he was the fashion; then, as his therapeutics consisted chiefly in burning the sores and cutting off broken limbs, he was at last set down as a butcher, and the whole town declared doctors useless. This was the opinion of Cato the Elder, who believed in old women's remedies, and has left us a number of recipes that our latest village sorcerers would not have disowned. In his advices to his son he says, "The Greek race is very vicious; and, believe this as the voice of an oracle, with its literature it will spoil everything at Rome: it will be far worse still if it sends us its

deities of Olympus;<sup>2</sup> second, this *patella* is placed in the centre of a table of circular form, the edge of which bears the twelve signs of the zodiac with the emblem of the divinity, who presides over each month of the year. The cavity in the middle of the table served as a sundial; the traces of the needles which marked the hours symbolised by the twelve divinities are still visible. It is certain that this monument was made for Rome, since the god Mars is thereon represented by a wolf, and the diameter of the *patella* is a *cubitus* (17·47 inches), a Roman measure of length. The deities are placed in the following order: Jupiter, Venus, Mars (between Venus and Mars a Cupid), Diana, Ceres, Vesta, Mercury, Vulcan, Neptune, Juno, Apollo and Minerva. See Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*, vol. i. p. 9-14.

<sup>1</sup> It has only produced Giulio Romano.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, and Censor, *de Die nat.*, 23.



doctors. They have sworn among themselves to kill all the barbarians with their medicines; they make us pay dearly for obtaining our confidence, and poison us the more easily. My son, remember that I forbid thee doctors." "He thought," adds Pliny, "that medical services ought to be gratuitous, and that is why,

Juno Moneta.<sup>2</sup>

though they invited Æsculapius to Rome, the Romans relegated him to a temple built outside the gates, on the Tiberine island."<sup>1</sup>

Argentarii.<sup>7</sup>

Needs were felt which had formerly been unknown, and which showed that the economic conditions of society were changing. In 268 silver money had been coined; in 207 gold money is required.<sup>3</sup> The dictator Furius (350) had vowed a temple to Juno Moneta, and had built it on the Capitol, on the place where the house of Manlius had been razed.<sup>4</sup> During the war with Pyrrhus a monetary office was added to it,<sup>5</sup> and "the good counsellor" became the protectress of coiners, which causes no surprise in a country where Jupiter Hercius, the protector of property, also took the surname of *Pecunia*, the god of gain.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 6-8. The form of a vessel had been given to that island, and there may still be seen sculptured on its stone prow the staff of Æsculapius and the serpent twisted round it. As for the temple, there were found in the ruins a quantity of hands, feet, etc., that is to say, *ex-voto* offerings as certain of our churches have.

<sup>2</sup> MONETA. Head of Juno Moneta. On the reverse, T. CARISIVS. Laurelled coin, with anvil between a pair of pincers and a hammer. Silver coin of the Carisian family.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 3. The silver denarii, struck in 268, were worth 10 *ases* of bronze of a pound each. See pages 549 and 550, the series of gold and silver coins.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, vii. 28.

<sup>5</sup> We give here the tables of the series of gold and silver coins struck at this period.

<sup>6</sup> S. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Bottom of a painted vase. A changer seated near a table covered with pieces of money; a man standing in front of him offers others on a tray; behind, bags on which are inscribed the amounts of the sums they contain.

## SERIES OF SILVER COINS.

Double denarius. On the obverse, double head, beardless; on the reverse, Jupiter in a quadriga, in the exergue, ROMA in sunk letters. Value, 20 *ases*. Double of the denarius (No. 3), if not in size, at least in weight.



Double victoriatus, the equivalent of a denarius. Laurel-crowned head of Jupiter; on the reverse, ROMA, and winged Victory crowning a trophy. Unique coin in the *Cabinet de France*. Mean weight of the known victoriati, 58 grains troy.



Denarius. On the obverse, Pallas or Rome; behind, X (the mark of the denarius or ten *ases*); on the reverse, the Dioscuri on horseback and the legend ROMA. Mean weight, 60.64 grains troy.



Victoriatus, the equivalent of a quinarius, thus called on account of the figure of Victory.



Quinarius. Head of Pallas; behind, V (the mark of the quinarius or five *ases*); on the reverse, the Dioscuri, designated by two stars, and ROMA. as on the denarius. The letter H is a mark of issue, or of the monetary tribune. Mean weight 27.7 grains troy.



Demi-victoriatus. Laurel-crowned head of Apollo; on the reverse, ROMA and the letter D between Victory and the trophy she is crowning. Same value as the sestertius. The victoriatus was coined about 228, the demi-victoriatus about 104 B.C.



Sestertius. Head of Pallas and the mark of the sestertius (or two and a half *ases*) HHS. Same reverse as the two preceding pieces.



SERIES OF GOLDEN COINS.



Golden denarius (aureus, 25 den., or 100 sest.). Head of Jupiter; on the reverse, CN. LENTVL. Eagle on a thunderbolt. Aureus of the Cornelian family, weighing only 119.130 grains troy, whereas an aureus of the Cornifician family, a drawing of which we give later on, weighs 122.907 grains troy. The difference may depend upon the extraordinary preservation of the latter.



Golden quinarius or demi-aureus. On the obverse, a bust of Victory and the legend, C. CÆS. DIC. TER.; on the reverse, L. PLANC. PRÆF. VRB. round the sacrificial vase. Golden quinarius of the Munician family.



Sixty sestertii. On the obverse, a head of Mars and the figure VX; on the reverse, ROMA. Eagle on a thunderbolt, a piece of Campanian manufacture; period of the first workmanship in gold.



Forty sestertii. Helmeted head of Mars and the figure XXXX; on the reverse, an eagle on a thunderbolt with the legend ROMA. Also a piece of Campanian make, and of the same period as the preceding one.



Twenty sestertii. Mars and XX (twenty); same emblems and same origin as the two preceding pieces.

the ancient prejudices against commerce, that a law had just been made to forbid senators to have at sea a ship of more than three hundred *amphoræ* in freight. This prohibition served the purpose of the freedmen and *ararii*, who could then monopolise all the commerce of the republic. Since



Argentarii.<sup>1</sup>

shame had attached to usury, it was they especially who lived by this lucrative trade. Formerly the indebted proprietor remained in his class; after the Poetelian law (326) the creditor had inscribed to his account the property which he had received as security, so that he gained at once both the interest of his money and public consideration, since his social condition rose in proportion as his debtor's sank. The great wars in which Rome now found herself engaged increased the influence of business men; they instituted themselves army-contractors, and by an agreement among themselves, formed an order dreaded even by the senate. We shall see later on the insolence of the commissary, Postumius of Pyrgi, and the circumspection of the senators, *qui ordinem publicanorum offensum nolebant*.<sup>2</sup>

Grievous symptoms revealed the dangers to which the conquest of the world would expose Roman manners. Thirteen senators had been degraded by the censors of the year 252; and a general, Papirius Matho, to whom the senate had refused an ovation for his victories in Sardinia, went to have his triumph on the Alban Mount, before other gods than those of the Capitol.<sup>3</sup> Some patricians renounced the severe formalities of marriage by *confarreatio* in favour of the union concluded by purchase, *coemptio*; it was in some sort civil marriage replacing religious marriage. Valerius Maximus asserts that the divorce of Carvilius Ruga (233) caused great indignation. There is no reason for seeing in this

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the Vatican. Changer seated behind a counter. On his left a wire grating very similar to those still employed in establishments of that kind. On the right a heap of money and a figure carrying a bag.

<sup>2</sup> xxv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xviii.; Val. Max., iii. 6.

any symptom of a weakening of customs. Carvilius had sworn before the censors that in repudiating his sterile wife he had no other motive than that of furnishing the republic with citizens.<sup>1</sup> Many others before him had repeated to their wives the form of repudiation: "Take what belongs to thee and give up the keys;" for in a society in which the husband had the right of life and death over his wife, he must necessarily have also the right of divorce, which indeed, the Twelve Tables recognised.<sup>2</sup> It was long after the period at which we have arrived that divorcees, by their multiplication, introduced disorder into families. Finally, the severities of Camillus against celibacy, which were renewed by the censors of this same year, were less a measure of moral than of military order.

Religion preserved its character of interested worship. It created neither a body of doctrines nor moral teaching,<sup>3</sup> and had always one single aim—to know the will of the gods, in order to try and bend them. But since the auguries, abandoned to the plebeians, had ceased to be a political instrument, they had lost much of their authority; the gods had so often deceived the hopes of their worshippers that some already doubted, and the priests sought to avert the effects of this doubt by mitigations of the ancient severity. The ritual prescribed the cessation of all work on ferial days, on pain of profanation. This rigour was avoided by clever interpretations. "What is it permitted to do on a feast-day?" was asked of the high pontiff, Scævola. "All that cannot be neglected without harm." The pious Vergil says, "Nothing hinders from washing the bleating flock in the wholesome water of the river;" and Varro, "In war there is no need to make any distinction between *dies fasti* and *nefasti*."<sup>4</sup> In fact, Fabius Cunctator declares that everything serviceable to the republic is accomplished under good auspices, everything that is contrary to it<sup>5</sup> under evil auspices, and Flaminius boldly braves them.

<sup>1</sup> *Id.*, ii. 1; Aul. Gell., iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic.*, *Phil.*, ii. 28. The Scantian law, to repress shocking vices, is of unknown date; it existed in the time of Cicero (*ad Fam.*, viii. 12); but I do not think it existed two centuries earlier.

<sup>3</sup> *Sacra minus ad homines meliores faciendos quam ad voluntatem deorum conciliandam spectabant.* (Holtius, *Hist. jur. Rom. lineam*, p. 12.)

<sup>4</sup> Macrob., *Saturn.*, i. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Cic.*, *de Senect.*, 4.

The *signs* had been a continual cause of preoccupation and terror; Marcellus, who became five times consul, and who was then already augur, once saved his sacerdotal character by saying: "When I meditate an enterprise, I close my litter so as not to see contrary auspices."<sup>1</sup> The theologians of Rome, who had become as complaisant as others have been for us, decided that where a sign had not been asked of the gods, one was at liberty to take no notice of it;<sup>2</sup> and Pliny considered that this liberty was the greatest favour that the gods had granted to man.<sup>3</sup> Since the time of Pascal we give a particular name to this manner of interpreting religious laws: it belongs to all ages because it is inherent in human nature.

Certainly many believers might still be counted; the high pontiff, Metellus, had just lost his sight in saving the Palladium from the flames,<sup>4</sup> an act which was, however, still more political than religious. But what we wish to point out is that there were the incredulous, like that Claudius who had the sacred chickens thrown into the sea, and his colleague Junius, who disdained to consult them. Ennius dared to say this much: "No doubt I believe that the gods exist, but they scarcely trouble themselves about this world;" and many applauded.<sup>5</sup> There were also indifferent men, like the Potitii who left to their slaves the care of the sacrifices to Hercules, and the old rites were abandoned. "In the time of the second Punic war," says Livy, "public or domestic sacrifices were no longer performed according to the ancient custom, but only in foreign fashion."<sup>6</sup> As the old Italic deities lost their credit, piety turned towards new gods. In the period of the decemvirs Apollo, a Greek divinity, had been introduced at Rome, not as the inspirer of the Muses—the Romans did not look so high—but as a useful god who kept off diseases. In 429 a temple was consecrated to him, on the occasion of a pestilence which had desolated the city,<sup>7</sup> and at the time of the greatest perils in the

<sup>1</sup> *Cic.*, *de Div.*, ii. 36. <sup>2</sup> Servius, ad, *Aeneid.*, xii. 259.

<sup>3</sup> . . . Quo munere divinæ indulgentiæ majus nullum est. (*Nat. Hist.*, xxviii. 4.)

<sup>4</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xxix.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *de Div.*, ii. 50: . . . Magno plausu assentiente populo.

<sup>6</sup> Livy, xxv. 1. In 212 the senate itself decreed that sacrifice should be made to Apollo, *græco ritu.* (*Ibid.*, 12.) They sent to Delphi to consult the oracle several times.

<sup>7</sup> Apollo being then a foreign god, his temple was built without the walls, near the Carmental Gate, as that of Æsculapius was relegated to the Tiberine island.



second Punic war, the surest means of ruining Hannibal was thought to be the dedicating of Apollinarian games to the "god who saves," *deus sospitalis*. In 293, after a violent pestilence, ambassadors had gone to Epidaurus to demand the serpent of



Priest of Apollo.<sup>3</sup>

Æsculapius,<sup>1</sup> which was at once both the image and the genius of the god who appeared to be incarnate in him. "Our vigilant pontiffs on consulting the Sibylline books," says Valerius Maximus,<sup>2</sup> "found that the only means of restoring health in Rome was to bring Æsculapius himself from Epidaurus. The republic, whose authority was already immense throughout the world, was persuaded that she would obtain by an embassy the only remedy indicated by the fates. Success answered this attempt. As soon as they arrived, the deputies were led by the Epidaurians into the temple of Æsculapius, which is situated five miles from their town, and invited them to take therefrom all that they thought would be useful to the health of their country. The god ratified the words of the mortals; for the serpent, which rarely

<sup>1</sup> The serpent which silently glides under the grass, and after its winter sleep, strips off its skin to assume a new one, was in the eyes of the ancients a prudent animal, which knew the simples whence healing juices are taken, and the symbol of renewed life after illness or death.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, I. viii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> From the base of a tripod which is in the Louvre Museum, No. 89 in the Fröhrner catalogue. The quindecimvirs, *sacris faciundis*, who were undoubtedly only raised from ten to fifteen by Sulla, were the priests of Apollo, whose festival they celebrated from the 4th to the 15th of July. They wore the Greek costume, with a crown made of the foliage of the tree sacred to Apollo, the laurel. Each of them had in his house a bronze tripod on which every morning he burnt incense and called upon his god. (Servius, ad *Æneid.*, iii. 352.)

appeared to the Epidaurians, but always to announce some good fortune to them, and which they honoured as they did Æsculapius, began to pass through the most frequented quarters of the town. After having thus for three days offered himself to the religious admiration of the crowd, he directed his course towards the Roman galley, testifying by joyous movements the desire which he had for a more glorious residence. He entered the vessel in the presence of the affrighted sailors, reached the cabin of the ambassador, Q. Ogulnius, and rolling himself into numerous folds, he remained there in profound tranquillity. The ambassadors having obtained their utmost wishes, returned thanksgivings to the gods; and, after having learnt the manner of paying honour to the serpent, hastened to leave Epidaurus. A fortunate voyage soon landed them at Antium. There the serpent left the vessel, and took his way



Coin of Commodus, representing the arrival of Æsculapius on the island of the Tiber in the form of a serpent.

towards the vestibule of the temple of Æsculapius, where stood a palm tree, the crest of which rose majestically above a bushy myrtle. He rolled himself round the trunk of the tree, and remained there three days, during which time food was brought to him. The ambassadors feared that he would not again return into the galley; but, quitting the hospitable lodging of the temple, he went and resumed his former place to be carried to Rome. Finally, the deputies had scarcely set foot on the banks of the Tiber when he swam to the island, where a temple was afterwards dedicated to him, and his arrival removed the horrible scourge against which his aid had been employed."

On the island of the Tiber there was already a sanctuary of Faunus,<sup>1</sup> who, like Æsculapius, gave oracles by sending dreams, and the oracles of the ancient Latin deity could only have been recipes for curing man and beast. The residence of the god of Epidaurus was thus settled beforehand, but popular imagination could not allow that he had entered Rome in a simple manner; hence the marvellous circumstances which we have just related. This account

<sup>1</sup> See later on a double Hermes in the *Cabinet de France*, representing on one side the head of Faunus, and on the other that of Tutanus Mutinus.

forms part of Roman history, and even of the history of the human mind; for the spectacle of this strange superstition among a people so wise in council, so resolute in action, who left nothing to chance—that is to say, to the providence of their gods, and who appeared to demand everything of them, shows that there is no age of the world in which man's mind cannot associate opposites, the most resolute thinking and most puerile credulity.

The senate gave another proof of this at the moment when there was about to take place the greatest event in Rome's history, and a pledge of the conquest of the world. In 203, on the eve of Zama and of the fall of Carthage, they sent, by the order of the Sibylline oracles, to seek in Asia Minor a Phrygian divinity held in great renown among the nations of the peninsula.

This singular goddess, difficult to comprehend, who was originally, no doubt, a representation of the earth, and whom the Greeks had made the mother of the gods, could not enter Rome in a manner less miraculous than Æsculapius. She also received the honour of a legend. "Five of the noblest persons in the republic being sent to Delphi, they received this answer: 'King Attalus will cause the Romans to obtain what they desire, and the goddess, transported to Rome, must receive hospitality there from the most virtuous of the citizens!'" The king of Pergamus, who was at war with Philip of Macedonia, had need of the friendship of the Romans; it did not seem to this sceptical Greek that he would pay too dearly for it at the price of a sacrilege, and he persuaded the priests of Pessinus to give up the image of their divinity, the 'Idæan Mother.'" These priests formed a rich corporation, whose chief was a sort of sovereign. But, surrounded by Gauls, who claimed to make Pessinus one of their capitals, they could refuse nothing to a prince who was himself the enemy of the Galatians, and whose protection was so necessary to them. They gave the idol, and made arrangements to persuade the devotees that Cybele, although she had set out for the banks of the Tiber, remained on those of the Sangarius.

At Rome it remained to nominate the most virtuous man in the republic, that he might receive the goddess. Many competitors arose; men of consular rank, former dictators, canvassed for this

honour. It was assigned to a patrician, Publius Scipio, who was scarcely of an age for quaestorship, and who was a near relation of the man who at that very time was just arriving before Carthage, and who had thus torn Hannibal from Italy. The clever people who sat in the senate flattered the liberator of Rome by this choice, and at the same time avoided giving offence to those who, by reason of their age and dignities, could not be jealous of an entirely political favour done to a young man who was still in obscurity.



Claudia Dragging the Vessel of Cybele.<sup>1</sup>

When the vessel arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, P. Scipio went on board and received the goddess from the hands of the priests. But the ship stranded on a shoal, and all efforts were powerless to get it off again. One of the noblest ladies, Claudia Quinta, whose conduct slander had attacked, stood forth from among the matrons, implored Cybele, and asked her to bear witness to her virtue by yielding, "she, the chaste goddess, to chaste hands." She tied her girdle to the ship and dragged it along, and Rome possessed a titular divinity and one more miracle. Livy dared not relate this story, which Ovid gives at full length. But Cicero and even Pliny believed in it, and the statue of Claudia, which was placed in the vestibule of Cybele's temple, did not permit a Roman to doubt it.<sup>2</sup>

Cybele was venerated under the form of a black stone, which was, no doubt, an aerolite,<sup>4</sup> and her orgiastic worship contrasted strangely with the gravity of Roman solemnities. Accordingly,



The Black Stone.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Pio Clementino Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Altar on which is the Black Stone, surmounted by a stag's head. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Pessinus.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxix. 11 and 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, 298 seq.; Cicero, *de Harusp. rep.*, 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Aerolite, or thunder stone, as the Turkish peasants say, who attribute to meteors healing virtues in certain sicknesses. The Black Stone of Pessinus might also have been only a piece of

although the Roman Pantheon opened to this foreign divinity, the patricians did not open their ranks to her priests, and refused to be her pontiffs. A



An Arch Gallus.<sup>1</sup>

citizen would have been dishonoured by the mutilation to which the Phrygian Galli condemned themselves; the latter remained the ministers of their divinity. Each year Cybele took a mystic bath at the junction of the Anio and the Tiber. A priest clothed in purple washed the sacred stone therein, while the Galli made a great noise with flutes and

tambourines, uttered effeminate shrieks, and mortified themselves with whips furnished with knuckle-bones. Augustus allowed the shapeless image of the Idaean mother to be placed upon one of his coins; Hadrian, better advised, borrowed the type of the Greeks, who represented the goddess seated on a throne with a mural crown on her brow and lions couched at her feet.

After the Grecian and Phrygian gods came those of the Punic race; in 217 the erection of a temple to Venus Erycina was

decreed, who was then for the first time admitted to a seat among the great Latin gods at the religious repast of the *lectisternium*. This Venus was the celestial Virgin of Carthage and Tyre, but at Cyprus she had become queen of Paphos and of Love; at Rome, too, she was soon made goddess of voluptuousness.

lava; almost the whole of Phrygia is of volcanic origin. Arnobius (*Adv. gentes*, 8), who saw it, says that it was small, smooth, and of blackish colour. It was placed before the mouth of the statue of Cybele.

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Capitoline Museum. Notice should be taken of the effeminate character of this priest-eunuch, whose ears are loaded with pearls. On his head he wears three medals, one of Idaean Jupiter and two of Atys, that Phrygian shepherd of matchless beauty, whom Cybele had consecrated to her worship, and to whom mythographers have attributed tragic adventures which make him an involuntary hero of chastity. On the priest's breast again is hung the image of Atys with the Persian mitre on his head. In his right hand he holds olive branches; in the left, a basket of fruit, from which issues the whip furnished with knucklebones; on the wall, cymbals, a drum, two flutes, and the mystic cist.

We have just spoken of the *lectisternium*. This custom, like so many other ancient ones, astonishes us; but by sacrifices the faithful entered into communion with the god, to whom they offered a part of the victim. In funeral repasts offerings were made to the dead; in domestic ones libations were poured out to the Lares; on great occasions the whole town or the senators, as its representatives, communed with the civic divinities by a public feast. It was a religious act, and it was thought necessary to the safety of the city that it should be accomplished.<sup>2</sup> We shall again find this usage commanded by religion in the funeral assemblies of the empire and in the *agapes* of the early Christians.



Cybele.<sup>1</sup>

All this shows that the religion of the State was tottering, and that the Oriental religions which were to prove fatal to the Latin spirit were already making an effort to invade the city of Janus. But the terrors of the second Punic war again strengthened the ancient worship. The nearer Hannibal approached to Rome the more do omens multiply, and the more does faith revive. Later on we shall see what victory, safety and new spiritual needs make of it.

In the new political organisation a great change had also taken place. The people had effaced from the constitution the timocratic principle which Servius had introduced into it. The centuries of knights had been preserved, but the classes were abolished, and the assembly of centuries differed from the assembly of tribes only by a division which the hereditary respect of all Romans for age and experience imposed (*centurie juniorum et*

<sup>1</sup> Cybele on a lion, holding a sceptre and the *tympanon*, or drum of the priests. Reverse of a bronze coin of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian.

<sup>2</sup> Σωτήρια τῶν πόλεων σύνδειπνα. (Athen., *Deipnos.*, v. p. 186 a.)



*seniorum*).<sup>1</sup> This was the definite triumph of the principle of equality, in the name of which the tribunes had always fought. The constitution became, then, more democratic. This is seen in the nomination of Flaminius and Varro, who were raised to the highest offices in spite of the senate and the omens, and in that of Minucius and of the adventurers to whom the people entrusted armies against Hannibal. Moreover, the ancient and popular assembly of the tribes still existed, and when the tribunes resumed their revolutionary rôle it served their designs.

But a century still separates us from the Gracchi, and the aristocracy had advanced so far in manners, that even at the time

<sup>1</sup> The united texts of Livy, Cicero, and Dionysius unfortunately only throw partial light on the transformation of the assemblies of centuries. They say enough, however, to place it beyond doubt (Cf. Livy, i. 43, xxiv. 7, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 6; Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 2; *Pro Planc.*, 20; *De Leg.*, iii. 4; and every page of the *Demand of the cons.*; Dionysius, iv. 21; Polybius, vi. 4, etc.). But it seems that two attempts were made to effect this change. During the war with Hannibal, and up to the year 179—a time at which he speaks of a great change in the suffrage—Livy frequently (xxiv. 7, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 6) gives to the centuries the name of tribes. In the election of 211 each tribe appears divided into two centuries, one of *juniors* and one of *seniores*, which confirms the passage in Livy (i. 43): *tribus, numero earum duplicato, centuriis juniorum et seniorum*. At what period did this change take place? Necessarily after the Hortensian law, and according to Livy, *post expletas quinque et triginta tribus*. Perhaps in 220, during the censorship of Flaminius, by whom, says the 20th epitome: *libertini in quatuor tribus redacti sunt, quom antea [since 304] dispersi per omnes fuissent*. All the German writers differ on this date, because they do not see that there might have been two changes at different times. Franke gives 495; Walter and Peter, 450; Niebuhr, 305; Nobbe, 288; Ihne, 241; Goettling and Gerlach, 220; Schulze, 181. It seems to me, however, that we cannot go far wrong in placing this change in the interval between the two Punic wars. The number of thirty-five tribes was only completed in 241, and in 215 centuries of tribes are already seen. At this time of republican equality, of poverty and heroism, the timocratic principle of the census must necessarily have been effaced. It had already disappeared from the legions, whose organisation no longer depended on the division into classes established by Servius; the plebeians, who had lately won equality on all points, could easily cause it to disappear from the Forum too. Moreover, by the depreciation of the *as*, then reduced to the sixth of the value which it had still had before the first Punic war (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 13; Varro, *de Re rust.*, i. 10), 100,000 *ases* represented in 240 only 16,666 of the ancient ones, to which the rise in the price of commodities gave an infinitely smaller value than in the time of Servius. The result of this was that the same fortune which under Servius would have admitted a man into the fifth class, raised him in 240 to the first. In fact, the classes no longer existed, since an immense majority of the citizens found themselves in the first; there was therefore, no need of a revolution to abolish them, and their suppression passed unnoticed. Without classes there could be no centuries. The old division known and loved by the people, into *juniors* and *seniores*, was however preserved.

But the dangers of the second Punic war invested the senate with a kind of dictatorship, which they were unwilling to give up after having exercised it for fifteen years; the nobility was re-organised, acquired confidence in itself, and, in order to fortify its growing power, was desirous of re-establishing the categories of fortunes. Livy says of the censors of the year 179: *Mutarunt suffragia, regionatimque generibus hominum, causis et quæstibus, tribus descriperunt*

when equality was proclaimed as the principle of Roman society, a new nobility rose on the ruins of that which the laws of Licinius, Publ. Philo and Hortensius had destroyed. If there were still any patricians, the patriciate no longer existed as a political body. In the senate and in high offices plebeians were now more numerous than the descendants of the patrician families. In 205 the two consuls were plebeians; but these new men had only entered one after another into the senate; far from modifying the spirit of it, they had yielded to its influence and accepted that ancient policy which kept the public within the wise limits of a moderate democracy. Community of interest led to family alliances, which

(xl. 51), and thenceforth the classes, which indeed had always existed on the censors' books, since the tax was proportional to fortune, resumed their political character. In 169 he speaks of the centuries of knights and of many centuries of the first class. At the election of Dolabella Cicero (*Phil.*, ii. 33) cites the prerogative century, the vote of the first, second, and remaining classes. In all his speeches he mentions nothing but classes, though he looks upon the tribes as the fundamental division of the Roman people. It is these tribes that he subdivides into classes and centuries: *censores partes populi in tribus describunt, exin pecunias, ævitates, ordines partunt* (*de Leg.*, iii. 3), and numerous testimonies confirm these words (Cf. Dionys., v. 21; Sallust, *de Ord. rep.*, ii. 8; Aulus Gellius, vii. 13, on the subject of the Voconian law and the figurative expression, to belong to the fifth class, in Cic., *Acad.*, ii. 23). In the two last centuries of the republic, then, the centuries and classes existed as they had formerly done, and rested on the same principle as the ancient division of Servius. Dionysius accordingly says: "The assembly by centuries is not destroyed, but modified; it has become more democratic" (iv. 21); no doubt of it, because there was no longer the same disproportion in the number of centuries as in the past. The passage in Livy (xliii. 16), where he only mentions twelve centuries of knights instead of eighteen, would be a proof of this.

I think then that since 241 the great assembly of the Roman people had been that of the tribes, each divided into two centuries, of *seniores* and *juniors*; that in 179, as equality sank daily more out of sight, the categories of fortune were re-established, in a more democratic form however, than by Servius; these changes being, moreover, in perfect accord with the history of those times, ought, it seems to me, to be admitted without dispute. What now follows is merely hypothesis.

Thus each tribe contained classes, according to the passage in Livy for the year 179 and the texts indicated above, probably five, as of old, and as is expressly stated in the work *de Ord. rep.*, ii. 8, and the *Academica* of Cicero. Each class was divided into *juniors* and *seniores*, as was each tribe before 179, as was each class after Servius, and as is proved by twenty passages in Cicero: *omnium ætatum atque ordinum* (*Att.*, iv. 1; *pro Placco*, 7, etc.). There were, then, 35 tribes, containing 175 classes, subdivided into 350 centuries, together with 18 centuries of knights. Thus all the classes having the same number of centuries had the same number of votes. The small number of the wealthy did not overpower the crowd of the poor. Moreover the lot decided (since C. Gracchus) which should be the prerogative century whose vote, which was looked on as an omen, was generally followed by the others. These modifications then, gave as Dionysius affirms (iv. 21), a more democratic character to the assembly of centuries; let us note however, that the fate of an election or a law was really in the hands of the middle class, who by siding below or above, gave the majority to the rich or the poor. But the real assembly by tribes was not destroyed. The Gracchi made use of it to pass their laws in spite of the rich. As for the census of each class, it is difficult to determine. According to Livy

united the new nobility with the old, and the Roman aristocracy found itself not destroyed, but renewed by all these popular laws.

Those whose ancestors had striven most vigorously for equality, hastened to raise a barrier between themselves and the people, by using the right of images which every curule office gave. "When some person of high rank dies at Rome," says Polybius, "he is solemnly borne to the Forum with the images of his ancestors, preceded by the fasces and axes, and covered with a *prætexta*, a robe of purple or gold cloth, according as he had held the consulship or the prætorship, the censorship, or had the triumph. At the foot of the orators' platform they are placed on ivory seats, and the son of the dead man relates his exploits, and then those of his ancestors. Thus the reputation of great citizens is ever renewed; their glory becomes immortal, and the people cannot forget it." The cold Polybius himself grows animated at the sight. "It is the most exciting scene," cries he. It was also the surest means for the nobles to justify their ambition, even in the eyes of the people, by ceaselessly reminding them of their services. Jealous as the patriciate had formerly been of keeping new men from honours, they had decided since the first Punic war that the ædiles and not the treasury should henceforth bear all the expenses of the public games. Now it was necessary to pass through the ædileship before attaining the high offices. It was thus closing the access to them against all who had not a sufficient fortune to dare to canvass for this onerous magistracy.

To the ascendancy which fortune, birth, the habit of command, and

(xxiv. 1) we might fix it thus: the first class, above 1,000,000 *asses*; the second, from a million to 300,000; the third, from 300,000 to 100,000; the fourth, from 100,000 to 50,000; the fifth, from 50,000 to 4,000.

These figures may be disputed, because our texts are deficient, but the principle of the new organisation appears beyond a doubt; it is the fundamental principle of the Roman constitution: *ne plurimum valeant plurimi*, that is to say, the poor, who form the greatest number, must not have the preponderance. The tribunes, who now enter the senate and form part of the new nobility, are no longer party men, but statesmen; accordingly they willingly accept the organisation which prevents Rome becoming a frightful demagoguery; for as the number of new citizens increased daily, it was necessary to establish at any price an order which would ensure a certain preponderance to the old Romans. If the assembly by centuries had absorbed the assembly of tribes, Rome would have been an oligarchy, suspicious and tyrannical, like Venice. If the comitia by tribes had absorbed the comitia by centuries, Rome would have been a senseless democracy, like the Athens of Cleon [!]. By the existence of the two kinds of assemblies, the nobility and the people, the rich and the poor, preserved a balance till the day when the empire became too great, and it was necessary to sacrifice liberty to power.

the exclusive knowledge of the formulæ of law<sup>1</sup> gave them, there was added, for a great number the patronship of the allies. Every free nation of Italy had at Rome a patron who represented its interests, and in case of need, defended it before the senate or the people. The senate had, it is true, reserved the right of judgment on differences between the towns, of deciding on the complaints of citizens against their city, on crimes against Rome, on internal discords, etc.; but, generally speaking, they left this care to the patrons,<sup>2</sup> who were always chosen from influential families. This clientship of a city or of a whole people increased the consideration and the power of the nobles in a manner dangerous to liberty. Accordingly, in 234, a *prætor peregrinus* was created, who extended his jurisdiction over foreigners, and who, being placed between them and the nobles, restrained the patronage of the allies within limits, in which it could only be useful to the republic.

From another point of view this institution had grave social consequences. The *prætor peregrinus*, not being able to accord to foreigners the benefits of the civil laws of Rome, was obliged to seek among the rules of right or principles of natural equity, common to many nations, which constituted a new juridical domain, that of the right of nations. Thenceforth the *jus gentium* did not cease to make inroads upon the *jus civile*, or peculiar right of Rome, the narrow enclosure of which it finally carried by storm, and with it fell the privileges of the Quirites.

Thus, since the laws of Hortensius, the constitution had become more democratic, and still the aristocracy had been re-organised. The patriciate had been destroyed as a privileged caste; the nobility was allowed to continue as a class invested with honourable distinction.<sup>3</sup> In a word, the laws were democratic, the customs were not; and this contrast, far from being a cause of weakness to Rome, gave her great strength, since it

<sup>1</sup> After Flavius (p. 292) the nobles had invented new formulæ; but they were divulged about 200, *jus Æmilianum*. (Pomponius, on the *Dig.*, I. ii. 2, § 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Claudii became the patrons of the inhabitants of Messina; Minutianus of fifteen Umbrian tribes; the Marcelli of the Sicilians; the Fabii of the Allobroges; the Gracchi of the Spaniards; Cato of the Cappadocians and Cypriotes, etc.: . . . *tum plebem, socios, regna colere et colitum*. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 55.)

<sup>3</sup> These distinctions, says Polybius, are a great encouragement to virtue (vi. 53). This was Napoleon's thought when he destroyed the feudal nobility and created the Legion of Honour.

thus united the advantages of a popular government with those of an aristocratic state, without the inconveniences occasioned by the exclusive predominance of one or other of these political forms. If, however, the ancient tribunes had been unable to sever the aristocracy from the vitals of Roman society, if, deserting the people they themselves had gone over to the hostile camp, they had successors in the tribuneship who continued their work. They had abolished classes, and had only left the nobles that influence which everywhere attaches to great names and to great fortunes. At the same time the censors had driven back the freedmen<sup>1</sup> into the four city tribes. The nobility and the foreign masses were thus restrained, and the true Roman people ruled masterfully in the Forum, faithful to its gods, its manners and its discipline, because these new needs, this growing love of luxury, this contempt of ancient customs and ancient beliefs, which we have spoken of above, had not yet descended to the heart of the nation. This middle class which had conquered the Samnites, Pyrrhus and Carthage, was still as devoted, as brave, and even as numerous. For if the agrarian law was not faithfully observed, at least the watchfulness and the fines of the *ædiles* prevented the concentration of property, whilst the distributions of land multiplied small heritages and formed that nursery of Roman soldiers, whence Rome soon draws twenty-three legions.

This period is the best age of Roman liberty. But it must be well understood that this liberty was not like that which we love; for the Roman citizen, whom we picture to ourselves so proud of his rights, was not sure of his social rank, which at each lustrum the censor might deprive him of without trial, or of the independence of a private life into which the same magistrate penetrated, armed with the severities of his irresponsible magistracy. This republican was the serf of the State, and everything—liberty, justice, morality—yielded at need to the maxim

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xx. The wealth amassed by the *æuarii*, and their constant efforts to spread themselves through all the tribes, no doubt contributed to the abolition of the classes. Men saw the necessity of restricting the exercise of political rights to the plebeian proprietors and agricultors, who in that quality were interested in the preservation of the State and of liberty; but the *æuarii* ceaselessly strove against this limitation, which was renewed in vain in 304, in 220, probably in 181, and in 168. Clodius wished to distribute them through all the tribes. Under Nero they filled the equestrian order and the senate. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii, 26, 27.)

that the safety of the State is the supreme law, an excellent maxim when the citizen understands it as an obligation for him to devote his fortune and his life to his country, but a maxim which may become detestable when it is the government that decides what is required for the safety of the State.



Reverse of a Little Bronze Coin of Cadiz in Phrygia.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE SECOND PUNIC WAR UP TO THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ (218-216).

#### I.—HANNIBAL IN SPAIN.

IF the senate in answer to the appeal of Utica and the mercenaries, during the revolt of the armies of Carthage, had sent them two legions, it would have been all over with the great African city; Amilcar would not have undertaken the conquest of Spain, Hannibal would not have attempted that of Italy, and infinite ills would have been spared to numberless populations. Rome lacked boldness. It was not respect for good faith which stayed her. Her priests and augurs would easily have found the means to set at rest a conscience that was not over scrupulous; but on the morrow of the Punic war she had to bind up her wounds; and as she dared not risk a great iniquity, she contented herself with a small one—the indirect help given to the mercenaries in Africa and the seizure of Sardinia. Amilcar had time to save Carthage and to double her empire.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 218, on the eve of the second Punic war, the possessions of the Carthaginians were dispersed from the Cyrenaica to the mouths of the Tagus and Douro, on a line of from eight to nine hundred leagues, but narrow, without depth, and liable at any moment to be cut, either by the African nomads in their rapid incursions, or by an enemy who could always find means to land on this immense stretch of coast. The Roman republic, on the

<sup>1</sup> For the Carthaginian names I now follow the usual orthography. If Hannibal, Hasdrubal, Amilcar were obscure personages it would be needful to call them by their true names, which are given in Punic inscriptions, Hannibaal, Azroubaal, and Ahmilcar or Abmilcar, the Latin form Amilcar answering to two different names, one of which signifies brother (*ah*), the other servant (*abd*) of Melkart. To write Hasdrubal and Hamilcar is a real mistake, for the aspiration in these two names is too feeble to be marked by an *h*; on the other hand it is very strong in Hannibal, which ought to have one. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

contrary, presented the aspect of a regularly constituted empire; Rome placed in the middle of the peninsula; the peninsula itself protected by three seas, and, beyond these three seas, like so many outposts guarding the approaches of Italy, Illyria, whence the legions kept watch over Macedonia and Greece; Sicily, whence they observed Africa; and Corsica and Sardinia, in the middle of the road to Spain or Gaul, and commanding the navigation of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

What added force to this rule, was that throughout the greatest part of Italy, it was accepted, if not with love, at least with resignation.<sup>1</sup> Poor and warlike nations prefer to pay tribute with blood rather than with gold; and Rome only asked soldiers of the Italians. In exchange for their stormy independence she had given them peace,<sup>2</sup> which favoured the development of population, agriculture, and commerce. They were no longer in dread lest some night a hostile troop should come and reap their fields, strip their vines and fruit trees, carry off their flocks, burn their villages, and lead their women and children into slavery. Rome had put an end to these evils and terrors, which before her time had been daily renewed at many points in Italy. Her censors covered the peninsula with roads, drained the marshes, built bridges over the rivers, and erected temples, porticos, and sewers in the Italian cities, so that Rome was not the only one to benefit by the spoils of the world.<sup>3</sup> To defend the coasts against the descents of

<sup>1</sup> Livy says of the allies before Cannæ: . . . *justo et moderato regebantur imperio; nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere* (xxii. 13), and Polybius, speaking of Hannibal's ravages, extended as far as Campania without a single town going over to him, says: 'Εξ ὧν καὶ παρασημειῖται ἂν τις τὴν κατάπληξιν καὶ καταξίωσιν παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις τοῦ Ῥωμαίων πολιτεύματος (iii. 90). See in Livy the conduct of Naples and Pæstum after Thrasimene; of Canusium, Venusia, Nuceria, and Acerræ after Cannæ; of Petelia, Consentia, and Cortona after the defection of Bruttium; the heroic resistance of the soldiers of Præneste and Perugia in Casilinum, and the courage of a cohort of Pelignians, who were the first to enter the camp of Hanno. In Sicily and in Sardinia, when the prætors demand money and provisions for their soldiers, the senate reply that they have nothing to send them, and the allies hasten to furnish all that is necessary (Livy, xxxiii. 22). For Petelia, compare especially Polybius, vii. fr. 1. It resisted for eleven months, and the inhabitants ate even leather and the bark of trees. It was two squadrons of Samnites (Livy, xxvii. 44) who led the messengers of Hasdrubal to Nero, and that general in his march from Canusium to the Metaurus was able to show his soldiers *quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebratur*. All along the route numerous volunteers joined him. Finally, we know that an army and a fleet were furnished to Scipio by the allies.

<sup>2</sup> By forbidding wars between town and town.

<sup>3</sup> The consulship of Corn. Cethegus was passed in draining a part of the Pontine marshes. . . .

enemies or pirates, the senate had lately lined them with maritime colonies; to protect the Italian merchants they had declared war against the Illyrians and Carthage.<sup>1</sup> Some among the nobles made a noble use of their title of patrons of towns to carry out immense works for the profit of the allies. Thus Curius had become the protector of Reate by cutting a canal through the rock of a mountain to lead into the Nera the overflow of lake Velinus.<sup>2</sup> If we still possessed the second decade of Livy, we should no doubt find there many facts similar to these, which would prove that this domination, though established by force, and sometimes even by violence and perfidy, was excusable by the benefits it conferred.

The glory of Rome, moreover, was reflected upon the Italians, as that of Athens and Sparta had been an honour to Greece. All, in spite of the differences of their condition, closed round her at the news of a Gallic invasion, and we shall see the victorious Hannibal remaining two years in the midst of Italy without finding a single ally there. Time had cemented the edifice constructed by the senate during the Samnite war, and had made of all the Italian nations a mass immovable by its union. In the last countries subdued, however, there still lingered among the populace, whose patriotism is often more disinterested than that of the great, regrets for lost liberty.<sup>3</sup> But everywhere the nobility had freely rallied round the Romans, as at Volsinii, Capua, Nola, Tarentum, and in Lucania; family alliances between this Italian nobility and that of Rome drew these ties closer. At Venice the nobles of the book of gold scorned those of the dry land; at Rome Ap. Claudius took

*siccate, agerque ex iis factus* (Livy, *Epit.*, xlv.). For a later epoch see the works of Æm. Scaurus in Cisalpine Gaul during his censorship (Strabo, V. i. 11), and in Livy (xli. 27) the long enumeration of constructions made in Rome and in several towns of Italy by the censors of the year 174.

<sup>1</sup> During the war of the mercenaries. Later, in 179, as Tarentum and Brundisium complained of the Illyrian pirates, the senate armed a fleet; they did the same for the Massaliotes whose commerce was troubled by the Ligurian pirates. (Livy, xl. 18.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, iv. 15. See pages 362 and 363. The Romans had also lowered the level of the lake of Alba, which frequently threatened to inundate Latium.

<sup>3</sup> *Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiæ civitates, ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent senatus Romanis faveret, et plebs ad Pænos rem traheret* (Livy, xxiv. 2). At Capua, during the revolt, it was men of the lower class who governed. The author of the movement was, it is true, a noble, but before the siege one hundred and twelve knights passed over to the Romans.

a Campanian for his son-in-law, and the ex-consul Livius married the daughter of a senator of Capua.<sup>1</sup>

It was needful, then, that the empire of the Carthaginians, so colossal in appearance, should rest on equally firm supports. The enormous contributions levied on their subjects, and the atrocities of the Inexpiable war had doubtless not done much to reconcile them with the Africans. Utica, indeed, and Hippo-Zaryta had been desirous of giving themselves to the Romans. On the coasts of Numidia and Mauritania, some posts, at great distances apart, and surrounded by barbarians, were scarcely sufficient to afford aid to ships in the danger-



Vase of Nola.<sup>2</sup>

ous crossing from Spain. In Spain itself the authority of Carthage, or rather of Hannibal, was securely established only in Bætica. In the rest of the country, as far as the Ebro, the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxiii. 4. He adds for Capua: . . . *connubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentis Romanis miscuerat.*

<sup>2</sup> This beautiful vase with three handles, of Nolan manufacture, represents Jupiter and Ægina, painted in red on a black ground. Collection of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3330 in the Chabouillet catalogue.

tribes had been conquered, but not subdued; and the Roman generals could make an appearance there as liberators of the peninsula much more easily than Hannibal in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Hamilcar had brought up his sons in hatred of Rome. "These are four lions' whelps," said he, pointing to them, "who will grow up for her ruin"; and Hannibal in his old age used to tell king Antiochus that before setting out for Spain, his father, in the midst of a solemn sacrifice, had made him swear eternal hatred to the Romans. "From the time of his arrival in the camp of Hasdrubal," says Livy, "he drew all eyes towards him. Old soldiers thought they saw Hamilcar in his youth again: there was on his face the same expression of energy, the same fire in his glance. He presently needed no remembrance of his father to gain their favour. Never was there a mind more fitted for two opposite things, to obey and to command; so that it would have been difficult to decide which cherished him more, the general or the army. Hasdrubal never chose any other leader when there was some vigorous blow to be struck; and under no other did the soldiers show more confidence. Incredibly bold in confronting danger, he retained marvellous prudence in peril. No labour wearied his body or prostrated his spirit. He supported heat and cold equally well. For his food, he satisfied need, but never pleasure. His vigils and his sleep were not regulated by day and night. When his business was finished, he sought repose neither

Hannibal.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Polybius (ix. 11, and x. 18, 35) on the haughtiness and exactions of the Carthaginian generals. Hasdrubal-Gisco had forced Indibilis, Mandonius, and Edeon to pay him great sums, and to give him their wives and daughters as hostages, and these latter had much to complain of in the conduct of the Carthaginians towards them.

<sup>2</sup> Bust in the Naples Museum. Probably the only thing about it belonging to Hannibal is the name it bears.

on a soft couch nor in silence. Often he was seen, covered with a soldier's cloak, stretched on the earth between the advanced sentinels or in the midst of the camp. His dress did not distinguish him from his companions; his whole luxury was in his horses and arms. At once the best of horsemen and of foot soldiers, he went into the fray first, and retired from it last. So many good qualities were accompanied by great vices, fierce cruelty, a more than Punic perfidy, no frankness, no modesty, no fear of the gods, no respect for the faith of an oath, no religion. With this mixture of virtues and vices he served three years under Hasdrubal without neglecting anything that a future general of the Carthaginian armies ought to see and hear."<sup>1</sup>

Livy certainly exaggerates Hannibal's vices, and only puts in relief the qualities of the soldier. The history of the second Punic war will show us the great captain. Heir of the ambition of the Barcas, with more genius and boldness, Hannibal wished to create for himself at Rome's expense an empire which he was not strong enough to create at the expense of Carthage.<sup>2</sup> An Italian war was, moreover, a glorious means of putting an end to the strife which his family and his party were sustaining; and in spite of treaties, in spite of the cautious part of the senate,<sup>3</sup> he began it. He asked nothing of Carthage, and put trust only in himself and his own: then, bringing over Spaniards and Gauls on his route, he crossed the Alps. His conduct before Saguntum; the choice of the route which he took so as not to place himself in dependence on the fleets of Carthage; his promises to his troops;<sup>4</sup> his treaty with Philip; the forlorn state in which Carthage left him after Cannæ; the almost unlimited power which, when conquered, he yet seized in his own country, show his secret designs and what

<sup>1</sup> [This character seems written by Livy purely from a rhetorical point of view, and determined simply from the Roman view of the great war. Such feelings as justice to a noble foe, or real interest in the character of the wonderful Phœnician, were quite foreign to the vulgar patriotism of the historian.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Juvenem flagrantem cupidine regni.* (Livy, xxi. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> Fabius said: *οὐδὲνα . . . ἀξιολόγων* (Polyb., iii. 8). In Livy (xxx. 22) the ambassadors agreed, after Zama, that the war was only between Rome and Hannibal, and that Carthage had no part in it. The Punic wars are indeed generally a war of races, but the second is essentially the conflict of Hannibal and Rome.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 586. As regards the treaty with Philip, it stated that Italy should belong to Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to Philip all the booty.



he would have made of that country's liberty had he returned as victor. The second Punic war is only a duel between Hannibal and Rome, and in this assertion we do not mean to diminish the importance of the struggle, because it will show what strength and inexhaustible resources there are in the genius of a great man, as in the institutions and manners of a great people.<sup>1</sup>

Before commencing this war, it was necessary to secure Spain. The South and East were subdued, but the mountaineers of the centre and the upper valley of the Tagus were still resisting. Hannibal crushed the Olcades in the valley of the Xucar (221), the Vaccæans in that of the Douro, and the Carpetani on the banks of the Tagus in the environs of Toledo (220). The Lusitanians and the tribes of Galicia continued free, and Hannibal took care of wasting against them his time and forces. As far as Ebro Spain seemed submissive; this was sufficient for his designs.

In the treaty imposed by Rome on Hasdrubal, the independence of Saguntum to the south of Ebro had been formally guaranteed. In order to force on war, Hannibal besieged that place, which would have served as an arsenal and a point of support to the legions if he had left them time for arriving in Spain. This conduct was unjust but clever.<sup>2</sup> Saguntum, a Greek commercial city, half-way between the Ebro and Carthage, came into competition on this coast with the Carthaginian merchants. Hannibal desired to offer it them as a victim, in exchange for the war which he forced them to accept. By the pillage of one of the largest cities in the peninsula, he reckoned also on buying beforehand the devotion of his soldiers. Rome sent some deputies to him; he refused to receive them under the pretext that he could not answer for their lives if they risked themselves among so many soldiers who were barbarians. The deputies went to Carthage to demand that the audacious general should be delivered up to them.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius says this: "After Cannæ, what made Rome triumph was the vitality of its institutions," *τῇ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ιδιότητι* (iii. 118).

<sup>2</sup> [It cannot possibly have been regarded unjust by those who remembered the Roman annexation of Sardinia. All wars are begun by violating treaties imposed by previous necessities.—*Ed.*]

In spite of the just resentment which Carthage had felt respecting the conduct of Rome in the matter of Sardinia, she did not desire war. Her rich merchants, seeing the Romans disdain the profits of commerce, and Marseilles, Syracuse, Naples and Tarentum prospering under their rule or in alliance with them, were becoming familiarised with the idea of the Roman supremacy. But the people and senate were ruled by the Barcine faction. In spite of Hanno's efforts, answer was made to the deputies that Saguntum had of itself kindled this war, and that Rome would be acting unjustly if they preferred this city to Carthage, their more ancient ally.<sup>1</sup>

During these embassies, Saguntum was pressed with the utmost rigour. "Situating," says Livy, "about 1000 feet from the coast,"<sup>2</sup> it had not the sea for defence, and Hannibal was able to attack it from three sides at once. His assaults were often renewed; in one of them Hannibal had his thigh pierced by a javelin. When his soldiers saw him fall, there was such confusion and fear among them, that the mantlets were nearly abandoned, and for some days the siege was turned into a blockade.

"Hannibal's wound being healed, the attack was obstinately renewed, and the works of approach reached the foot of the wall, which the battering ram shook in several places. Already the Carthaginians thought themselves masters of the city; but the Saguntines covering the city where the wall failed with their own bodies, checked the enemy in the midst of the rubbish. They used a javelin of spruce fir with an iron head, three feet long, which could pierce both armour and body. At the place where the iron projects from the handle was some tow steeped in tar, which was set alight at the moment the javelin was hurled, and the rapid movement fanned the flame. Thus the *falarica*—that was its name—caused much fright. Even when it was arrested on the buckler<sup>3</sup> without wounding the soldier, it

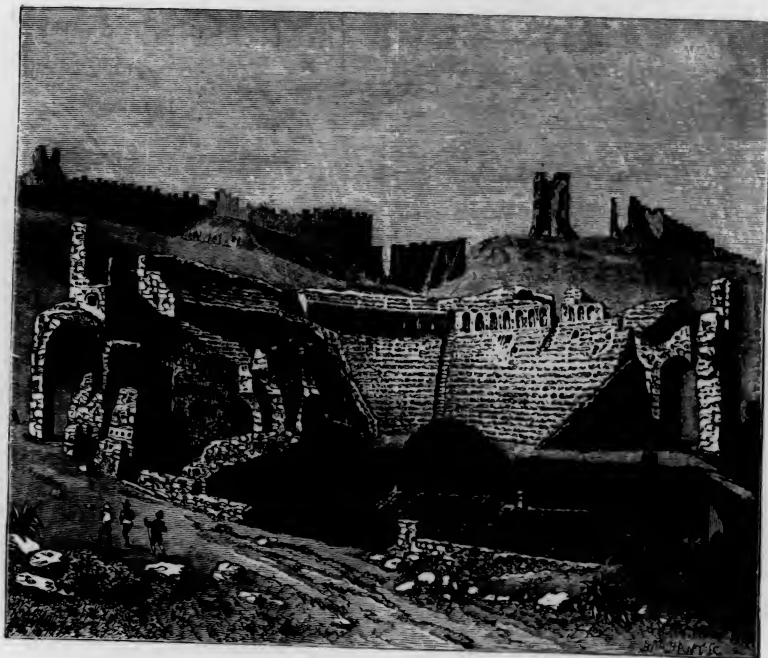
<sup>1</sup> [This is the account of Livy, probably borrowed from the conservative and patriotic Fabius Pictor, and very untrustworthy.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Nearly 480 feet. The rock, 400 feet high, on which Saguntum had been built, is at present 2½ miles from the sea. (Hennebert, *Hist. d'Annibal*, i. 296.)

<sup>3</sup> The buckler of the Roman soldier was of wood.

forced him, from fear of fire, to throw away his arms and expose himself undefended to the blow of the enemy."

These attacks took place before the arrival of the Roman deputies at the camp of Hannibal and at Carthage. They began again after the breaking off of the negotiations, and to excite the ardour of the soldiers, Hannibal promised them the whole booty of the city. "During the truce the Saguntines had raised a new



Remains of the Theatre of Saguntum.<sup>1</sup>

wall behind the breach, but the assaults became more terrible than ever; the countless Punic army surrounded almost the entire circuit. The besieged being no longer able to defend the approach to their wall, a large opening was made by which the enemy entered the city. But a house to house fight began, and the Carthaginians having succeeded in getting hold of a height, surrounded it with a wall, and made it a citadel which they held in the city itself,

<sup>1</sup> De Laborde, *Voyage d'Espagne*.

and which commanded it. The Saguntines on their side covered with a new wall what they still held of their city. Shut up more closely day after day, they saw their destitution increasing and the hope of succour vanishing. Confidence returned for a while when it became known that Hannibal was obliged to march against the Oretans and the Carpetans, who broke out into revolt at the severity of the levies. But Saguntum gained nothing from the absence of the general; Maharbal, charged with the prosecution of the siege, showed such activity, that neither besiegers nor besieged were conscious of their chief's absence. Then two men, Alcon of Saguntum and the Spaniard Aloreus, tried to bring about an accommodation. The conditions demanded by the conqueror were such that Alcon did not even dare to report them. Hannibal left to the inhabitants only life and two garments; they must deliver up arms, riches, leave their city, and withdraw to a place which he would point out. Aloreus, who had formerly been the guest of the Saguntines, offered to carry these hard terms to them. He advanced in open day towards the enemies' sentinels, to whom he gave up his arms, and, having crossed the entrenchments, had himself conducted to the chief magistrate who introduced him to the senate. He had scarcely finished speaking, when the leading senators caused a funeral pile to be raised in the public place, on it they threw the gold and silver of the public treasury, then their own, and lastly themselves. This sight had already spread consternation in the crowd when cries arose; a tower fell, and a Carthaginian cohort, dashing forwards on the ruins, informed the commander-in-chief that the place was divested of its defenders. Hannibal hastened in with all his troops, and commanded all to be slain who were of an age to carry arms. "A cruel measure," says Livy, "but its necessity was proved by the event, for how could men be spared who burnt themselves in their houses with their wives and children, or who, with arms in their hands, fought to the last breath (219)?"<sup>1</sup>

This heroic resistance, of which Spain affords other examples,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxi. 6—14. He says that all the defenders of the place were killed, *belli jure* (xxi. 13), but he himself relates later on that one of the first cares of the Scipios was to ransom the Saguntines. All therefore had not perished. Neither was Saguntum destroyed, for the

had lasted eight months. A part of the riches from Saguntum sent to Carthage reduced the numbers of the peace party, and when a second embassy came from Rome to demand a solemn reparation,



Figure in Toga.

it was the Romans whom they accused of violating treaties. The discussion was prolonged in the Council of the Ancients. At last Fabius holding out a fold of his toga, said: "I bring here peace or war, choose." "Choose, yourself," was the response from all sides. "Well then! war," replied Fabius.

Hannibal hastened his preparations. He sent fifteen thousand Spaniards to keep garrison in the places in Africa, and he called into Spain fifteen thousand Africans; both would serve as hostages for the fidelity of the two countries. His army

rose to 90,000 foot, with 12,000 horse and 58 elephants. A naval defeat would have irretrievably ruined his projects, and the fleet

Scipios took it in 215, and the Romans made a colony of it, which was still existing under the Empire. One of its coins, of very coarse workmanship, represents on the face Tiberius; on the reverse a ship's prow. Its ruins may still be seen near Murviedro (*Muri Veteres*), and the Spaniards there sustained a siege in 1811 against Marshal Suchet. The theatre built on the slope of a hill was then partly destroyed, its stones having been used in the fortifications.

of Carthage no longer were mistress on the Mediterranean. He resolved to open up a route by land. It was a very bold enterprise to go in search of the Romans in the very heart of Italy, leaving behind the Alps, the Rhone and Pyrenees. But since the adventurous expedition of Alexander, all seemed possible to audacity. Perhaps Hannibal did not believe Rome to be stronger in Italy than Carthage was in Africa. Emissaries secretly sent with gold to the Gauls and Cisalpine tribes studied the mountain passes and the dispositions of the peoples, and brought back favourable reports. The Boii and Insubres in the valley of the Po promised to rise *en masse*, and it did not seem difficult to rekindle the hardly quenched hatred of the last Italians whom Rome had conquered. Capua was not resigned to the obscure part of a subject city; the Samnites doubtless would be roused, and Tarentum and Etruria. And besides, there was no other choice than either to receive war or carry it into Italy. The consul Sempronius was already making immense preparations at Lilybæum for an invasion of Africa, and Scipio was levying troops which he hoped to lead into Spain. It was necessary to forestall them. The example of Regulus showed the advantages of offensive warfare; this system was besides the only one that suited Hannibal's position; and that to which he would be always compelled to return even after victories in Africa and Spain. If there were difficulties in the march, yet ought they to take into account the prestige which would surround the army, when the Italians should see descending from the summit of the Alps these soldiers who came from the Pillars of Hercules, and were bringing them liberty. Since Pyrrhus, no enemy had penetrated into Central Italy. In the midst of this rich district the war would support itself, and it would be possible to do without Carthage. If fresh forces were necessary, Mago, left between the Ebro and Pyrenees with 11,000 soldiers, Hasdrubal, who remained in Spain with 15,000 men, 55 ships and 21 elephants, would follow the route which Hannibal was going to mark out for them, recruiting on the road from all those Gauls so ill-disposed towards Rome, and who for a long time back knew and loved the lucrative service of Carthage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We shall follow in the main Polybius narrative. Unfortunately there remains of it, after  
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When he conceived this bold plan, Hannibal was only twenty-seven years of age; the age of Bonaparte at Lodi.<sup>1</sup>

## II.—HANNIBAL IN GAUL; CROSSING OF THE ALPS.

After a solemn sacrifice offered at Gades to Melkart, the great god of the Phœnician race, Hannibal set out from Carthage in the spring of the year 218, and reached the bank of the Ebro with 102,000 men. On the other side of this river the country is difficult, bristling with mountains, one of which, Montserrat, about 4,200 feet high, is almost impracticable. He passed with the bulk of his forces between it and the sea, in the direction of Emporium, whilst detached corps went towards the north-west to drive back the mountaineers in their elevated valleys. He desired not to leave a single enemy between the Ebro and Pyrenees; we shall see the Scipios finding friends there very quickly. Many soldiers had deserted before crossing the mountains, others were filled with fear; he sent back eleven thousand, gave besides ten thousand foot and a thousand horse to his young brother Hanno to keep the passes, and entered Gaul with fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, all veteran soldiers devoted to him; thirty-seven elephants followed the army.

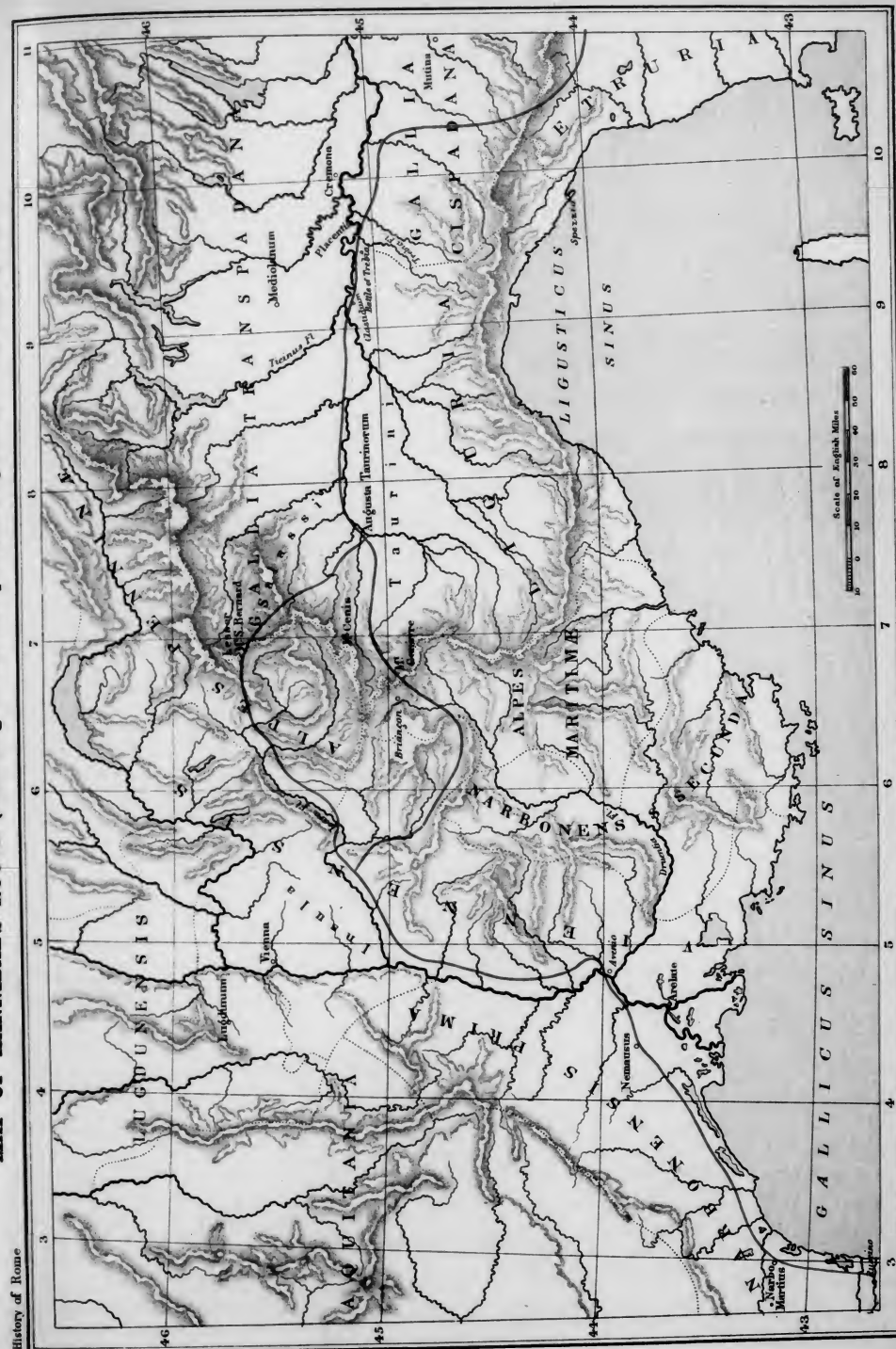
On leaving Carthage, the Roman ambassadors went to Gaul to persuade the barbarians to close the Pyrenean passes against the Carthaginians. "At this proposition to fight for the people who had abandoned Saguntum and oppressed the Italian Gauls, there arose in the assembly of the Bebryces (Roussillon) such laughter," says Livy,<sup>2</sup> "mixed with angry cries, that the old men had difficulty in calming the younger." On their return to

the battle of Cannæ, only some fragments. Livy will then become our guide; he has borrowed much from Cincius Alimentus, who was one of Hannibal's prisoners, and certainly also from Polybius, whom he so often copies without acknowledgment. Appian has followed Fabius Pictor, also a contemporary. Cornelius Nepos gives very little information in his Lives of Hannibal and Amilcar. The lives of Fabius and Marcellus in Plutarch are rich in details. Silius Italicus has put Livy into verse. [Livy's sources often serve to correct Polybius.—Ed.]

<sup>1</sup> Clinton (*Fasti Hell.*, iii. pp. 20 and 52) places his birth in 247. He was then only twenty-six years old when the soldiers made him the successor of Hasdrubal, and twenty-seven when he subdued Spain.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus.* (Livy, xxi. 20.)

MAP OF HANNIBAL'S ROUTE (according to the two prevalent opinions). See note p. 580.



Rome, the deputies declared that in all the Transalpine cities, except Marseilles, they had not heard one peaceful or hospitable word, and that the hatred for Rome and the money scattered by Hannibal's emissaries were preparing an easy route for the Carthaginian. It was prudent, therefore, to detain him in his own peninsula. The consul Sempronius, who was preparing for an invasion of Africa from Sicily, had orders to redouble his activity, and P. Scipio, his colleague, pressed on his levies for the army of Spain. At that moment the senate thought that four legions would be sufficient to take satisfaction from Carthage and this daring young chief; there were soon need of twenty-three against Hannibal alone.

They also took precautions against the Cisalpine tribes. To keep them in check two colonies, each of six thousand men, were sent to Cremona and Placentia. But the Boii and Insubres dispersed the colonists, chased them as far as Modena, which they besieged, and surprised in the midst of a forest the prætor Manlius, who was near perishing there. These events retarded the departure of Scipio, and deprived him of a legion which he was obliged to send to the colonies of the Po. However, when his fleet entered the port of Marseilles, he thought Hannibal was still on the other side of the Pyrenees, the Carthaginian was already on the Rhone.<sup>1</sup>

The Bebryces had made a treaty of alliance with him;<sup>2</sup> the Arecomici saw their independence threatened by this large army which was approaching, and withdrew behind the Rhone in order to dispute its passage. Hannibal deceived them; he sent a part of his forces to cross the river secretly, 25 miles above the barbarians camp, with an order to take them in the rear, while he himself made the attempt to cross. Harassed by this double attack and by the burning of their camp, the barbarians dispersed. Hannibal had put his elephants on immense rafts and his troops on boats bought of all the tribes living on the river banks; the horses followed by swimming; the Spaniards had crossed on inflated leather skins and their bucklers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the passage of the Pyrenees by Hannibal, see the work of Hennebert. (Vol. i. pp. 419—442.)

<sup>2</sup> This treaty referred to their wives the decision of the Carthaginians' claims against the native populations. (Plut., *de Virt. mulier.*)

<sup>3</sup> The passage was made above Roquemaure, nearly 12 miles north of Avignon; that is at

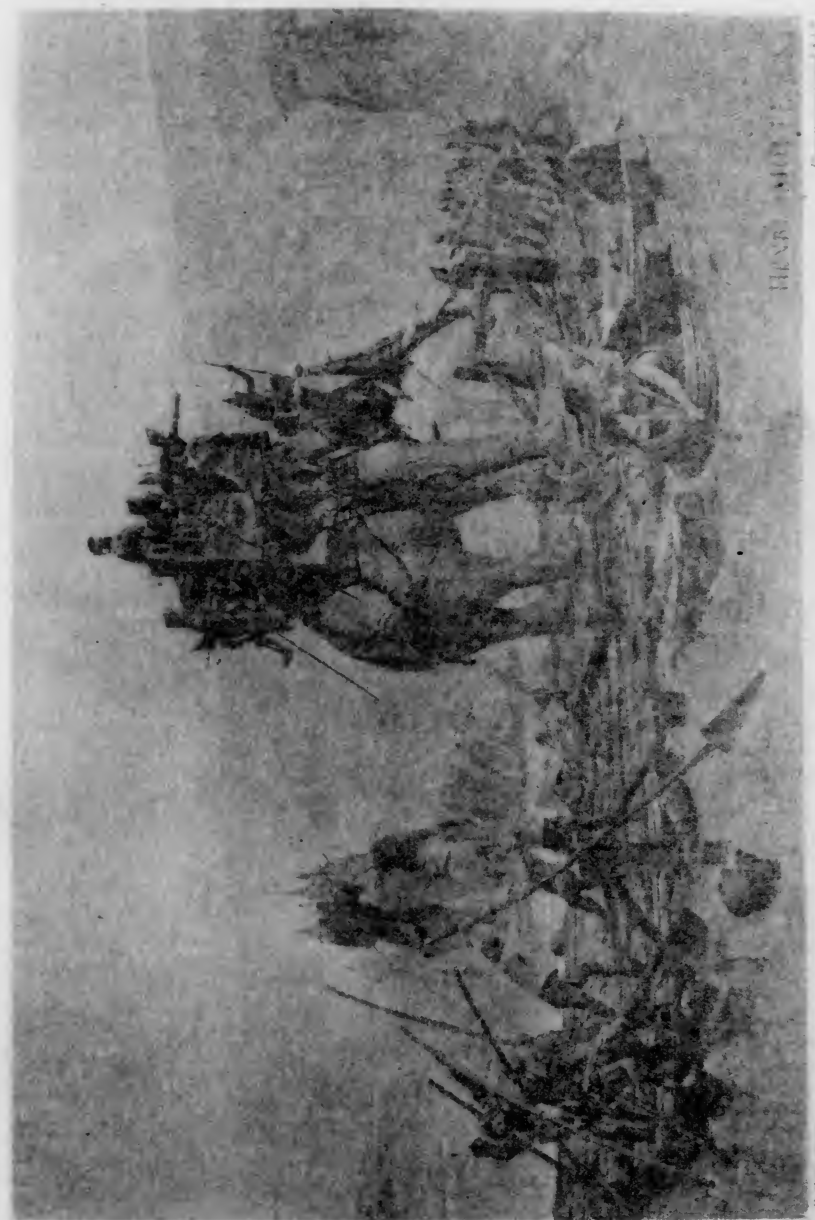
The next day five hundred Numidians descended the Rhone to reconnoitre the river lower down. They fell in with a reconnoitring party of three hundred Roman knights led by Gallic guides in the pay of Marseilles. The two troops charged. There returned only three hundred Numidians; the Romans had lost a hundred and sixty men, but they had remained masters of the battlefield.

Hannibal hesitated; he had still forty-six thousand men; ought he to pursue his march or return against the consul, who was raising his camp to come and attack him? A victory in Gaul would have decided nothing; besides, a Boian chief had just come to the camp, offering guides and the alliance of his people. Hannibal drew further away from the consul by ascending the river's course.<sup>1</sup> What route did he take? Here Polybius and Livy differ, and after them all modern writers. Polybius had visited the places and questioned the mountaineers who had seen the expedition pass; his narrative ought to be followed; unhappily he does not remove all the difficulties which will doubtless remain

least the opinion of Letronne, adopted by Hennebert. The widespread use of *utres*, inflated skins, like our fishermen's buoys for nets, is well explained in M. Lenthéric's charming book on the old delta of the Rhone and the Roman remains in Provence.

<sup>1</sup> [He meant evidently to ascend the valley of the Durance, which is the most southern affluent of the Rhone, and this would have made his journey much shorter. He was obliged to take the next river-course, that of the Isère.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Out of 90 dissertations which appeared before 1835, 33 of them are in favour of the Little St. Bernard, which, having only 6,750 feet of elevation, is the easiest passage of the whole chain; 24 are for Mount Genève; 19 for the Great St. Bernard; 11 for Mount Cenis; and 3 for Mount Viso. How many others since that date! The passage by the Simplon, which has also been named, Hannibal would have rejected as too far towards the north and east, as it would have made him lose much valuable time; the passage by the Great St. Bernard is very difficult, especially at the beginning of October. His Insubrian guides must have known the shortest route, and this was that of the Little St. Bernard, by which Hannibal arrived in a straight line from the valley of the Isère to the neighbourhood of the Insubres, his allies. The immense détour which some propose to gain the river Durance by very difficult country, and where Scipio, whom he was avoiding, would have been able from Marseilles either to hinder him or come up with him, made him debouch by Mount Genève or Mount Viso on the lands of Ligures Taurini, the enemies of his allies. From this side he had to fear that the Taurini, directly threatened by his approach, would have summoned to themselves the mass of the Ligurian population of that region. His guides could not have pointed out to him such a route. His aim was to reach Italy as quickly as possible, and to descend into a friendly country in order to have time to refresh his army before fighting. Points of strategy ought to prevail over geographical advantages, which moreover, are uncertain. However, the theory of the passage by Mount Genève has found again quite lately some clever defenders in M. Desjardins (*Géogr. de la Gaule Romaine*, vol. i. pp. 86—94) and Hennebert (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 43 *et seq.*). Without wishing to draw any conclusion relative to Hannibal's crossing, I notice





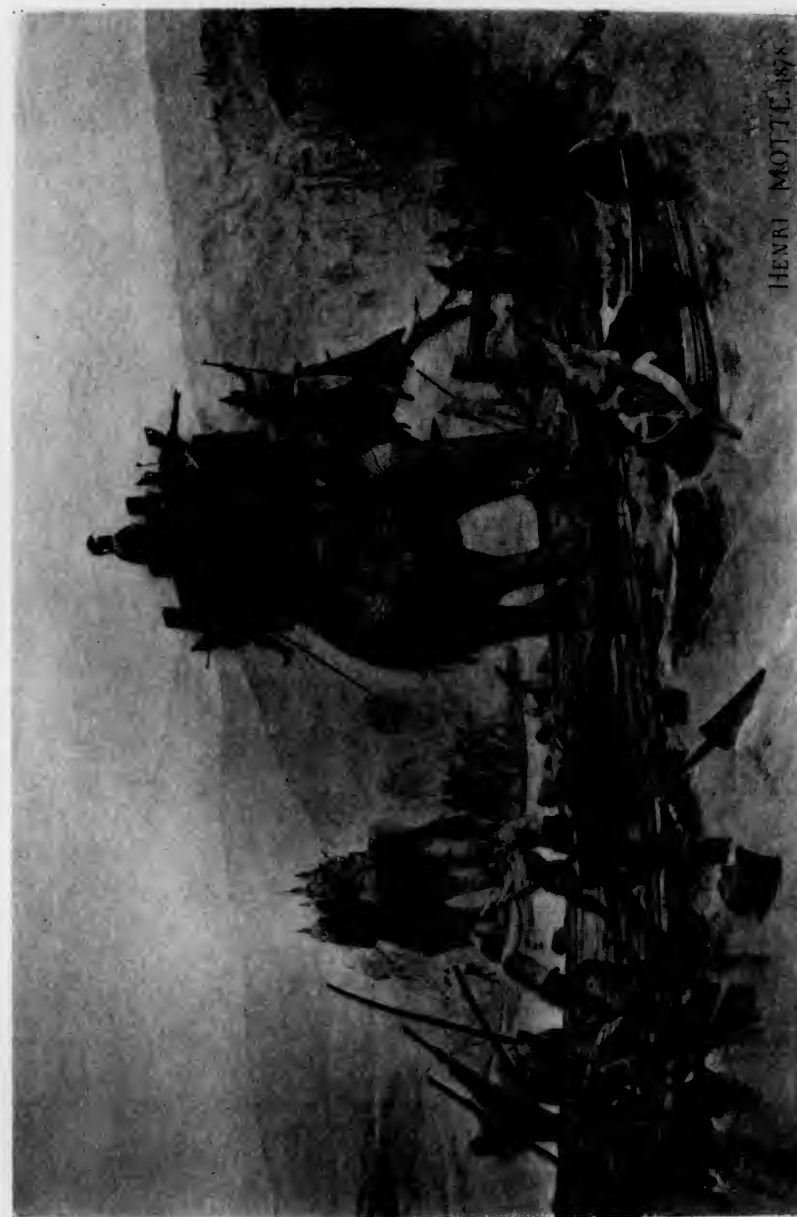
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HENRI MOTTE 1878

Photographie Goupil &amp; Co

Hannibal's army crossing the Rhone

H. Motte pinxit.

insurmountable.<sup>1</sup> Besides, whether Hannibal crossed by Mount Cenis, Viso, Genève or the Little St. Bernard is of small consequence to history, which is above all interested in the result; viz., the Alps boldly crossed by a large army.

After four days' march, Hannibal entered "Isle of the Allobroges," which is formed by the Rhone and Isère. Two brothers, in this country, were disputing for the supreme power; he took the part of the elder, helped him to conquer, and received in return food and clothing, of which the soldiers would soon have such need. The new king wished even to accompany him with all his barbarians to the very foot of the mountains. Already were the Alps in sight, with their eternal snows and threatening peaks. But Hannibal had caused the speech of the Boian deputies to be translated to his troops, their promise of guiding them by a short and sure route, the picture which they drew of the magnificence and richness of the country beyond the Alps. Thus, the sight of these dreaded mountains, far from depressing their spirits, animated the soldiers<sup>2</sup> as if they saw the goal of the war, as if they were the walls of Rome, as Hannibal expressed it, which they were going to scale.

It was in the middle of October that the Carthaginians entered among the Alps.<sup>3</sup> The snow already hid the pastures and paths, and nature seemed struck with torpor; a pale autumn sun only partially dissipated the thick fog which every morning enveloped the army, and long and cold nights, disturbed by the solemn sounds

the fact that the route by the Little St. Bernard was so much employed from high antiquity that it had been consecrated by a megalithic monument. On the most elevated point of the pass, at a height of 6,368 feet, exists a cromlech, or circle of raised stones, which is 230 feet in diameter, and which the route crosses. There has been found no trace of sepulture or worship, and it could not be a place of meeting for the deputies of the neighbouring peoples. What does this monument commemorate? I do not know. M. Al. Bertrand, the learned curator of the Museum of St. Germain, thinks this cromlech very ancient. It is one proof the more that this pass was known and used before Hannibal.

<sup>1</sup> [On the other hand, it is the opinion of Neumann (*Das Zeitalter der Pun. Kriege*, p. 286) that Livy follows better sources, and is our best authority.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Polybius makes light beforehand of the declamations written and unwritten about the terrors of the Alps: *moles propè celo immixta*, etc., the sight of high mountains, far from repelling, attracts. Spain, besides, and the Pyrenees, whence started Hannibal's soldiers, contain peaks as imposing as those of the Alps. The Cerro de Mulhacen, which they had seen in Betica, is only 3,800 feet less than Mont Blanc.

<sup>3</sup> Ideler, *Chronol.*, i. p. 241. Daude de Lavalette (*Recherches sur l'histoire du passage d'Annibal d'Espagne en Italie*) makes him reach the summit of the Alps on the 26th of October.

of distant avalanches, and torrents rolling at the foot of precipices, froze the limbs of these men of Africa. Yet the cold and snow, the precipices and the untrodden paths were not the greatest obstacles, for the mountaineers attempted several times to bar the route against the Carthaginians. One day Hannibal found himself in front of a defile guarded by the Allobroges, and which was commanded in its whole length by perpendicular rocks crowned with enemies. He stopped and had a camp pitched; fortunately the Gallic guides informed him that at night the barbarians would retire to their town. Before the next day he held the defile and heights with light troops. Still there was a bloody fight and terrible confusion for some hours. Men, horses, beasts of burden rolled down the precipices; a number of Carthaginians perished. However, the army passed, took the town, and found in it victuals and horses which replaced those they had lost. Further on another tribe appeared before Hannibal, carrying branches as a sign of peace, and offering hostages and guides. He accepted them, but took care not to be deceived. The cavalry and elephants, the very sight of which frightened the barbarians, formed the advanced guard; the infantry was in the rear, the baggage in the centre. On the second day the army entered a narrow gorge, where the mountaineers attacked it, hidden in the hollows of the rocks. For a night Hannibal was cut off from his advanced guard; it was the last attack. After nine days marching he reached the summit of the mountain, and there stopped two days to give rest to his troops. From thence he pointed out to them the rich plains of the Po, and in the distance, the direction of Rome, their promised prey. The descent was difficult; they found in a defile a glacier covered afresh with snow, and in which men and horses were entangled. The pass was elsewhere so narrow that the elephants could not pass; three days were lost in digging a path in the rock for them. At last, on the fifteenth after his departure from the "Isle," he reached the lands of the Insubres, in the vicinity of the territory of the Taurini.<sup>1</sup> The crossing had cost him, by his own admission, twenty thousand men. He had remaining

<sup>1</sup> . . . εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίο καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰνσούβρων ἔθνος. (Polyb., iii. 56.)



Views of the Alps (Mont Cenis).



only twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon, who placed Hannibal higher than any other general of antiquity, said: "He bought with the half his army the mere gain of his field of battle."

### III.—HANNIBAL IN CISALPINE GAUL; BATTLE OF TICINUS;

#### BATTLE OF TREBIA (218).

Hannibal had taken five months to do the 400 leagues which separate Carthage from Tunis; he had therefore marched on the average at the rate of only three leagues a day. This slow pace, which is quite explicable, had given the Romans time to strengthen their positions in Cisalpine Gaul so as to restrain Gallic turbulence.<sup>2</sup> So, in spite of the promises of the Boian deputies, no people hastened to join the Carthaginians; besides, faithful even in the presence of the legions to their hereditary hates, these tribes continued naturally hostile. The Taurini, at this very time, attacked the Insubres. Hannibal proposed to form an alliance with them, and on their refusing took their capital by assault; all who were in it were slain. This rapid and sanguinary expedition attracted some volunteers, but the Roman legions were camping on the banks of the Po; the Gauls before joining Hannibal waited that victory should declare in his favour. Satisfied moreover, with having attracted the Carthaginian army into Italy, they desired to let these two great nations engage in the struggle, whose hand weighed so heavily on all the barbarians of the West, perhaps with the secret thought, that, as the result of their mutual exhaustion, they might be able some day to play that part in Italy which the Galatians, their brethren, were playing in Asia with so much profit.

Hannibal must gain a victory. In order, says Livy, to speak in a language to his soldiers which all might understand, he ranged

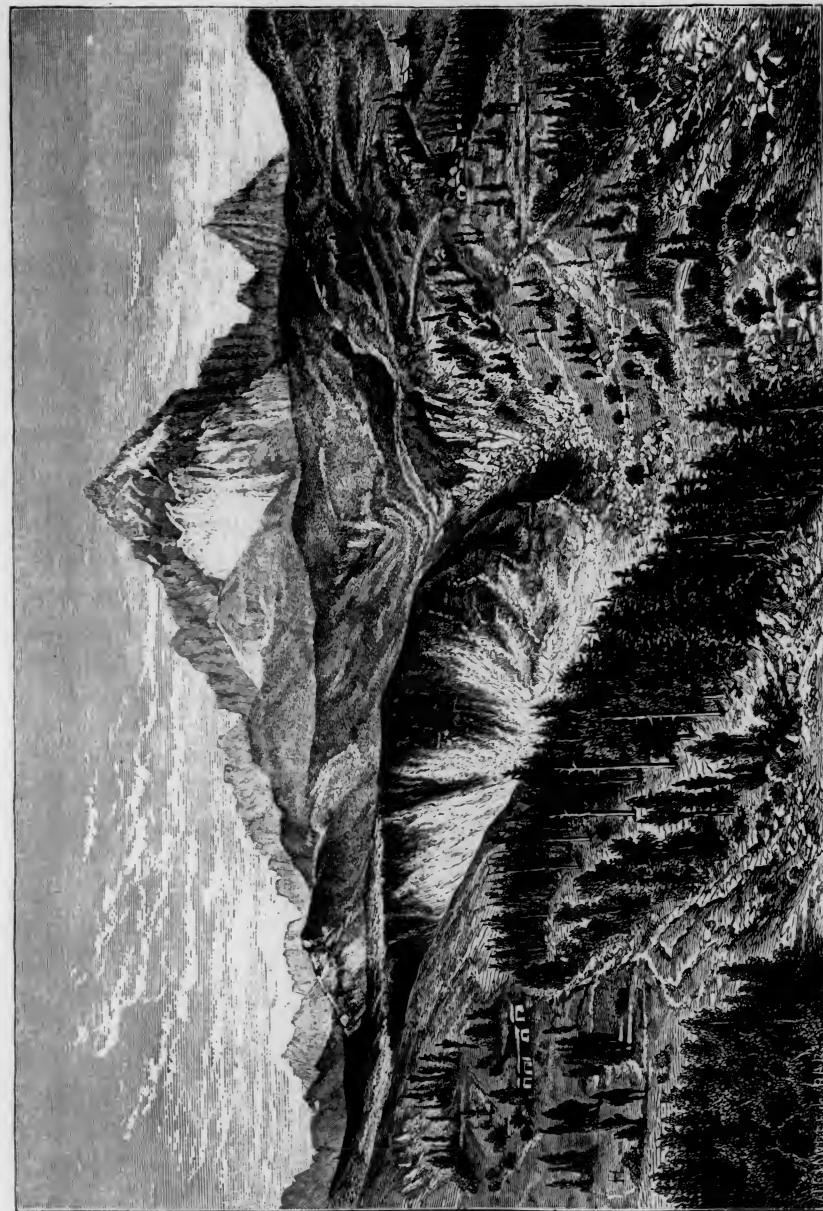
<sup>1</sup> He had caused these figures to be cut on a column in the temple of Lacinian Juno: Polybius saw them. In the wars of the ancients, as in our own down to the 17th century, the wounded and sick ran great chance of perishing; in a march like that of Hannibal, those merely lame were lost; he must have had also a good many deserters.

<sup>2</sup> See page 579.

his army in a circle, and brought into its midst some young mountaineers who had been made prisoners, all covered with wounds, loaded with irons, and weakened by hunger. He showed them some brilliant garments, rich arms, warhorses, and asked them if they were willing to fight together. The conqueror shall have liberty and these presents; death will free the conquered from the horrors of captivity. They joyfully accepted, fought hard, and triumphed or died cheerfully. Hannibal, then addressing himself to his soldiers, showed them in these prisoners, in this fighting, their own case. Shut in between two seas and the Alps, they can never see their native land again, unless they open up the road by victory. Either lead a wretched life in slavery, or die gloriously, or conquer and win the riches of Italy. To the spoils of Rome he will add lands in Spain, Italy, Africa, everywhere where they shall ask them; and he will make them, if they desire it, *citizens of Carthage*.<sup>1</sup> May the gods slay him, if he fail in these promises, as he himself slays this lamb; and, seizing a stone, he crushes the head of the victim against the altar.

The activity of Hannibal had disconcerted the plans of the senate; the question was no longer of fighting in Spain nor of besieging Carthage, but of saving Italy. Sempronius, whose fleet had already gained a naval victory and taken Malta, was recalled; Publius Scipio, after his futile attempt to check Hannibal by a battle on the banks of the Rhone, had voluntarily left his province, sent his brother Cneus into Spain with his legions, and took the route to Italy by sea. He hoped to reach the foot of the Alps in time to crush the army in its descent, while distressed by fatigues and privations. This time, again, in spite of his diligence, he arrived too late. From Pisa he had reached Placentia, taken the command of the Roman forces scattered along the Po, and crossed that river in order to place himself behind the Ticinus, between the Carthaginians and Insubres. With its source at the St. Gotthard, the Ticinus forms, at the foot of the Alps, Lago

<sup>1</sup> *Agrum sese daturum esse in Italia, Africa, Hispania, ubi quisque velit, immunem ipsi, qui accepisset, liberisque . . . qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum* (Livy, xxi. 45). Neither Bonaparte nor Cæsar would have dared to speak with such disdain of the rights of the real sovereign power, the people, the senate, and the law. But in Livy's case one always entertains some scruples: were these the words of the general or of his historian? They tell us, at least, what Livy thought of the Carthaginian hero.



Views of the Alps (Monte Viso).

Maggiore, which it leaves clear, rapid and deep, to fall into the great Italian river below Pavia; there was the frontier of the Insubrian territory.<sup>1</sup> Scipio hastened thither. But if the Romans were very brave, well armed, and well organised into legions, their generals, renewed yearly, were not experienced tacticians, still less strategists. In place of taking up a position behind the Ticinus, of which he should have made a good line of defence, Scipio passed it with his horse and light infantry. Hannibal pushed forward at the same time a reconnaissance from this side. A short and sanguinary action took place. The Numidians, by the rapidity of their charge, soon had the advantage over light-armed men, whom they defeated, and also caused the Roman cavalry to give way. The consul himself was wounded; but for his young son, the future conqueror at Zama, he would have perished.

This battle of the Ticinus had been only an affair of the advanced guard; but Scipio, recognising the Carthaginians' superiority in cavalry, fell back behind the Po, and resolved to avoid fighting on the plain; but he did nothing in the way of disputing with the enemy the passage of the river, which Hannibal easily crossed. One night, 2,000 Gauls, in the service of the Romans, massacred the guards of the camp and went over to the Carthaginian, who sent them to their homes laden with presents; they were to arouse among their people defections fatal to the Romans. The consul had first made a stand at Placentia. To prevent himself from being shut up in this place, he took up a position in a valley which opens on this city, and where he had at his rear the Apennines, which Sempronius was skirting in order to join him. He fixed his camp on the heights above the Trebia. This torrent, sadly famous in French history as in that of Rome, leaves the Apennines at the bottom of a narrow valley, which expands into a plain only 12 miles from Placentia. There, Scipio awaited the arrival of his colleague Sempronius, whom he had called to him, and who in forty days had come with all his troops from Rhegium to Ariminum. What route did these legions take from the Adriatic coast to the Trebia? To cross Cisalpine Gaul by the

<sup>1</sup> Breadth at Buffalora, 533 to 660 yards; lower it reaches sometimes 2,000. (Hennebert, *op. cit.*, i. 322.)



country of the Boii was to be exposed to attacks from the Gauls and to the peril of encountering Hannibal before effecting a junction with the other consular army. Sempronius seems to have taken the route by Etruria, to have followed the southern side of the Apennines, which would have covered his march, and to have debouched by the ridges which afforded a passage behind Scipio.<sup>1</sup>

The Romans had a part of their magazines at *Clastidium*, a fortified post on the Po, up the stream from Placentia. Hannibal surrounded this place, frightened or gained over the commandant, a native of Brundisium, and entered it—a precious acquisition for him and a very great loss to the Romans. Sempronius was only the more eager to fight. Polybius, a friend of the Scipios, says that Sempronius, proud of a slight success gained in a skirmish, wanted, in spite of his colleague, to give battle, so as not to leave to the generals of the following year the honour of delivering Italy. It was not possible that two consuls and forty thousand Romans should refuse to fight these Carthaginians, whom, in the first Punic war, they had so often conquered, and it was not merely that he might observe from the elevation of his entrenched camp the laying waste of the plains of the Po that Sempronius had been recalled from Sicily. This general was right, therefore, in fighting, but he was wrong in getting beaten. One morning the Numidians drew near to provoke the camp before the hour when the soldiers took their meal, and drew them on beyond the frozen waters of the Trebia right to the centre of a plain where Hannibal had hidden, in the bed of a torrent, two thousand men, entrusted to his brother Hanno. Weakened by hunger, the cold, and the snow, which the wind beat into their faces, the Romans were half conquered, when they suddenly ran against the Carthaginian infantry, well fed, fresh in strength, their limbs made supple with oil, and whom Hannibal had kept to the very last moment under their tents or before large fires. Nearly twenty-five thousand Romans perished or

<sup>1</sup> This is the opinion of Commandant Hennebert (*op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 481), and the text of Polybius, who clearly places the Carthaginian army to the east of the Trebia, renders this conjecture very probable. [There is some difficulty in this march of Sempronius, owing both to the silence and confusion of our authorities, who speak as if he had gone by sea round Italy to Ariminum.—*Ed.*]

disappeared; ten thousand only with Sempronius broke through the Gauls of Hannibal<sup>1</sup> and reached Placentia, where, when night came on, Scipio collected some fugitives—those who had been able to regain the camp. This great success was due to the Numidian cavalry, at present three times more numerous than that of the legions,<sup>2</sup> and which had thrown the two wings into disorder, whilst Hanno's horse threw the main body into confusion by attacking it in the rear.

The defeat at the Ticinus had repulsed the Romans across the Po, that of Trebia repulsed them beyond the Apennines; except Placentia,<sup>3</sup> Cremona, and Modena, Cisalpine Gaul was lost to them.

So far, Hannibal's plan had succeeded. But while he was opening up the route to Rome, Cneus Scipio in Spain closed against his brothers that into Gaul. Troops sent into Sardinia, Sicily, Tarentum, garrisons put into all the strong places, and a fleet of sixty galleys, cut his communications with Carthage. This caused him little fear, for the Gauls were flocking in crowds to his standard, and the Italian prisoners, treated kindly, then released without ransom, were going, so he thought, to gain over the peoples of the peninsula. Of the two routes which led thither, though he took the more difficult, yet it was shorter, and in spite of the advanced season, he tried to cross the Apennines. A terrible storm, like those which sometimes burst forth in these mountains, drove him back. He returned to Cisalpine Gaul and waited, in the mean time blockading Placentia for the return of spring.

#### IV.—THRASIMENE (217) AND CANNÆ (216).

Napoleon has said, "If you hold North Italy, the rest of the peninsula falls like a ripe fruit." That was true of his time, when on both sides of the Apennines all was ripe for a speedy

<sup>1</sup> According to Polybius, almost all the dead on Hannibal's side were Gauls.

<sup>2</sup> Accustomed to fight in a mountainous country, the Romans had only a small force of cavalry; at the Trebia, 4,000 horse to 36,000 foot, or 1 to 9. Hannibal had more than 10,000 to 20,000 foot, or 1 to 2. Napoleon also greatly increased the proportion of cavalry in the French armies, and military writers agree in laying down the principle that the cavalry ought to be to the infantry as 1 to 4, 5 or 6, according to the nature of the ground where they fight.

<sup>3</sup> Sempronius, shut up in this city, gained, however, some advantages over Hannibal. (Livy, xxi. 57, 59.)

fall; but not so in Hannibal's time, because a brave, disciplined people, resolved on conquest, awaited there the invader behind the triple and impregnable rampart of cities surrounded by Cyclopean walls, connected by good roads.

The Gauls had reckoned on a rapid expedition, on obtaining booty, and it fell to them to feed the army and submit to discipline. This discontent led to many plots, from which Hannibal escaped, so it is said, only by continual disguises, appearing at one time as a young man, at another as an old man, and thus baffling the plots or inspiring in these rude minds a sort of religious respect.<sup>1</sup> As soon as the cold weather broke up he determined to go into Etruria in search of those legions which had not dared to dispute Cisalpine Gaul. To deceive them again, he took the most difficult route by plunging into the midst of immense marshes, where for four days and three nights the army marched in water and mud. The Africans and Spaniards, placed in the vanguard, passed without serious loss, but the Gauls, who followed on ground already beaten in, kept slipping at every step and falling. Without the cavalry, who followed them close, they would have retreated; many perished. Almost all the baggage and beasts of burden stuck in the marsh. Hannibal himself, mounted on his last elephant, lost an eye by the watchings, fatigues, and dampness of the nights.<sup>2</sup> On leaving these quagmires, which were dried up when the Æmilian way was afterwards laid down, he entered the Apennines, cleared them at the defile of Pontremoli, and descending into the valley of the Arno, marched by Fæsulæ on Arretium.

If the Romans, watching all his movements, had come and attacked him on leaving the marsh or the mountain, they might have checked his good fortune. But they did not know how to make war with this foresight. Encamped under the walls of Arretium and Ariminum, they patiently awaited the appearance of the enemy by the usual routes, forgetting that the Gauls, eight

<sup>1</sup> Εδόκον θεοτίρας φύσεως λαχύν. (App., *Bell. Ann.*, 6.)

<sup>2</sup> These marshes are generally placed with Livy to the south of the Apennines in the valley of the Arno. Micali maintains (2nd part, cap. xv.) that they were on the other side of the mountains, in the territory of Parma and Modena. Polybius' narrative is not opposed to this, and Strabo (V. i. 11) says so expressly.

years before, had made use of another, which without the happy inspiration of the consul Æmilius, would have led them direct to Rome. The legions at Arretium were commanded by Flaminius, who as tribune had passed an agrarian law; as consul, had conquered in spite of the augurs; as censor, had executed some works of public utility, which were paid for out of monies which the tenants of the State forests, pastures, and mines owed to the treasury, and which, by connivance of the senate, they often forgot



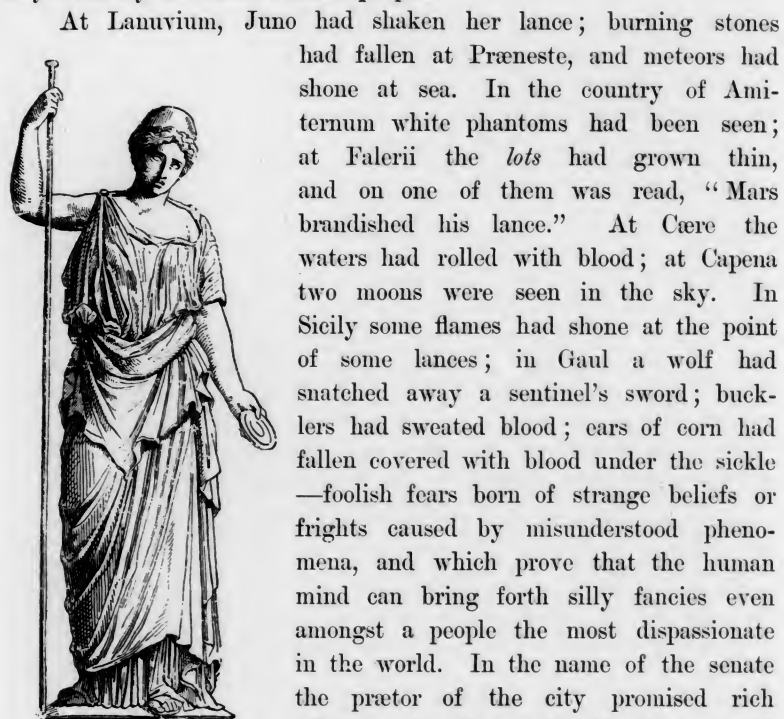
A Haruspex.<sup>1</sup>

to pay. The people had just given him, in spite of the nobles, a second consulate. Recently Flaminius had further increased the hatred of the nobility against himself by supporting a law which prohibited any senator having at sea a ship of more burden than three hundred *amphoræ*.<sup>2</sup> So to annul his election, the most sinister presages had appeared; some contrived by those who had

<sup>1</sup> A haruspex consults the entrails and the liver of an ox, which has just been sacrificed, and seems to be giving account of what they presage. The victimarius holds in his right hand the hatchet (*malleus*) with which he has struck the victim, and the vessel where he has received its blood. This bas-relief is perhaps the only one which shows this ceremony. Museum of the Louvre, No. 439 in the Clarac catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxi. 63.

a purpose in producing them, and all accepted by popular credulity, nay even by the most serious people.

Juno.<sup>1</sup>

At Lanuvium, Juno had shaken her lance; burning stones had fallen at Præneste, and meteors had shone at sea. In the country of Amitemum white phantoms had been seen; at Falerii the *lots* had grown thin, and on one of them was read, "Mars brandished his lance." At Cære the waters had rolled with blood; at Capena two moons were seen in the sky. In Sicily some flames had shone at the point of some lances; in Gaul a wolf had snatched away a sentinel's sword; bucklers had sweated blood; ears of corn had fallen covered with blood under the sickle—foolish fears born of strange beliefs or frights caused by misunderstood phenomena, and which prove that the human mind can bring forth silly fancies even amongst a people the most dispassionate in the world. In the name of the senate the prætor of the city promised rich offerings to the gods if they would preserve the republic for ten years in her whilecome state; the matrons dedicated a bronze statue to the Aventine Juno, and continual sacrifices, solemn prayers filled the city and army with superstitious fears. The newly-elected consul did not take these into consideration. Certain of being detained at Rome by false auspices,<sup>2</sup> he set out secretly from the city without having been invested at his own house, according to custom, with the *toga prætexta*, the badge of office, without having put on at the Capitol the *paludamentum*, or military robe, or having offered up on the Alban Mount the dutiful sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis.

<sup>1</sup> After a statue which is at Rome. (Ménard, *la Myth. dans l'art ancien et moderne*, fig. 42).

<sup>2</sup> *Auspiciis ementiendis* (Livy, xxi. 63). The tribune Herennius accused the augurs the year after of pious frauds. (Livy, xxii. 34.)

To justify this neglect of the gods and of very old customs, a victory was necessary. Polybius says that he sought one with presumptuous imprudence. Yet we see him awaiting in his camp at Arretium Hannibal's attack, and when the Carthaginian, who, being without siege-train, was able neither to take a city nor storm a camp, had passed by him, he follows his steps without hurrying, informs his colleague, who sets forth from Ariminum with all his forces, so that he could hope to renew the campaign so happily terminated lately at Telamon. In fine, he was not the assailant at Lake Thrasimene; but he was wrong, and he paid for this with his life, in not making a more cautious march, and in falling blindly into the snare which his clever adversary laid for him. Hannibal had left behind him the high walls of Arretium and Cortona, when, 7 miles south of this latter city, he found himself, by going round a spur of the mountains, on the banks of Lake Thrasimene (*Lago di Perugia*), a sheet of water not deep, but 8 miles broad and 10 miles long. On the side where the road passes, the hills of the Gualandro (*Montes Cortonenses*) form a semi-cirle, the ends of which gradually fall towards the lake, near two villages—Borghetto on the north and Tuore

Paludamentum.<sup>1</sup>

on the south. It is a natural theatre enclosing a little plain, invisible till you enter it. As the route ran by the side of the lake, Flaminius, who was pursuing the Punic army, would of necessity be entangled in this snare without means of escape.<sup>2</sup> Hannibal there awaited him. He placed his heavy infantry at the end of the plain to close the way to the south, dispersed his slingers over the heights, and in the hollows of the grounds, and

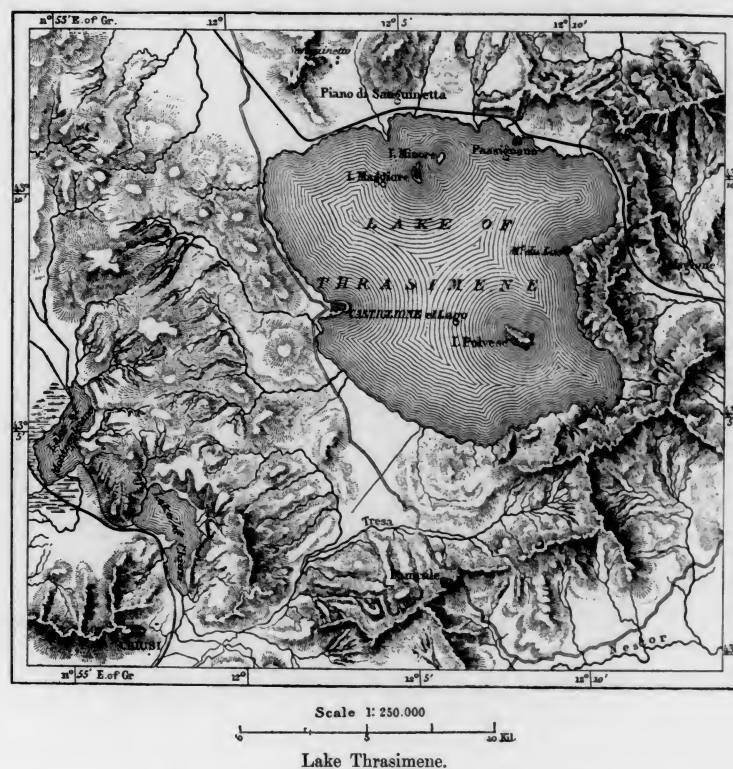
<sup>1</sup> After a bas-relief of Trajan's Column.

<sup>2</sup> . . . *loca nata insidiis*. (Livy, xxii. 4.)



hid his Numidians and the Gauls behind the hills which commanded the northern pass.

Flaminius knew these parts which he had traversed in order to join the camp at Arretium, but military instinct failed him. There where Hannibal had found a field of battle admirably prepared, he had seen nothing, except water and heights which



embarrassed his march. At daybreak, without at all suspecting the great movement of men which was taking place around him, he fell into the snare. A thick fog rose from the lake and covered the plain, whilst on the hills where the air was quite clear, the enemy were making, without being perceived, their final arrangements. All of a sudden loud cries resounded in the front, rear, and flank of the Roman army, which was attacked from all sides before the soldiers could take up their arms and the legions change

from their marching order into order of battle. It was a horrible *mêlée*; it lasted only three hours, but with such obstinacy that the combatants were not aware of an earthquake which at the same time shook the mountains. Flaminius was slain by an Insubrian horse soldier; 15,000 of his men perished, as many were made prisoners; very few escaped.<sup>1</sup> A stream which crosses the fatal plain still preserves the remembrance of this great massacre, the *Sanguinetto*. Hannibal had lost only fifteen hundred men, almost all Gauls.<sup>2</sup> The next day four thousand horse, sent by the other consul, fell besides into the midst of the victorious army, and some days after a fleet of transports, which was carrying munitions of war to the army of Spain, was captured near Cosa by the Carthaginians (217).

From Trasimene to Rome it is only 35 leagues; the route was free, for the other consular army, which had just lost all its cavalry, was still far in the rear of the Carthaginians, and the Numidians already showed themselves under the walls of Narnia, two days' journey from the Capitol. However, Hannibal did not think himself strong enough, notwithstanding the destruction of two armies, to risk a march on the great city. His good treatment of the Italian prisoners, whom he continued to send back without ransom, had as yet brought him no advantage. Etruria gave no sign of affection to this friend of the Gauls; and the first city that he attacked after Trasimene, the colony of Spoleto, victoriously repulsed him.<sup>3</sup> Since his departure from Spain, his troops had had no repose; he had in his train many wounded and sick; men and horses were covered with a leprosy caught in the marshy encampments in Cisalpine Gaul. To refresh his troops he led them into the fertile plains of Picenum, had the Numidian horses washed with old wine,<sup>4</sup> took care of his wounded, and gorged

<sup>1</sup> Livy says ten thousand, but Polybius's narrative creates the belief that the army was annihilated.

<sup>2</sup> Ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Κέλται. (Polyb., iii. 85.)

<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of Spoleto have preserved this glorious souvenir in an inscription cut on one of their gates, of which we give a picture on p. 599, taken from an engraving in the National Library, but which is modern.

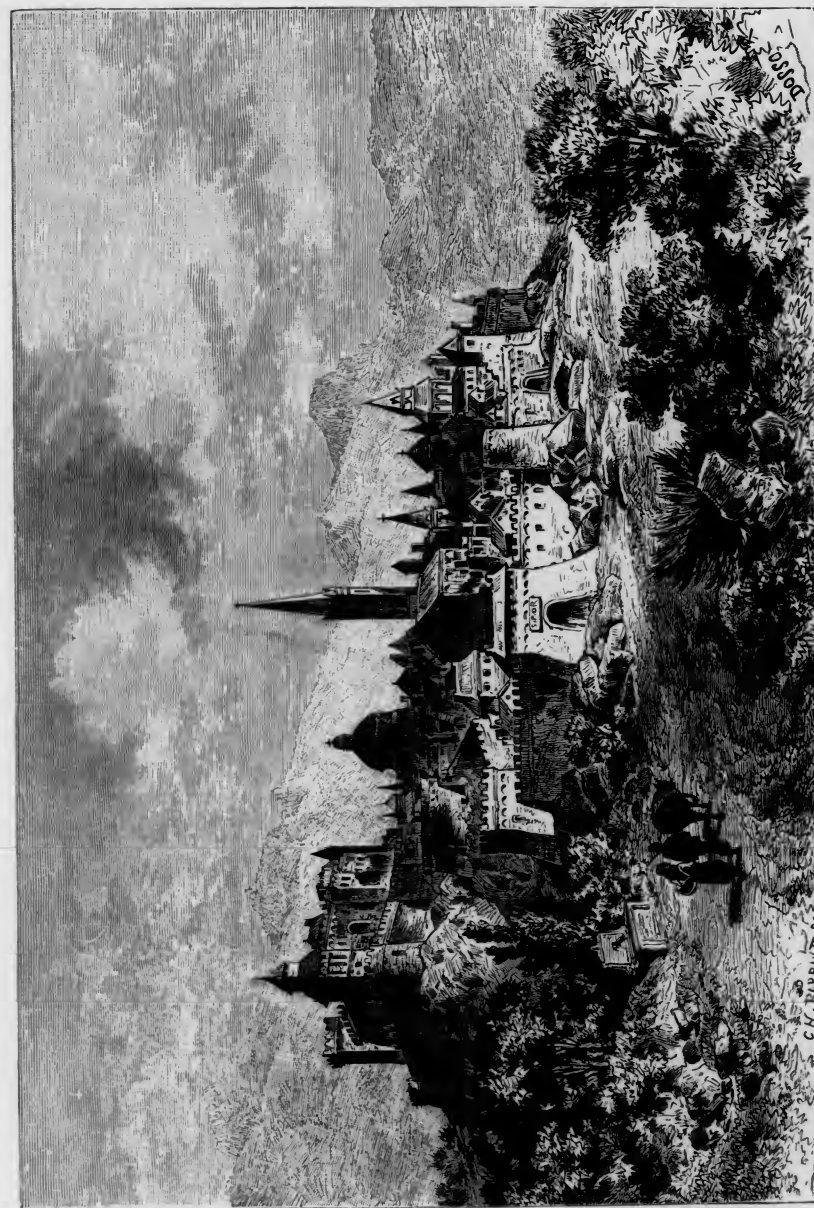
<sup>4</sup> Ἐκλούων τοῖς παλαιῖς οἶνοις (Polyb., iii. 88). He says elsewhere (ix. 2) that Hannibal owed all his victories to this formidable cavalry, which the Romans never dared to attack on level ground.

his mercenaries with booty. What a singular homage rendered by the conqueror at Thrasimene to the military organisation of the Romans; he armed his Libyan infantry with the short sword and large buckler of the legionaries!<sup>1</sup>

At Rome, after the battle at Trebia, the extent of the disaster was kept secret; after that of Thrasimene they did not dare to hide anything. "We have been beaten in a great battle." These words, falling on the multitude like an impetuous wind on the wide sea, spread consternation. For two days the senate deliberated without leaving the senate house, and provided for everything. The bridges over the Tiber were broken, the gates and walls put into a state of defence, projectiles piled up on the ramparts. Not a soldier was recalled from Sicily, Sardinia or Spain; but as in other moments of great public danger, it was resolved to concentrate the whole power in the hands of one chief. The dictator ought lawfully to be nominated by a consul: Flaminius had perished, and it was impossible to communicate with Sempronius. The senate decided that the people should be asked to name a pro-dictator. In this way while breaking the letter they kept the spirit of the law, and as it was the sovereign power itself that made this modification in the custom, the citizens owed obedience to the new magistrate; the gods, their protection. Rome was then full of political good sense. Before the common danger party spirit was wiped out; the people elected as pro-dictator the chief of the nobility, a member of one of the most famous Roman families—Fabius Maximus, and the aristocracy accepted, as Master of the Horse, Minucius, one of the favourites of the multitude. There was need to persuade the people that it had been conquered simply from the impiety of Flaminius; Fabius caused the public prayers and sacrifices to be renewed; they celebrated a *lectisternium* in honour of the twelve gods;<sup>2</sup> there was vowed to them a sacred Spring, they were promised games, temples, and a prætor

<sup>1</sup> [He probably had no other means of replacing those broken or worn out in Italy.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The following is the arrangement of the guests at this divine feast: *Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Jovi ac Junoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ, tertium Marti et Veneri quartum Apollini ac Dianæ, quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ, sextum Mercurio ac Cereri* (Livy, xxii. 10). After the example of Roman women, *femine cum viris cubantibus sedentes cœnitabant* the goddesses being seated in *sellas*, the gods reclining in *lectulum*. (Val. Max., II. i. 2.) See pp. 112 and 285.



View of Spoleto. (See p. 597.)

was charged with an exclusive oversight of these numerous expiations.

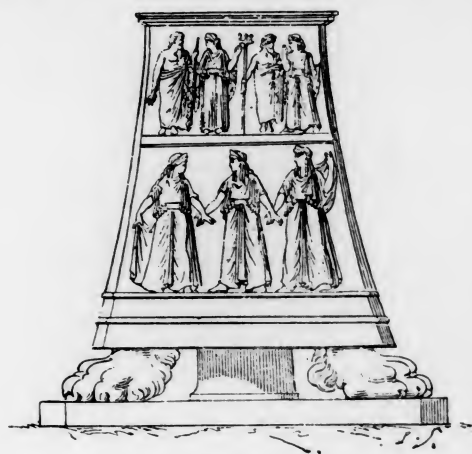


Bas-relief of the Altar of the Twelve Gods.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have brought together in one plate the three sides of the monument, in which are represented: in the upper register, the twelve months, symbolized by twelve divinities (Nos. 1, 3, 4); in the lower, the Graces, who give the pleasures of life (No. 2); the Seasons, who promise abundance (No. 5); the Eumenides, who assure the execution of the decrees of divine justice (No. 6). The woodcut on p. 602 gives one of these sides. The numbers 1 and 2 are there explained. In No. 3 are seen: Apollo, whom one would take from his costume for a goddess; Diana, with her bow; Vulcan holding his pliers, but having nothing of the character which tradition assigns him; Minerva, armed with a lance; in No. 4, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Vesta;



For the "sacred Spring," which the Sibylline books had demanded, the Pontifex Maximus ordered that the following question should be put to the people: "If five years from now the Roman people of the Quirites come prosperously out of this war, are you willing, do you order that there be made to Jupiter an offering of all that the spring shall have produced—of pigs, sheep, goats and oxen, to commence from a day fixed by the senate and people." The proposition having been accepted, every citizen felt



Altar of the Twelve Gods.<sup>1</sup>

himself legally bound to fulfil this vow at the appointed time. Yet the chief priest took care to enumerate the cases in which the sacrifice would not be "legitimate," in order that the Roman people might not be responsible for any irregularities towards the gods, and that the latter should be obliged to keep the agreement which the priests had just con-

cluded in their name. For them, homage, honour; for Rome, victory; and they would have willingly said to their gods as the Arragonese did to their kings: "If not, no."

We are surprised that Hannibal after Thrasimene did not attempt to crush the other consular army. On the banks of the Po he had not taken the fortresses by which Rome guarded

in No. 5 are the three seasons, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, recognisable by the flowering branch, by the vine stock, and the ear of corn which they are carrying; in No. 6 the Eumenides have the sceptre surmounted by the pomegranate flower, the symbol of their power, and the left hand open to signify that they are always ready to obey Destiny. M. Fröhner (*Notice de la Sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*) regards this tripod base as a rural calendar. In any case these bas-reliefs form a little mythological poem.

<sup>1</sup> Large triangular base of a tripod, called the Altar of the Twelve Gods, in the Louvre Museum. Above, Jupiter armed with the thunderbolt and the head turned towards Juno; on the left of Juno, Neptune or the ocean, and Ceres or the earth below, the three Graces. See the other faces on last page.

Cisalpine Gaul. Satisfied with crushing whatever attempted to stop his march forwards, he showed no concern for what he left in his rear. The reason is that he was in haste to reach South Italy, in the midst of peoples whom he thought disposed to join him, near Sicily which he hoped to urge into revolt, not far from Greece, Spain and Africa with which he wished to secure easy and sure communications. Whilst he was reaching the Adriatic from whence he despatched a vessel to Carthage, which conveyed the first news thither of his astounding successes, Sempronius crossed the Apennines and descended into the Tiber valley as far as Oriculum, where he effected a junction with the dictator's army.

Fabius, at the head of four legions, went in search of Hannibal, who had followed the Adriatic coast into Apulia in the hope of raising revolt in Magna Grecia as he had done in Cisalpine Gaul. On his march he had committed frightful ravages without detaching a single ally from Rome; for at the head of his numerous Cisalpine auxiliaries he seemed to be really at the head of one of those Gallie invasions so feared by the Italians. The savage aspect of his Africans frightened the inhabitants. He was accused of feeding his soldiers on human flesh,<sup>1</sup> and he was regarded as making a sacrilegious war<sup>2</sup> against the gods of Italy. Except Tarentum, too humiliated not to desire the abasement of Rome, all the Greeks offered up vows for the defeat of the Carthaginians, their old enemies. Those of Naples and Pæstum sent gold from their temples to the senate, who accepted only a very small part, in order that the public treasure might seem to have inexhaustible resources, and that this confidence might increase the fidelity of their allies. Hiero, sure of Rome's good fortune, even after Thrasimene, offered a gold statue of Victory of 320 lbs. weight, a thousand archers or slingers, three hundred thousand bushels of

<sup>1</sup> See the picture that Varro paints of this "ferocious and savage army, which makes bridges and ditches with heaps of dead bodies, and feeds on human flesh." But it is Livy (xxiii. 5) who thus speaks. We should therefore, believe that he gives us words for facts if Polybius had not said that one of Hannibal's generals had advised him to habituate his soldiers to this kind of food [which does not make it the least more credible]. We know, besides, with what cruelty the Africans make war. Cf. Horace, *Carm.*, III. vi. 36, *Annibalemque dirum*, and *Epod.*, xvi. 8. [The story is worth citing to show what credulity may be attributed to the historians of the period.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> *Vastata Penorum tumultu fana* (Hor., *Carm.*, IV. iv. 47). Cf. Livy, xxviii. 46; Cicero, *de Divin.*, i. 21; Polyb., iii. 33.

corn, two hundred thousand bushels of barley, and promised to send victuals in abundance wherever the armies should have need of them. Fabius had struck out a new plan of campaign: to cause all, both men and provisions, to be housed in the fortified



Victory.<sup>2</sup>

places, to lay waste the level country, and refuse everywhere to fight, but follow the enemy, step by step, fall upon his foragers, cut off his provisions, harass him ceaselessly, destroy him in detail. Hannibal, without place of retreat, without allies, money, sure convoys, and with mercenaries who, seeking in war only for pleasure and the booty of the day after victory, are always ready to cry out, "Discharge or battle,"<sup>1</sup> could not for long stand against these prudent tactics of the Cunctator. Vainly Hannibal ravaged under his eyes

<sup>1</sup> Like the Swiss mercenaries in the Italian wars of Louis XII. and of Francis I.

<sup>2</sup> Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, called the Victory of Brescia.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Senect.*, iv. 17 (the expression is from Ennius): *Non ponebat enim rumores ante*

near Casilinum, at the bottom of a valley, closed by impracticable marshes. Fabius seized the heights, fell on the rearguard of the Carthaginians, who lost eight hundred men, and held the only entrance with a numerous body of men. Hannibal was caught. In the midst of the night he drove towards the heights two thousand oxen, bearing on their horns burning faggots; and the guard of the defile, thinking that the enemy was fleeing in that direction, left their post, which Hannibal immediately took possession of; this peril was past, but, with the vigilance of the Temporiser, it might be renewed. Fortunately for Hannibal, the Romans were indignant at what they called a shameful timidity, and, as the Carthaginians intentionally spared the lands of Fabius, there were suggestions of treason.

In vain did he put his estate up for sale to ransom prisoners; the people, carried away by a slight success which the cavalry general gained in his absence, gave Minucius an authority equal to that of the pro-dictator. Fabius divided the army with him, and Minucius being too weak, was beaten at the first encounter near Larinum. He would have perished had not Fabius descended from the heights to save him. "At last the cloud which covered the mountain has burst, then," said Hannibal, "and produced rain and storm."<sup>2</sup> Minucius came of his own



Coin of Larinum.<sup>1</sup>

accord to place himself again under the orders of his old leader, and when the dictator quitted office at the end of six months, the affairs of the republic appeared to be in a prosperous condition. At Rome one of his nephews dedicated a temple to a new divinity, Intelligence (*mens*), and Ennius consecrated his memory by the famous verse which Virgil borrowed from him, "The one man by delaying has recovered our affairs."<sup>3</sup>

*salutem.* Clisson said also to Charles V. when, from the top of the towers of the Louvre, he gazed at the ravages of the English: "All these conflagrations will not cause you to lose your heritage."

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, veiled head of Juno; on the reverse, LARINON, V. and a dolphin. The two oo's are the mark of the sextans. Small bronze coin of Larinum.

<sup>2</sup> *Nubem. . . cum procella imbrem dedisse.* (Livy, xxii. 30.)

<sup>3</sup> But Virgil does not repeat the second verse (quoted on last page), which he should also have transcribed: "He did not sacrifice the public safety to vain rumours." This verse is more important than the other, for it marks one of the most necessary qualities in a leader.

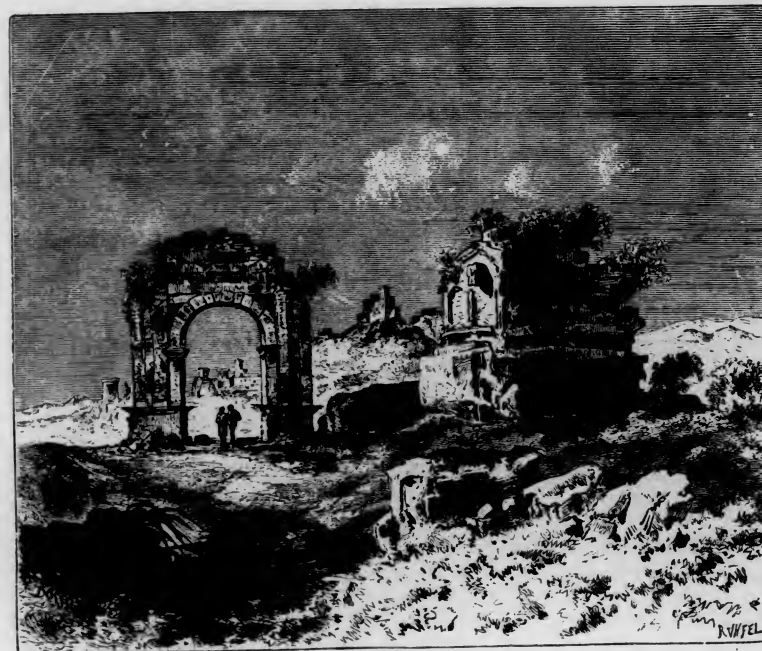
For a moment a coalition of the whole West had been dreaded. But in Spain a number of tribes passed over to the side of the Romans; in Gallia Cisalpina the Gauls, satisfied at finding themselves free again, forgot Hannibal and Carthage itself, which only sent a few vessels to commit piracies on their coast, whence the fleets of Sicily and Ostia quickly drove them away. A Roman squadron which was returning from pursuing them as far as Africa had taken the island Cossura (Pantellaria), and levied on Cercina a heavy war contribution. Everywhere, except in front of Hannibal, the Romans assumed the offensive and took bold measures. Otacilius, the prætor of Sicily, had orders to pass over into Africa; the Scipios received succours; Postumius Albinus with an army kept watch over the Cisalpine Gauls, and ambassadors had been sent to Philip of Macedon to require the extradition of Demetrius of Pharos, who was urging him to war; to Pineus, king of Illyria, to claim the tribute which he delayed paying, and to the Ligurians, to demand an account of the help furnished by them to the Carthaginians.<sup>1</sup> There is something grand in this activity of the senate, paying attention to the most distant countries in the midst of a formidable war carried on at the very gates of the city, and never permitting the fortune or the power of Rome to be doubted for an instant. This senate, which was so proud towards the foreigner, showed a conciliating temper with the people; it reminded all of the necessity of mutual confidence by raising a new temple to Concord, and placed it within the bounds of the citadel<sup>2</sup> in order that everyone should understand that the strength of Rome depended on the spirit inspired by this divinity.

The consuls who commanded the army in the last months of 217, after the abdication of Fabius, followed the dictator's tactics, and this wise delay would doubtless have ruined Hannibal. But could the rulers of Italy, under the eyes of their allies and with superior forces, always decline battle? Sempronius and Varro are condemned after the event. The remembrance of Trebia and Cannæ weigh upon their memory. Yet the people, the army,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxii. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *In arce.* (Livy, xxii. 33.)

and perhaps the true policy<sup>1</sup> demanded a battle. The senate itself decided upon it; but there was needed an able and experienced leader, and though the nobility managed to obtain the election of Paulus Æmilius, a pupil of Fabius, who had already distinguished himself in the Illyrian wars, the popular party gave him as colleague its leader, Terentius Varro, the son of a butcher, who had never seen a battle.<sup>2</sup> Union was necessary between the



Ruins of Cannæ.<sup>3</sup>

leaders, and Paulus Æmilius and Varro, who were political enemies,<sup>4</sup> continued their quarrels in the army, the one always wishing to fight, the other to delay. As the command alternated every day

<sup>1</sup> Before Cannæ the leaders of the army write to the senate: τῶν συμμάχων πάντων μετέωρων ὄντων ταῖς διανοίαις. (Polyb., iii. 107.)

<sup>2</sup> [Nevertheless, Livy tells us his father had made money, and the consul had reached his consulate through the regular promotion, having been quaestor, ædile, and prætor, without displaying any incompetence.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> The arch, of which the remains are seen, is wrongly called the Arch of Varro.

<sup>4</sup> I pass over in silence the declamations of Varro and Herennius on the treason of the nobles, who were anxious to spin out the war. At this period the reproach is absurd: twenty years later it is true.



between the two consuls, Varro led the army so near the enemy that retreat was impossible, and on the next day but one in the morning he had the purple mantle, the signal for the fight, displayed before his tent. He had eighty thousand infantry,<sup>1</sup> and, notwithstanding the remembrance of the three battles already lost, only six thousand horse. In an army of fifty thousand men, Hannibal had ten thousand.<sup>2</sup> His forces were only half those of the consuls; but he had led them to a battle-field of his own choosing, at Cannæ in Apulia, near the Aufidus, in the middle of an immense plain which was favourable to his cavalry, and in a position where the sun, shining in the faces of the Romans,<sup>3</sup> and the wind, carrying the dust against their line, fought for him.

In this level plain an ambuscade appeared impossible. But five hundred Numidians presented themselves as deserters, and during the action they fell upon the rear of the Roman army. At Cannæ, as at Thrasimene and at Trebia, the smaller number surrounded the greater. In order to offer more resistance to the cavalry, Varro had diminished the extent of his line and increased its depth. By this arrangement many soldiers became useless. Hannibal, on the contrary, gave his army a front equal to that of the enemy, and drew it up in a crescent, so that the centre, composed of Gauls, projected from his line of battle. Behind them the African veterans were drawn up along the curve, the two extremities of which extended to the cavalry on the two wings. Whilst the Romans attacked the Gauls with fury, and the latter, led by Hannibal himself, receded little by little upon the second line, Hasdrubal, with his African and Spanish horsemen drawn up in deep masses, crushed the legionary cavalry on the Punic left, and Mago with his Numidians occupied that of the allies

<sup>1</sup> Ten thousand were left in the two consular camps.

<sup>2</sup> Livy purposely exaggerates the critical position of Hannibal before the battle. He had, says he, only ten days' provisions. The Spaniards, threatened with famine, were ready to betray him, and Hannibal was already thinking how to reach Gaul. There is nothing of all this in Polybius (iii. 107), who speaks of him as making immense magazines at Geronium, of which he had gained possession, and as having taken, a few days before the battle, the castle of Cannæ, in which the Romans had their supplies of provisions, arms, and engines. It was the capture of Cannæ, indeed, which decided the senate to allow a battle. Moreover, with his cavalry Hannibal would always have found provisions.

<sup>3</sup> The Romans were turned towards the south [really south-east.—*Ed.*]. (Livy and Polybius.)



Battlefield of Cannæ.

on the right. Leaving the Numidians to pursue and slay those who had not fallen at the first shock, Hasdrubal attacked in the rear the Roman infantry, which the Africans, by the backward movement of the Gauls, had already taken in flank. The eighty thousand Romans, shut in on all sides, soon formed only a confused mass, on which every blow told, and which could give few in return.<sup>1</sup> By the account of Polybius, seventy-two thousand Romans and allies, with one of the consuls, Paulus Æmilius, who had refused to fly, two quæstors, eighty senators, some ex-consuls, among them Minucius, and one of the consuls of the preceding year, twenty-one legionary tribunes, and finally a whole crowd of knights were left on the field of battle (August 2nd, 216). The Roman nobility liberally paid their debt of blood to their country. Hannibal had not lost six thousand men, of whom four thousand were Gauls. This nation was the instrument of all his victories.<sup>2</sup> A prediction of this great defeat was afterwards attributed to a famous diviner Marcius, who lived before the second Punic war. "Roman, son of Troy, avoid the river Canna; beware lest strangers force thee to join battle in the field of Diomedæ. But thou wilt not believe me till thou hast filled the country with thy blood; till thy citizens have fallen by thousands and the river bearing them far from the fruitful land, has given them up for food for the fowls of the air, for the wild beasts on its banks and the fishes of the vast sea. Thus has Jupiter spoken to me."

This prophecy, more precise than those which precede the event, satisfied the national pride, and at the same time served the policy of the senate, whose interest it was that men should believe in oracles. Rome was willing to see in her defeat not a failing in courage, but a decree of destiny; she attributed the victory to the gods much more than to Hannibal, and she

<sup>1</sup> These are the figures given by Polybius. Livy only says 48,200 dead, and 24,900 prisoners. He raises to 8,000 the number of Hannibal's dead, which Polybius reduces to 5,700. [This victory, like most others won in a fair field against superior numbers, was won by making the enemy "jam" himself—a fatal mistake. As soon as troops, however good, get so crowded as to have no room for their evolutions, they become a mere helpless mass. To make an enemy far superior in numbers thus paralyse his forces is the art of a consummate tactician.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> [Though the Gauls often bore the brunt of the battles, and incurred most loss, there is no doubt that the Spanish infantry and the African veterans were the flower of the army.—*Ed.*]

strengthened a precious instrument of government, faith in divination, by leading men to think that the diviner had foreseen the future.

The battle of Cannæ deprived the Romans of more strength than it gave Hannibal. Some tribes of Campania and Magna-Grecia declared for him, but on condition of according him fewer men and smaller subsidies than they had furnished to Rome;<sup>1</sup> and Carthage, which looked upon this bold expedition only as a useful diversion, left him to his own resources.<sup>2</sup> Enfeebled even by his victories, he would be obliged to divide his forces if he would protect the towns which had just yielded themselves to him. He would thus have an army too weak to renew the strife of Thrasimene and Cannæ. Moreover, the consuls, rendered prudent by experience, would place the safety of the republic in following Fabius' system. Strange to say, war on a large scale is ended in Italy after the battle of Cannæ. Henceforth there is nothing but sieges of towns, stratagems, many attacks and combats without results. In this war of strategy Hannibal shows himself the ablest leader of ancient times. But the contest has no longer more than a secondary interest except for the grandeur of the spectacle presented by this man, abandoned by all his people, in the midst of a hostile country, face to face with the bravest and best organised nation then in existence, and who yet for thirteen years could master the want of discipline of his mercenaries, uphold the tottering faith of his allies, employ alone the best troops of Rome, and in addition to this stir up the world with his negotiations, rouse Syracuse, Sicily, and Sardinia to revolt, and call his brothers from Spain, and Philip from Macedonia to the heart of Italy, where he awaited them to overwhelm Rome with the weight of Africa and Europe united against her.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> . . . *neve civis Campanus invitus militaret, munusve faceret* (Treaty of Capua with Hannibal, Livy, xxiii. 7). . . . . *μήτε φόρους πράττειν κατὰ μὲν τὸν τρόπον, μήτε ἄλλο μὲν ἐπιτάξειν Ταρρύντιος Καρχηδονίωνος.* (Treaty of Hannibal with Tarentum, Polybius, viii. 29.)

<sup>2</sup> He received only ten thousand men from it during the whole war.

<sup>3</sup> If I were asked, says Polybius, who was the soul of this war, I should say Hannibal (ix. fr. 7). Here we unfortunately lose this conscientious historian. After the battle of Cannæ there only remain fragments of him.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

#### FROM THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ TO THAT OF THE METAURUS (216—207).

##### I.—MEASURES TAKEN AT ROME AFTER CANNÆ; DEFECTION OF CAPUA.

"Let me go forward with my cavalry," said one of his officers to Hannibal the evening after the battle, "and in five days you shall sup in the Capitol." But never did an army of mercenaries sacrifice to its leader, however beloved, the day after a victory. To obtain much from such soldiers, much must be allowed them. Hannibal gave them time to gather up the spoils, to strip the dead, to sell their prisoners, and to celebrate, in prolonged orgies, their recent triumph. He knew moreover, that between him and Rome there was a distance of eighty-eight leagues, there were rivers, mountains, fortified towns, a fertile country; last of all, an immense city defended by high walls, and a moat thirty feet deep and a hundred broad;<sup>1</sup> and behind them a whole people in arms.

At Rome distress produced reaction; when the first moment of stupor was past, the city rang with sounds of preparation. Fabius, who was listened to as an oracle, directed that the women should remain at home, lest by their lamentations in the temples they might weaken the courage of the inhabitants; that all able-bodied men should be armed; that bands of cavalry should patrol the roads; that the senators should go about the city keeping

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The wall on the inner side rested against an embankment fifty feet wide. See page 35—36.



order, setting guards at the gates, and preventing the departure of anybody from the city. In order to have done with the signs of grief as soon as possible, the time of mourning for the slain was limited to thirty days: the city seemed another Sparta. Nor were the gods neglected. Certain senators particularly versed in such matters undertook the duty of restoring confidence by satisfying popular superstitions. An embassy under the charge of Fabius Pictor set off for Delphi to consult the Pythia. The god of light and poetry doubtless gave only patriotic counsels; but the Roman divinities were more gloomy; among the religious expiations required some were cruel; two vestals, accused of adultery, were interred alive in the field of crime, *campus sceleratus*; two Gauls and two Greeks suffered the same fate.<sup>1</sup> The chaste and implacable Vesta, with her honour thus avenged, would now return to her faithful people, and it was believed that the infernal gods, appeased by these abominable sacrifices, would no longer demand the hetacombs of war.

But the disastrous year was not yet ended. A few days later, news came that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the States of Hiero, that another lay in wait at the



Coin of Teanum.<sup>2</sup>

Ægatian islands to fall upon Lilybæum as soon as the prætor had gone; finally, that Postumius Albinus, drawn with his army into an ambushade by the Cisalpine Gauls, had perished there, and that his skull, set in gold, now served the Boian priests as a cup whence they poured libations in their sacrifices.<sup>3</sup> But after the great disaster of Cannæ these new misfortunes seemed trivial. Men's hearts moreover, were regaining courage. Two legions were already in the city, and to them Marcellus added fifteen hundred more soldiers from the fleet at Ostia; also, with an activity and clear-sightedness which announced the successful adversary of Hannibal, he posted a whole legion at Teanum Sidicinum, to bar the road into Latium. Since

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxii. 57. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxx. 12) places in the year 97 a *senatus-consultum*, abolishing human sacrifices: . . . *ne homo immolaretur*.

<sup>2</sup> On the obverse, TIANVR, in Oscan. Head of Mercury and a star. On the reverse, SIKIKIN, in Oscan. Bull with human face and a star. Bronze coin of Teanum Sidicinum.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, iii. 106, 113.

the war began, more than a hundred thousand Romans and allies had perished; these two campaigns had then reduced by one seventh the military strength of Rome.<sup>1</sup> M. Junius Pera, however, being created dictator by the senate, raised four legions, and a thousand horse, together with eight thousand slaves bought from their owners, and called for the contingents of the allies. Arms were lacking, and he despoiled the temples and porticos of the trophies accumulated there during two centuries. Finally, when Carthalo came with deputies from the prisoners of Cannæ to speak of peace and ransom, a lictor was sent at once to bid him depart from the Roman territory. About ten thousand soldiers were in the power of Hannibal; these the senate refused to ransom; others<sup>2</sup> had taken refuge at Venusia and at Canusium; it decreed that they should go into Sicily, there to serve without pay or military honours, until Hannibal should have been driven out of Italy.<sup>3</sup>

This patriotic heroism verged on cruelty. Rome regarded as criminals her soldiers taken captive by the enemy; she consigned to the slave-markets of African cities, she gave over to all the miseries and all the disgrace of slavery, these sons, these brothers of senators, who fighting at Cannæ had already risked their lives for her. But it is with these extreme severities that nations are saved; on the day when Rome took this grievous resolution, she found therein the superhuman strength which must presently give her the victory.

These men, stern though they were, showed at the same time an admirable spirit of conciliation. Disregarding their causes of complaint against Varro, the faults of this popular consul, and his flight from the field of battle, the senate went out in a body to meet him, with all the people, as he drew near Rome, and thanked him publicly that he had not despaired of the republic.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> See above the total of the Roman forces in 225.

<sup>2</sup> About three thousand, according to Polybius; according to Livy, eight thousand. The reader will doubtless remember the improbable story that the fugitives after Cannæ proposed to seek an asylum with foreign kings, and that Scipio defeated this scheme by threatening death to the first man who should speak of flight. Polybius makes no mention of this report, although he narrates minutely the youth of Scipio. After the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal again had sent home the Italian prisoners without ransom.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxii. 61.

<sup>4</sup> He still remained in command of the army of Apulia, and later on the legions of Picenum

magnanimity should be remembered to the credit of the Roman senate, when we recollect how cruel and how suspicious democracies are wont to be in times of peril. The manner in which this body was composed goes far towards explaining their moderation. To fill the gaps made in it by the war, a new dictator, Fabius Buteo, was appointed, who prepared a list consisting of, first, former senators; then, of those who had held curule magistracies since 221, who had been tribunes, ædiles, and quæstors; and finally, who had obtained civic crowns, or had brought home trophies from the enemy: making in all a hundred and seventy-seven new members.

But the proposition made by Spurius Carvilius that each one of the Latin cities should be allowed to send two of the new senators, was rejected with indignation. This refusal was a mistake, first, because the Latins merited the confidence of Rome, and secondly, because if the senate had adopted the resolution, and had granted to all the Italian cities, one after another, the right to designate their two senators, that assembly would have become the true representative body of Italy, and would have been able to save the republic and render the empire unnecessary. Up to the time of Augustus, the Romans, with all the imperious egotism of a city turning the whole world to its profit, had nothing more than a municipal constitution. By accepting the proposition of Carvilius, they would have given themselves a national constitution, in which the subjugated would have found a place beside those who had conquered them, and in this way would have restrained the power of rapacious oligarchy whom its excesses finally destroyed. Rome soon expiated this fault, when, in 209, twelve Latin colonies refused joint action with her.

Meanwhile, in the south of Italy the fidelity of some States had given way before so many disasters. Rome having no longer an army to defend them, they went over to the enemy; these

were entrusted to him. In 203 he was one of the three ambassadors sent to Philip; three years later he went in the same character to Africa; after this, as triumvir, led a colony to Venusia. These high trusts and this long continued favour prove that the man defeated at Cannæ was not the low demagogue that Livy describes. Frontinus (*Strategematicon*, iv. 5 and 6) is favourable to him, Polybius, however (iii. 116), treats him with great severity.

were the Bruttians, Lucanians, some of the Apulians, the Caudini, the Hirpini, and, in Campania, the cities Atella, Calatia and Capua.<sup>1</sup>

Capua was six or seven miles in circumference. Its strong walls had seven gates, opening upon seven great streets, of which those named Seplasia and Albana are celebrated. The stately temples of Jupiter, Mars and Fortuna, the forum, the curia, the amphitheatre, with its immense subterranean vaults, which recent researches have brought to light, other edifices of public utility or ornament, and an immense number of bronze statues made Capua, according to Cicero, the rival of Corinth. She wished to be also the rival of Rome; and because she could arm thirty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand cavalry, believed herself, notwithstanding her effeminate manners, fit to give the law to Italy. Many noble Campanians had married into Roman families; but the people preserved their hostility towards Rome, and honours gained there seemed to them a disgrace. After Thrasimene, Hannibal, by means of the captives he sent away without ransom, had laid the train of a defection which exploded upon the news of his victory at Cannæ. He promised to levy in the city neither troops nor taxes, to leave to it an unbroken independence, and, as soon as Rome should have been destroyed, to recognise Capua as the capital of Italy.<sup>2</sup> To seal this alliance indissolubly, the

<sup>1</sup> It has been the custom largely to exaggerate (after Livy) the defections which followed the battle of Cannæ. He says, indeed: *defecere . . . . Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentrios, Bruttii omnes, Lucani; prætor hos Surrentini et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses, Locrique et Cisalpini omnes Galli* (xxii. 61), but the later books compel us to correct this passage. In Apulia we find under the power of Hannibal only Arpi, Salapia, Herdonia, Uxentun; the large towns, Luceria, Venusia, and Canusium, remained to the Romans. By the Samnites we must understand only the Caudini and the Hirpini, in whose territory the Romans preserved Beneventum. The Bruttii were determined to exert themselves only in their own interests. The Greeks of the Gulf of Tarentum, far from betraying Rome, remained faithful to her. Petelia was taken only after a desperate resistance; Crotona, Locri, and Consentia only after a siege, as late as 215; Tarentum not until 212, when the city was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal. Metapontum and Thurium went over to the enemy in 212 and 213 (xxv. 1 and 15), that is to say, when Hannibal had been expelled from Campania and had fallen back into Magna-Grecia. Rhegium, Brundisium, and Calabria remained faithful all through. In regard to the Cisalpines, the battle of Cannæ in no respect changed their position. Livy, forgetting what he had written in chap. xxii., says in chap. xxvi., "The defection of Capua only caused that of a few other states."

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxiii. 7—10. *Brevi caput Italie omni Capuam fore* (*ibid.*, 10). Livy adds (xxiii. 6) that according to several writers the Capuans before going over to Hannibal had asked at Rome to share in the consulate.

Capuans seized upon all the Romans living in their midst, and smothered them in the public baths. They had good reason to fear that Rome would avenge this upon the three hundred Campanian horse serving in Sicily; and against that danger Hannibal gave the Capuans as hostages an equal number of his prisoners, whom they selected at will from the crowd of captives.

One of the most respected men of Capua, Decius Magius, pointed out, but in vain, to his fellow-citizens that Hannibal would deal with them as Pyrrhus had dealt with the Tarentines, and

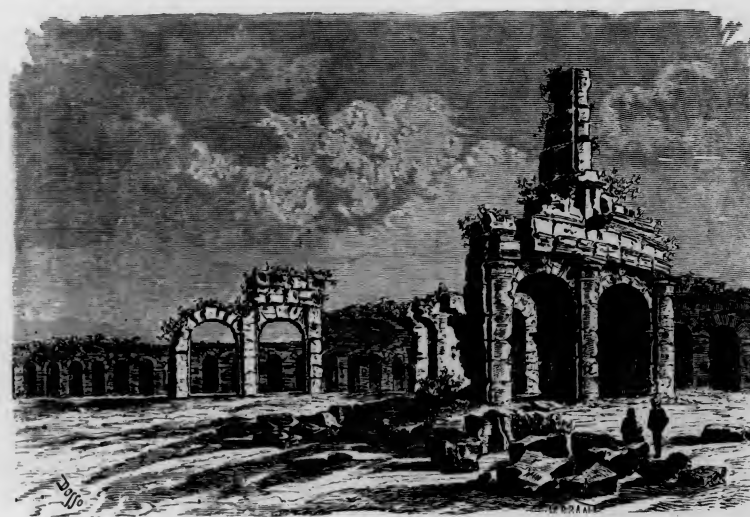


Lower Part of the Amphitheatre at Capua.<sup>1</sup>

that, notwithstanding all his promises, their liberty was gone for ever. When the Carthaginian garrison arrived, he even tried to have the gates closed against them. Hannibal, rendered uneasy by this conduct on the part of Magius, summoned him to his camp. "Your master," the Capuan replied to the messengers,

<sup>1</sup> The amphitheatre at Capua was one of the largest in Italy; it is well known that Hadrian restored it, but the date of its original construction cannot be fixed.

"has no authority over the senator of a free city;" and he refused to go. Then the Carthaginian announced that he should visit Capua in person. By order of the magistrates all the people in gala attire went forth to meet the hero, whom no man had so far been able to defeat. Magius let the crowd go past, rushing into slavery; he himself remained in his house for a time, then, lest he should be accused of cowardice, walked forth calmly into the market-place, accompanied by his son and some of his clients. Hannibal desired the senate to assemble at once and try Magius;



Ruins of the Amphitheatre at Capua.

but the people implored him not to sadden this festal day by an act of severity; and, not to refuse the first request they had made him, he agreed to wait till the morrow. Meantime, he visited the city, famed as the most beautiful in Italy, and went to supper at the house of Pacuvius, the leader of the party favourable to Carthage.

Pacuvius had a son, Perolla, who was in sympathy with Magius. Invited to the feast, he went armed with a dagger, wherewith to reconcile Rome and Capua by murdering the conqueror of Cannæ. But, not daring to strike under his father's eye, he drew the latter aside, and revealed to him his design,



that Pacuvius might withdraw from the scene where Hannibal was about to perish. Pacuvius implored, threatened, and, as magistrate and father, commanded the murderer to renounce his design. "If you persist," he says, it is I against whom your blow will be directed, for I shall protect with my body the man who is now my guest." And the son, conquered by paternal authority, cast away his weapon.

On the following day the senate assembled, and Hannibal demanded that Magius should be delivered up to him. The senators, concealing their cowardice under a semblance of justice,



Campanian Horsemen.<sup>1</sup>

directed the magistrate to take his seat and listen to the defence of the accused. Magius, dragged into his presence, refused to answer to the accusation, and protested against so speedy a violation of the treaty. He was loaded with chains; and while a lictor was leading him away to the Carthaginian camp, he cried aloud to the people: "Behold, your much-desired liberty! In the open forum, in full daylight, I, who am second to no man in Capua, am torn from my family and dragged away to death. What worse could you have suffered, had Capua had been taken by assault? Come, therefore, and witness Hannibal's triumph

<sup>1</sup> These two bronzes were found near Capua. (*Inst. Arch.*, Atlas, vol. v. pl. 25.)

over one of your fellow-citizens." The people were much excited by this appeal, and the guard who had charge of Magius covered his head to prevent his speaking. At the camp, however, Hannibal dared not put his prisoner to death, but he despatched him in a vessel to Carthage, where no doubt a cruel fate awaited him, had not a fortunate shipwreck set him free upon the coast of the Cyrenaica. Here Magius took refuge at a statue of King Ptolemy, and the latter, being informed of the whole matter, welcomed to the Egyptian court the bold defender of his country's liberties.

Hannibal being thus established in the heart of Campania, and having a great city as his base of operations, could await reinforcements from Carthage. After Cannæ he had sent Mago thither, and the latter poured out in the presence of the senate a bushel of gold rings, taken from the Roman knights slain on the field of battle. Hanno still kept up his distrust. "If Hannibal is victorious," he said, "he has no need of reinforcements; if he is defeated, he deceives us, and deserves none." But the Barcine faction triumphed. It was decreed that four thousand Numidians and forty elephants should be sent into Italy; a senator was despatched to Spain with money to raise a force of twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse; and Hasdrubal received orders to cross the Pyrenees. But these measures were slowly or badly carried out,<sup>1</sup> and in a great battle near the unknown city of Ibera, the Scipios destroyed the army of Hasdrubal, who was obliged to retire into the south of Spain (216).



Gold Ring of a Roman Knight.

For his communications with Carthage Hannibal had need of a seaport. He attempted to seize Naples, but the Greeks of Campania were devoted to Rome, and Naples resisted. He failed also before Cumæ and before Nola, where the nobles had called to their aid Marcellus; the latter, in a sortie, killed more than two thousand Africans, and this unhopèd-for success was celebrated

<sup>1</sup> *Segniter otioseque gesta.* (Livy. xxiii. 14.)

as a great victory, but it did not prevent Hannibal from destroying Nuceria and Acerræ and closely blockading Casilinum. The siege of this little place, traversed by the Volturnus, is interesting in more than one aspect. The garrison was composed of only two cohorts, one from Perusia, the other from Præneste, and a few Latins, who, on the news of Varro's disaster, had thrown themselves into the city. They defended it bravely, as well against Hannibal's offers as against his attacks, and we may conclude that, in this part of the peninsula, the Carthaginians were regarded as the mortal enemies of Italy. The garrison of Casilinum, indeed, cut themselves off from all hope of safety in case the city should be taken by storm. Suspecting the inhabitants of being favourable to Hannibal, they fell upon them and murdered them all

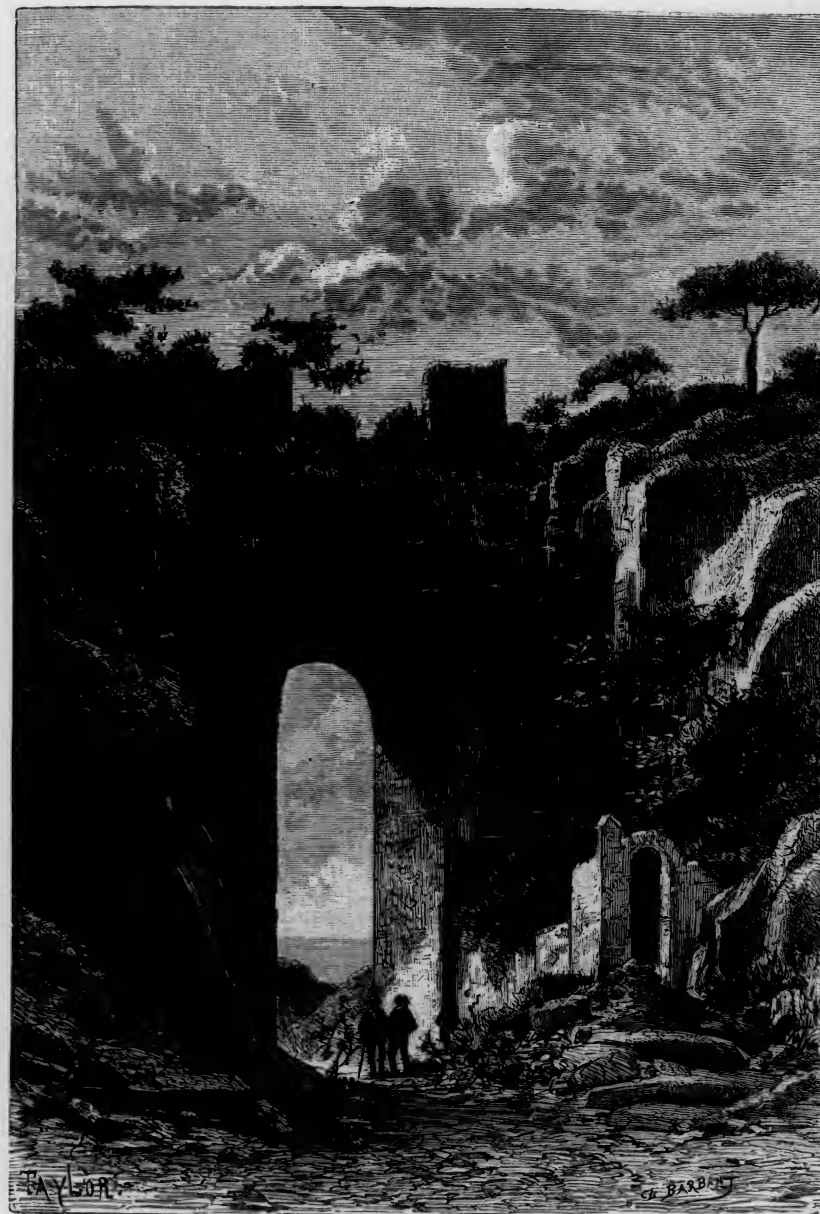


Coin Struck for the Pay of the Carthaginian Mercenaries.<sup>1</sup>

in their houses. Although this massacre reduced the number of mouths to feed, want soon began to make itself felt in the place. They were reduced to eat unclean animals and even the leather of their bucklers. The Romans, encamped in the neighbourhood, did indeed send during the night a few casks filled with grain, which the current of the river floated down into the town; also they threw nuts into the Volturnus, which the besieged caught by screens. But the abundant rains having caused an overflow of the banks, this stratagem was discovered and the river watched. At last the garrison was forced to surrender, and Hannibal made terms with them. The leader of the Prænestines had been a scribe. Justly proud of the defence of Casilinum, he caused his own statue to be set up in the forum of Præneste, covered with a cuirass and clad in a toga, with this inscription, which Livy mentions that he had read, "The vow of M. Amicius for the soldiers who defended Casilinum."<sup>2</sup> A decree of the senate gave to the survivors of the siege double pay, with exemption for five years from military duty. But when the right of Roman citizenship

<sup>1</sup> This piece, of Greek workmanship (*moneta castrensis*), bears a Punic legend signifying "of the people of the camp." (Note by M. de Sauley.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxiii. 17—20.



Gate of Cuma. (See p. 621.)

was offered them, they declined, preferring to remain Prænestines. Love of their native city and generous devotion to the city of their adoption were the sentiments which prompted so many great deeds among the Italians of that epoch.

## II.—SIEGE OF CAPUA; PATRIOTISM AND CONSTANCY OF THE ROMANS.

At the close of the year 216 the following was the position of the two parties: Junius Pera, posted at Teanum with twenty-five thousand soldiers, covered the line of the Liris and protected Latium; Marcellus at Nola defended the cities of southern Campania; between them Hannibal was encamped at Capua, whence he continued the blockade of Casilinum, which detained him six months; meanwhile, one of his lieutenants, Himileo, stirred up insurrection in Bruttium, where he stormed Petelia and Consentia. The defection of Locri furnished Hannibal with an excellent harbour, and that of Crotona, whence the nobles had been driven out, gave him an important city. In all this region one single town remained in alliance with the Romans—Rhegium, but this was the most important to them of all, for it was the key of the straits. Varro held Apulia with an army which rested upon the great stronghold of Luceria. Etruria, Umbria, and almost all central



Vase of Nola.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vase with two handles, made at Nola. The vase presents two subjects, one of which  
DDD



Italy remained faithful, and the Cisalpine people, despite their recent victory, made no hostile demonstrations; the senate put off till a more propitious moment the vengeance it owed them, and directed all its strength against Hannibal, under command of



Venus of Capua.<sup>2</sup>

Fabius, the best of the Roman generals, now consul for the third time. The first act of the Cunctator showed him faithful to his old policy; he ordered that all the grain throughout Campania should be brought in to the fortified cities before the *kalends* of June, under penalty, to him who should fail, of seeing his fields ravaged, his slaves sold, and his farm house burned.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 215 Fabius took command of the legions at Teanum. Sempronius Gracchus, with twenty-five thousand troops of the allies and all the slaves who had been enrolled, took up a position at Sinuessa, his left resting upon the extreme right of Fabius. When he had ascertained that the marshes formed by the Volturnus at its mouth were on that side a sure protection, he established himself at Liternum, near Cumæ, that he

might thus defend all the ports of the Bay of Naples, and make sure that no succours should arrive by sea. Marcellus remained in front of Nola, threatening Capua from the south, as Fabius and

only is represented here: first, Neptune standing, trident in one hand, a fish in the other; second, Amymone, also standing, turning her head towards Neptune, who comes to save her from the pursuit of a satyr. Red on a black ground. French National Museum, No. 3320.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxiii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> This superb statue, found at Capua, is now in the Museum at Naples. Its attitude recalls

Sempronius threatened it from the north and west. The garrison at Beneventum on the east completed the investment of the Campanian territory, and was in communication with the garrison at Luceria, composed of the legion of Apulia. Varro was employed in organising a fifth army in Picenum. Pomponius had another in Gaul. The *débris* of Cannæ, with some other troops, defended Sicily, and three fleets guarded respectively the coasts of this island, Calabria, and Latium. Including the forces under the Scipios and the prætor of Sardinia, the senate had now nine armies and four fleets, or about two hundred and twenty thousand men, of whom ninety thousand were to besiege Capua and Hannibal.

The African general found in his Italian allies little eagerness to range themselves under his banner, and the successful operations of the Scipios, together with the bad policy of the Carthaginian senate, which sent to Spain and to Sardinia, a strong re-inforcement, prepared by Mago for his brother, left the latter alone against Rome. But during that winter passed at Capua, and so fatal to his troops, according to Livy,<sup>1</sup> secret emissaries were sent out from his camp, and suddenly it was known at Rome that Sardinia threatened revolt, and that in Sicily Gelon, notwithstanding his aged father, was seeking to bring Syracuse into alliance with Carthage; that finally, Philip of Macedon had recently concluded an agreement with Hannibal to the effect that he would cross over to the Italian coast with two hundred vessels.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately Gelon suddenly died; the prætor Manlius destroyed or took prisoners all the Carthaginian army in

that of the Venus of Melos, and has given rise to the theory that she is admiring herself in the buckler of Mars.

<sup>1</sup> Montesquieu destroys with a word the lengthy argument of Livy: "Would not Hannibal's soldiers, becoming rich by so many victories, have found Capua everywhere?"

<sup>2</sup> This treaty is reported by Polybius and by Livy in very different terms; according to the former it was rather a defensive alliance, according to the latter an offensive alliance. But the text in Polybius states at the end: 'Εάν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν ἀφελεῖν ἢ προσθεῖναι πρὸς τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον, ἀφελούμεν, and above, Βοηθήσετε δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ὡς ἂν χρειαῖ ᾖ καὶ ὡς ἂν συμφωνήσωμεν (vii. 9). The text of Livy specifying the nature of the assistance promised by Philip gives possibly this addition. The text of Polybius being an isolated fragment we are not justified in saying that according to this writer there were no other agreements between Philip and Hannibal. By this treaty all the booty was to belong to Hannibal, Rome and Italy to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. If the name of Carthage is there it is evidently only for form's sake. In regard to Philip, the Carthaginians were afterwards to aid him against all his enemies, and the

Sardinia, and Philip was so slow with his preparations that the senate had time to forestall him in Greece.

To expand and break through this circle of iron which was closing in about him, Hannibal was constrained to make a war of



Warrior Mounted, with a Man on the Crupper Behind Him.<sup>1</sup>

sieges, and by so doing, lost all the superiority of his genius. Now-a-days, means of attack are superior to means of defence; in

conquests they should jointly make in Greece and the islands were to belong to him. (Livy, xxiii. 33.)

<sup>1</sup> A very ugly but curious bronze, found at Grumentum in Lucania. (Atlas of the *Institut archéologique*, vol. v., pl. 50.) Is this a souvenir of the Roman method before Capua, of cavalry corps where every trooper had a foot-soldier behind him, represented here by way of an *ex-voto*? Did Hannibal also imitate this organisation? The armour, or at least the helmet of the first man is not unlike the Carthaginian panoply, represented, No. 8, p. 455. See also p. 454, note 3, what is said in respect to this panoply.

ancient times it was otherwise. Hannibal failed before Cumæ, which was defended by Gracchus, and was twice repulsed at Nola; in one of these engagements Marcellus killed five thousand of the Carthaginian army. At the same time Fabius crossed the Vulturnus, and, advancing slowly but surely, took three cities near Capua; Sempronius Longus defeated Hanno at Grumentum, and drove him back from Lucania into Bruttium; Valerius Lupinus captured the towns belonging to the Hirpini, and the authors of the revolt were all put to death; finally, from Nola, Marcellus sent out a portion of his troops to ravage the country of the Caudine Samnites.

Shut up amid the Roman armies of Campania, driven back wherever he made an attempt upon a fortified town, Hannibal was defeated without battles, by means of this skilfully conceived and firmly executed plan. The Lucanian and Apulian legions were approaching, and dissatisfaction broke out among his troops. In the siege of Nola, twelve hundred and sixty-two Numidian and Spanish horsemen had deserted; Hannibal therefore made haste to escape before all egress was cut off, and retreated as far as Arpi, near the Adriatic Sea; he was also influenced by the desire of going to meet Philip. This flight left Capua exposed to Roman vengeance. The siege at once began, and Fabius ravaged the adjacent country, keeping his forces encamped about three leagues from the city.

From Spain also nothing but good news arrived at Rome. The year 215 was therefore, fortunate in its events, but new perils were in store for the following year; Syracuse had proved unfaithful, and Philip was at last on his way.

The senate equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty vessels, and kept on foot eighteen legions, without counting the army of Spain. Eight were threatening Hannibal, three held the Cisalpines in subjection, one was at Brundisium, ready to cross the Adriatic against Philip, two were in Sardinia, two more in Sicily, and one at Rome. This comprised a third part of all the able-bodied population of the countries subject to the legionary recruiting. Notwithstanding its victories, the army of Spain lacked everything, and the others were in a state of great destitution. The Scipios pressed their demands for money, corn, clothing for the

soldiers, rigging for the ships. But the treasury was empty, although taxation had been doubled,<sup>1</sup> and the weight of the *as* had been reduced by a decree, that the denarius should be worth sixteen, instead of ten, of the smaller coin, and the generals in Central Italy had coined a debased currency wherewith to pay their troops and commissaries.<sup>2</sup> The senate appealed to patriotism, and all ranks vied in a noble emulation. The guardians of widows and orphans carried to the temples the money of their wards, confiding this sacred deposit to the public credit; and three companies, with the sole condition that they should be the first to be reimbursed on the cessation of hostilities, undertook to supply food to the Spanish army. Sailors were needed for the fleet, and every senator furnished eight, with a years' pay; other citizens offered seven, six, or three, according to their means. In the land army the knights and the centurions relinquished to the State their pay; and when, after the victory at Beneventum, Sempr. Gracchus declared all the enrolled slaves in his army free, their masters refused to receive compensation until the war should be over.<sup>3</sup> On the same conditions contractors furnished the means of keeping public buildings in repair, of purchasing horses for the magistrates, etc.; and, to reserve the precious metals for the public use, the Oppian law forbade women to wear by way of ornament above a half ounce of gold. Some young men had attempted to evade military duty; these the censors sought for, and they were sent away into Sicily to join the fugitives of Cannæ.

One common spirit of patriotic devotion animated the whole great body of Roman people. The soldiers were worthy of their chiefs; the courage of the former responded to the sagacity of the latter. Silus Sergius, one of the ancestors of Catiline, had received twenty-three wounds, and had lost his right arm; in this condition he made four more campaigns. The filial piety of his son had been much applauded, who caused a medal to be struck, representing Sergius on horseback, holding in the left hand an enemy's head, which he has just cut off. The Romans of that time were truly sons of Bellona, the divinity who gives martial ardour. To

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxiii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*, vol. i. p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxiv. 11, 18.

approach her altar, a man must wound himself in the thigh, and drink the blood which flows from thence.<sup>1</sup> Like the Bretons of mediaeval history, they are ready to cry: "Drink thy blood, Beaumanoir!"

Rome gave, as we see, on every hand only the noblest examples. In the year 214 the people proposed to raise to the consulship two citizens not renowned for military services. One, Otacilius, was



Coin of Silus Sergius.<sup>2</sup>

the nephew of the Cunctator. The first century named him. Fabius, president of the comitiæ, at once caused the election to be suspended, he reproached the people and the candidates, and pointed out to them what consuls the circumstances demand. Otacilius objecting to this, Fabius orders his lictors to advance. "Take care," he says, "we are yet in the Campus Martius; I am not within the city, the axes are yet among the rods;" and he sends the multitude to the poll. All the centuries then elected Fabius and Marcellus, one, as was said, the shield, the other, the sword of Rome. The people, notwithstanding their instinctive jealousy of the great aristocratic leader, had recognised the fact that desire for the public weal, and no barren ambition animated this old man, already laden with so many honours.<sup>3</sup> At another election Manlius Torquatus refused the consulship; again the century of the *juniores* desire before voting to confer with the *seniores*, and name as their candidates those whom the old men recommend to them.<sup>4</sup> We have no means of knowing what went on in Carthage at this time, but it seems certain that there was neither that disinterestedness on the part of the nobles, nor that wisdom among the common people, which existed at Rome.

To this picture we must hold up in contrast, the avidity of some, and the disorderly conduct of others. Thus, a certain

<sup>1</sup> Tertull., *Apol.*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> The obverse, ROMA, EX. S.C., that is to say, struck by order of the senate. Head of Rome or of Pallas, with the mark of the denarius. The reverse, the legend M. SERGI SILVS with a monetary symbol, and a horseman at full gallop bearing a human head. Silver denarius of the Sergian family.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxiv. 7, 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxvi. 22.



Postumius of Pyrgi scuttled at sea some old empty vessels, and obtained pay for them as new and loaded with munitions; in Bruttium, one Pomponius Veientanus formed bands of slaves and adventurers, and carried on a predatory warfare.<sup>1</sup> But these evils are those of



Coin of Arpi.<sup>2</sup>

all periods; they are engendered necessarily by prolonged wars; we must however, mark their appearance in Roman history, for the exactions of Publicani will by and by render the empire necessary, while the deterioration of the old military discipline will at the same time facilitate its establishment.

In pursuit of Hannibal, Gracchus moved into Apulia. During the winter many skirmishes with the Carthaginians encamped around Arpi kept his troops alert. But Hannibal remained quite at liberty in respect to his own movements. Implored by Capua, which the two consular armies are pressing close, he boldly advances again into Campania, outwits the Roman generals and their heavy legions, overruns the enemy's country, keeping out of the way of the strongholds and camps that cover it, attacks Pozzuoli, Naples and Nola, where Marcellus again defeats him in a skirmish; then, weary of dashing himself against these unshaken legions—these ramparts before which he always leaves some of his troops—he hurries towards Tarentum, in the hope of drawing after him at least the impetuous Marcellus. But no one follows: Marcellus rejoins Fabius at the siege of Casilinum, which they now carry on together; and Tarentum where Hannibal has been maintaining spies, where he feels sure of ultimate success, and promises himself to welcome the fleets of Philip and of Carthage, a port which for four years he has been trying to seize—Tarentum, guarded by the Romans, eludes him still.

While Hannibal was before Nola, the consuls recalled Gracchus and his two legions of slaves from Luceria, to make one more effort to surround the Carthaginian army. At Beneventum

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxv. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> APIANON. Head of Ceres; reverse, ΔΑΙΟΥ, first letters of a magistrate's name. Unbridled horse galloping and a star. Silver coin. Arpi was situated in the Apulian plain, between Luceria and Sipontum.



View of Pozzuoli.

Gracchus encounters Hanno; before the battle he promised liberty to his slaves in case of victory, and Hanno escaped from the field with but two thousand men left; this success, the most brilliant gained by the Romans since the beginning of the war, drove the enemy out of the Samnite country, whose cities Fabius now retook, one after the other.

Hannibal at this time held only a few fortified towns in Apulia; he went into winter quarters around Salapia, within reach of Arpi, his outpost towards the centre of the peninsula, and facing the Epirote coasts, where events of importance were now going on. The defeat at Beneventum had thrown back his lieutenant, Hanno, into Bruttium. The territory held by the two opponents might at this time (the close of the year 214) be marked off by a line drawn from Mount Garganus to the mouth of the Laus, which falls into the Gulf of Policastro. This line, resting on the side towards Rome, upon fortified towns or entrenched camps, was defended in Lucania by the army of Gracchus; in Apulia, by that of the prætor Fabius. In the rear of Hannibal and Hanno, the Romans still held Calabria, Tarentum, and Rhegium. Capua remained blockaded by the camp of Suessula and the garrison of Casilinum.<sup>2</sup>

Coin of Salapia.<sup>1</sup>

The campaign had ended disastrously for Hannibal. But in requiring the senate to keep in Italy, against himself alone, fourteen legions, he gave his allies and Carthage time and opportunity to make most important diversions, and to come to his assistance. Did they profit by this?

<sup>1</sup> A laureled head. On the reverse, TPQΔAM, a monogram, and three other letters; a free horse and a palm branch. Bronze coin of Salapia, an Apulian city on the coast of the Adriatic, but separated from the sea by a lagoon, *lago di Salpi*; although the port might, in case of need, serve for small vessels, it did not furnish Hannibal with the safe and easy communication he required on this coast to receive the galleys sent by Philip. However, according to M. de Sauley, it is not certain that this coin belongs to Salapia; all the coinage of that city bears the name, which is not upon this piece. It may be that the monogram, MT, conceals the name of the town to which this coin belongs.

<sup>2</sup> A few Samnite cities still held out for Hannibal, among them Maronea and Aternum, belonging to the Marrucini. (Livy, xxiv. 47.)

### III.—HANNIBAL CREATES DISTURBANCES IN MACEDON AND SYRACUSE.

Polybius relates that in the year 217 Philip was in Argos, witnessing the celebration of the Nemean games, when a courier, arriving from Macedon, brought him news that the Romans had lost a great battle, and that Hannibal was master of the Italian lowlands. The king showed this letter to Demetrius of Pharos, who urged him to attack the Illyrians at once, and thence to pass over into Italy. Demetrius represented that Greece, already submissive to Philip, would continue obedient; that his enemies, the



Philip V., King of Macedon.<sup>1</sup>

Ætolians, were about to lay down their arms; that, finally, if he wished to make himself master of united Greece, a noble ambition, he must now cross the Adriatic and overthrow the Romans, already crippled by Hannibal. And the historian adds: "These words were charming to a king, young, brave, hitherto successful in his enterprises, and born of a race always aspiring to universal sway." These had been the dreams of Alexander the Molossian and of Pyrrhus, whose example the Illyrian now strove to impress on the weak heir of the throne of Macedon. Neither the prince nor his counsellor were dismayed at feeling the earth shaken beneath them by the shock of Rome and Carthage hurled against each other, and into the book of destiny, written by prudence and courage, they sought to carry their chimerical hopes. And yet all sagacious Greeks at this time were aware of the storm gathering in the west, and one with prophetic voice had cried, "Let Greece unite her forces; let her consider these immense armies now contending on the battlefields of Italy. That war will soon end; Rome or else Carthage will have conquered. Whoever is conqueror will then come to seek us out in our homes. Be mindful, O Greeks, and thou, Philip, most of all! Let us

<sup>1</sup> From a silver coin.

put an end to our discords, and labour unitedly to avert this peril!"

Vain words! Each state kept up its own rancours, and when after the battle of Cannæ, Philip concluded with Hannibal that imprudent treaty which laid upon him the burdens of the present for the sake of a very uncertain future, he found himself incapable of fulfilling its conditions.

Before going over into Italy according to agreement, Philip made an attempt to destroy the influence and power of Rome in Illyria. With a hundred and twenty galleys he attacked and took Oricum, at the mouth of the Aous, then, ascending the river, besieged Apollonia, an old and flourishing colony of Corinth. This ill-managed attack left time for Valerius Lævinus, the prætor, to bring over a legion from Brundisium. He easily recaptured Oricum, and by night surprised the Macedonian camp, whence Philip fled, half naked, and took refuge on board one of his vessels. The Romans, anchored all across the mouth of the river, barred the passage, and Philip, obliged to burn his fleet, fled overland to Macedon, while Lævinus established his winter quarters at Oricum. One campaign and one legion dispelled all the fears which that war had inspired.

The prætor had believed that he was about to contend with a powerful monarch, and he found opposed to him only an irresolute prince, who annoyed Greece, Macedon, and himself with his ever vacillating schemes. To keep in check for three years this king of Macedon the Roman general needed but a few thousand men; skilful emissaries, however, were also useful to him, by degrees alienating from Philip the king of Illyria, Athens, the Ætolians,<sup>1</sup> Sparta, Elis, and Messene; later even, Attalus of Pergamus, Rhodes, the Dardanians, and the Thracians. From this time the Romans fought with Philip rather by means of their allies than by their own troops. His forces were successively driven out of all the positions they had occupied in Greece, while the senate, with a little money and much craft, called down incessantly upon Macedon predatory incursions of the wild mountaineers of Dardania. In 205 Philip solicited peace; and this diversion, which might have determined the result of the strife between Rome and Hannibal,

<sup>1</sup> The treaty with the Ætolians gave to them all the cities that should be taken, and to the Romans all the plunder.



reduced by only a few troops the effective force of the legions of Italy.

The defection of Syracuse for some time caused much more serious difficulties. Hiero, to his last



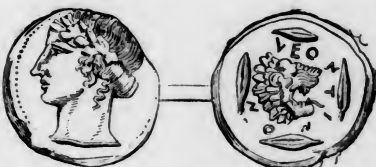
Coin of Gelon.<sup>3</sup>

day, had remained faithful to Rome, and his son Gelon, whom he had associated with himself in power, shared his sentiments;<sup>1</sup> but Gelon died before his father, and when the latter died, in 216, he was succeeded by his grandson, Hieronymus. Fifty years of tranquillity, and steadfastness to the same alliance, proved



Coin of Hieronymus.<sup>4</sup>

too much for turbulent Syracuse. As soon as the strong and gentle hand of Hiero had ceased to restrain his people, they fell under the power of a thousand contradictory desires, and disturbances; plots, and murders multiplied. Hieronymus, the young



Coin of Leontini.<sup>5</sup>

king, spoiled by power, as so often happens to those who inherit it in extreme youth, lost it by cruelty and debauchery;<sup>2</sup> this tyrant of fifteen was murdered by conspirators, and his murderers proclaimed liberty in Syracuse. They appointed prætors and a senate, without, however, being able to give them authority. They desired to preserve the Roman alliance, but two emissaries of Hannibal, born at Carthage of a Syracusan mother, Hippocrates and Epicydes, threw themselves into the tumult. These two foreigners had gained the confidence of the numerous mercenaries of the late king. Exiled from Syracuse, they intrigued with the army and with the inhabitants

<sup>1</sup> Livy and Polybius differ [completely] on this point, and we follow the opinion of Polybius.

<sup>2</sup> Here we meet with Polybius again (vii. 2): he is less severe upon Hieronymus than is Livy.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Gelon, crowned. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΙΩΝ ΒΑ ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ. Victory in a biga, at a gallop. Silver didrachma.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Hieronymus, crowned. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ and a monetary mark. Winged thunderbolt. A silver didrachma.

<sup>5</sup> A woman's head. On the reverse, ΑΕΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ (in archaic Greek). Lion's head in the centre, four grains of barley around it. Tetradrachma of Leontini.

of Leontini, accusing the prætors of a design to surrender the army to the Roman sword. The prætors were murdered, and Syracuse declared for her old enemy Carthage.

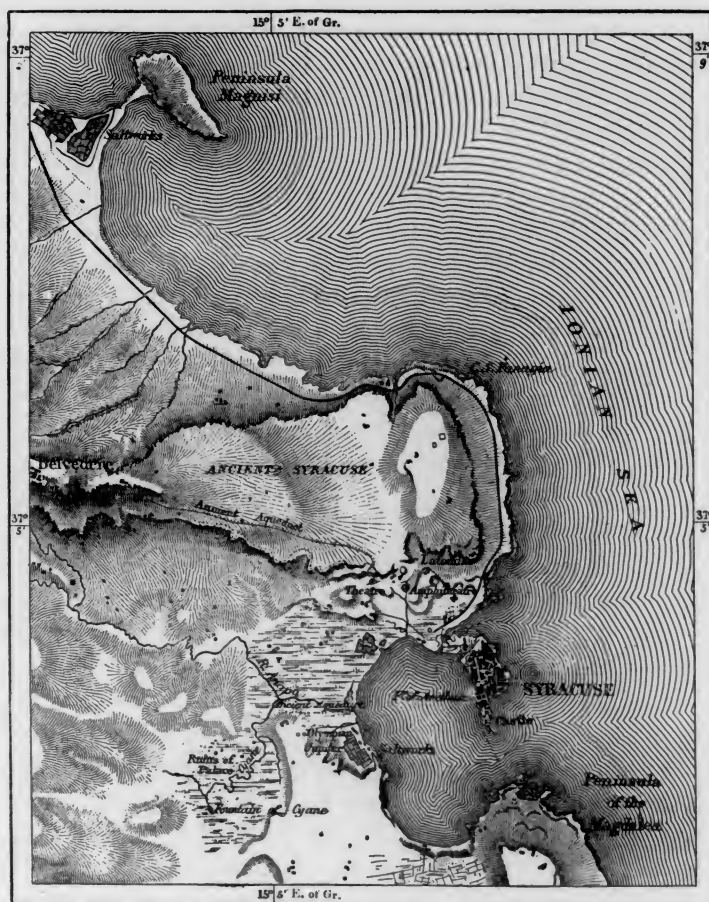
The tumult, which affected the whole island, decided the senate to send thither Marcellus, who, at the age of fifty, still showed the ardour of early years. He began by bringing over to the Roman party the inhabitants of Tauromenium, and at the news that Epicydes had excited the Syracusans, he seized upon Leontini, whose territory, renowned for its extreme fertility, would afford support to his troops. From Tauromenium he kept watch on the Ionian Sea; and Leontini was really an outpost of Syracuse, which city lay exposed by its loss, and was readily besieged by the Romans (214).

Syracuse occupied, upon the eastern coast of Sicily, a position admirable both for commerce and war. The central chain of the Sicilian mountains sinks here into two promontories which enclose an extensive marshy area, traversed by the little river Anapus. This marsh, now an old lagoon half filled up by alluvial deposits, over which broods incessant malaria, ends in the great harbour which the sea makes between the promontory at the south, Plemmyrium, and that at the north, Achradina, or the quarter of wild pear-trees. The harbour, oval in shape, and about six miles in circumference, was excellently adapted for vessels; even to this day it remains one of the best in Sicily. An island, Ortygia, lay across the entrance, which was about 1200 yards broad, and could be in part commanded by the *balistæ* and catapults of this fortress. A lesser harbour, sufficient however, for an ancient navy, separated Ortygia from the main land, and over the narrow channel, which terminated it at the west, a bridge had been constructed. A third harbour, Portus Trogilus, opened to the north, at the base of the cliffs of Hexapylon, so that vessels could enter at Syracuse in almost any winds.

The city occupied the northern promontory, a large triangle, of which Achradina was the base, and Epipolæ the vertex. Like Ortygia, Achradina had its own fortifications separating it from the lower quarters, Neapolis, Temenitis and Tyche; and an important work, fort Euryalus, crowned the extreme point of the heights of Epipolæ.

Marcellus established his magazines and reserves on the spot where the Carthaginians had so often encamped, upon a hill

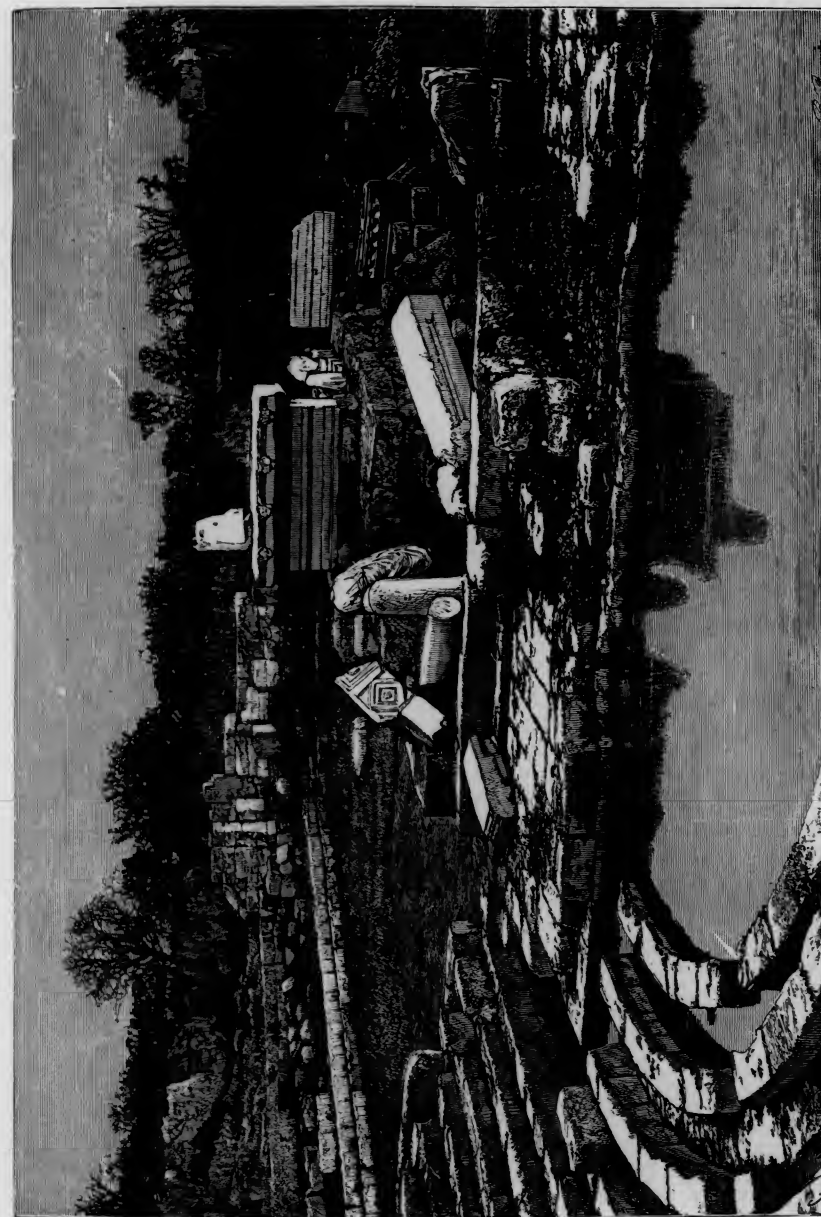
bearing a temple to Olympian Zeus. There he was defended by the marshes of the Anapus, and was in communication with his fleet which, mistress of the great harbour, threatened Achradina.



Scale 1:100,000  
Port of Syracuse.

The real attack, however, was made on the other side of the city, near Hexapylon, where the road from Leontini and Megara comes in.

The city, by its position on a promontory guarded by marshes and the sea, by its lofty walls founded on the rock or rising



Remains of the Greek Theatre at Syracuse.

from the water, by the constant solicitude of Hiero to keep his granaries, his arsenals, and his magazines well filled, was, apparently, impregnable; and to all this was added the presence of Archimedes. For the sake of his native city this great geometer consented to leave the heights of abstract thought, and descend to practice. He covered the walls with newly-invented machines, which flung huge masses of rock to a great distance. As often as a Roman vessel ventured near the walls, an iron hand seized it, lifted it into the air, and dropped it upon the rocks to be shattered to pieces. If the ships remained in the open sea, mirrors skilfully disposed set them on fire.<sup>1</sup>

Carthage, moreover, now showed a politic zeal in seconding Hannibal's designs. As soon as he proposed to reconquer the much-regretted island, she sent thither thirty thousand men, who took Agrigentum, Heracleia, Morgantia, where Marcellus had established his magazines, and caused the defection of sixty-five cities. The Romans preserved only the sea-coast towns, and Enna, the latter the price of treachery.



Headless Venus found in Achradina in 1814.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch *Marcel.*, 13-28. Neither Polybius nor Livy mention these mirrors. Buffon, in the last century, repeated this experiment.

<sup>2</sup> Saverio Cavallari, *Monumenti della Sicilia*, Pt. I. pl. 19.



But the fall or the deliverance of Syracuse could alone decide the fate of Sicily. All the strength of both parties met at this point.

Archimedes had constrained Marcellus to change the siege into a blockade, and the Carthaginian fleets re-victualled the place continually. Despite privations and extreme fatigue, despite a plague which decimated his troops, despite the provocations of Himileo and Hippocrates, the pro-consul, waited, with a patience worthy of Fabius,



Coin of Enna.<sup>1</sup>

until some treason, inevitable in a city containing so many factions and so many foreigners, should deliver it over into his hands. More than once such an opportunity occurred, but was made unavailing by the promptness of Epicydes. At last, some deserters came in with the story that on the morrow the people were to celebrate with noisy orgies the feast of Diana. A soldier had counted the bricks in the wall adjacent to Trogilus, and estimated in this way its height. Ladders constructed accordingly served for a nocturnal attempt; of the five fortified quarters, two, the Hexapylum and the Epipolæ, were seized without resistance under cover of the disorder of this night of revelry. Neapolis and Tyche opened their gates; and the fort Euryalus, the key to Syracuse, was surrendered by its commandant. But Epicydes still held out in Achradina and the island of Ortygia. Carthage sent armies, which the plague destroyed, and fleets that dared not attack the Roman galleys. For many months Marcellus was, as it were, besieged in the half-conquered city. Finally, Epicydes despairing, fled to Agrigentum; a Spanish mercenary opened one of the gates of Achradina, and the whole Roman army rushed in.<sup>2</sup> Archimedes, notwithstanding the orders of Marcellus, was killed by a soldier. Absorbed in his own meditations, he had not heeded

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, a veiled head of Ceres, and the legend, M. CESTIVS MVNATIVS. On the reverse, Pluto carrying off Proserpine. Bronze coin struck by the *municipium*, MVN HENNAE.

<sup>2</sup> These Spanish mercenaries were rewarded by the gift of a city, Morgantia, and its territory. (Livy, xxvi. 21.) All captured deserters were decapitated.

the order of the legionary to follow him into the presence of the Roman general. Among the trophies brought to Rome by Marcellus was the sphere of this great geometer.

Livy extols the humanity of Marcellus; according to more credible accounts, Syracuse was given over to the soldiers, and the inhabitants, despoiled of their lands, had reason to envy their own slaves; it was forbidden, as it had been in the time of Dionysius the elder, to reside in the island of Ortygia, whence the rest of the city could be commanded (212).<sup>2</sup>

Syracuse having fallen, Carthage limited her efforts in Sicily to the defence of those places which had declared against Rome. Mutin, a Liby-Phœnician who had been trained under Hannibal, inflicted two severe checks upon Marcellus. He was shortly after superseded by Hanno, who at once suffered defeat. Irritated by renewed injuries, Mutin delivered up to the consul Lævinus the stronghold of Agrigentum, the principal citizens of the town were put to death and the remainder sold; and the Carthaginians, who now retained but a few unimportant places, abandoned the island finally. Lævinus disarmed the Sicilians, recompensed the partisans of Rome, cruelly punished those adhering to Carthage, and required all now to turn their attention to agriculture, in order to furnish food for starving Rome (210).<sup>3</sup>



Marcellus.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of Syracuse.<sup>4</sup>

In Sicily as in Greece, Hannibal's plans had failed; in Sardinia the Carthaginians had disappeared; in Spain Hasdrubal and

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxv. 40. He says, however: *urbs diripienda militi data*. (*ib.*, 31.)

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, ii. in *Verr.* v. 32, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Visconti, *Iconog. romaine*.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ, and a monogram. Diana, the huntress, and her dog. Silver coin of Syracuse.

<sup>5</sup> Want was so great at Rome, that the measure of corn was worth 15 drachmas, and the senate sent as far as Egypt to obtain food. (Polybius, ix. 18.)

Mago could not get as far as the Pyrenees; in Italy the Gauls were forgetting the Punic war, and Capua, still blockaded, was shortly to expiate her treason. Himself withdrawn into Apulia, Hannibal had nothing to hope except from the exhaustion and lassitude of Rome. But Rome was a prodigy of skill and endurance; to the alliance of Hannibal with Philip and with Syra-



The Old Walls of Agrigentum.

cuse she had opposed for her part an alliance with the Celtiberians, with Syphax, the king of Numidia, with Ptolemy, and with some of the Greek states. In the year 213 she had twenty legions under arms; in 212 and 211 she had twenty-three. By the taking of Arpi, where a thousand men of that precious cavalry which made the strength of the Carthaginian general, passed over to the Romans, by the loss of many places in Lucania and Bruttium, Hannibal found himself so closely shut in that the senate ventured to recall the two consular armies for the purpose of sending them against Capua. The Romans had not been willing to attack this

city seriously until their strength was such as to ensure a conspicuous vengeance.

Hannibal seemed crushed; suddenly he emerges from his inactivity and reappears more threatening, more formidable than before. He strikes repeated blows, surprises Tarentum,<sup>1</sup> brings back to his alliance the larger proportion of the people of Lucania and Bruttium, and what he dared not do after Thrasimene or after Cannæ, he is now about to attempt.

From the height of their walls the Romans will soon see him



Ruins of the Temple of Castor and Pollux at Agrigentum (restored with the actual fragments of the Temple).

encamped within 40 stadia of the city. This he does to save his best allies and that he may profit by the self-confidence of the Roman generals.

The senate had required hostages of Tarentum, and these persons were kept shut up at Rome in the *atrium* of the temple of

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxv. 17.

Liberty. Gaining over two of their keepers, they fled, but were retaken before they had gone beyond Terracina. The Roman people, at this moment struck by superstitious terrors, were not inclined to mercy. The temples consecrated to Fortune and to Hope had just been burned, and threatening prodigies were reported on every hand. Moreover, this escape of the hostages, which had been planned by a Tarentine ambassador, was the token of an approaching defection; the hostages were beaten with rods and then thrown from the Tarpeian rock. They belonged to the best families of their city, and the plan was at once formed of avenging them. Thirty young nobles of Tarentum, led by Philemenus and Nico, leagued themselves to deliver Tarentum into the hands of the Carthaginians, who were encamped in the vicinity. Carrying boar spears and nets, and accompanied by dogs, they left the city under pretext of a hunt, and at once sought Hannibal's camp and revealed to him their design. Many times they repeated this device; as they always came back with much game, which Hannibal had caused to be collected for them along their road, no suspicion was awakened, and they had time to decide upon all the conditions of their treaty, which were as follows: Tarentum should retain her own laws, her property, and her liberty, with exemption from all tribute; she should not be forced to receive a Carthaginian garrison, but she should give up the Roman garrison.

One night, Philemenus, returning to town, made the accustomed signal for the gate to be opened to him. They surprised the guards, opened the gate, and Hannibal entered the city. All the Romans who had not time to take refuge in the citadel were massacred. This citadel, built upon a rocky promontory, nearly surrounded by the sea, was extremely strong, and a wall with a broad deep moat separated it from the city. To take it, a formal siege would have been required, and a considerable length of time, which Hannibal could not spare, for the cries for help from Campania were now many and urgent (212).

Capua had derived no advantage from her alliance with Hannibal. Hemmed in by the neighbouring cities, which had remained faithful to Rome, threatened by the legions which were posted not far away, she saw her commerce destroyed, her agriculture ruined, and, in the midst of the most fertile fields of Italy, she was

reduced to beg food from the Carthaginians. Hannibal, detained by the siege of the citadel of Tarentum, charged Hanno, one of his lieutenants, to revictual Capua. But the colonists of Beneventum gave information of Hanno's march to the consul Fulvius, encamped near by at Bovianum, and Hanno, suddenly attacked, lost thirteen thousand men and all his convoy.<sup>1</sup> The bad effect of this defeat, it was necessary at once to counteract; Hannibal himself set out for Capua, and no man dared bar his way. Two thousand horse preceded him, and drove the Roman foragers away from the neighbourhood of the city; at the mere report of his approach the consuls fell back, one retreating towards Cumæ, the other into Apulia. He goes in pursuit of the latter, and, not able to reach him, takes his revenge upon Centenius, to whom 15,000 men had been entrusted, not one of whom escaped, and upon Fulvius, the prætor, who loses 16,000 men near Herdonia.<sup>2</sup> Shortly before this, Gracchus, drawn by a Lucanian into an ambuscade, had perished, and his army of slaves had been dispersed.<sup>3</sup> A few months before, the Scipios had been defeated and slain in Spain. The capture of Syracuse, it will be seen, did not compensate for so many losses.

The Romans hastened to resume the prudent policy of Fabius; but, with their habitual tenacity, they recommenced the blockade of Capua. As soon as Hannibal had quitted Campania, the two consuls and a prætor, with a large army, made their plans to put an end to this city which had dared to give the signal for defections, and, not to be disturbed while engaged upon their revenge, they shut themselves in as in a fortress, building a double wall and digging a moat to shelter the camp against sorties and attacks from without. The supplies of this entrenched camp were secured by means of vessels from Sardinia and Etruria, provisions landed at Pozzuoli or at the mouth of the Volturnus being transported by the river as far as the strong town of Casilinum, where were established the magazines of the army.

The Roman senate had yet in Capua some faithful friends;

<sup>1</sup> [It seems that the Capuans neglected to meet Hanno's convoy according to his directions; it was the second attempt, which Fulvius found out and defeated.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> [These two complete victories are seldom mentioned in the list of Hannibal's triumphs.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> App., vii. 35. See in Livy (xxv. 17) the honours paid him by Hannibal, the dancing, in Spanish fashion, around the funeral pyre, etc.



in 213 as many as a hundred and twelve of the young nobility had come over into the Roman lines; it was hoped that others might be incited to desert in the present year (211). The siege works were not yet completed when a herald was sent to the Capuans with this declaration: "All those who before the ides of March shall come out from the city shall save their liberty and their possessions."

This was but another way of indicating the fate reserved for the rest. They knew it well, and the leaders of the popular party, who were the masters of Capua, had no hope that Rome would pass over their treason. They organised, therefore, a system of intimidation, and put at the head of affairs, as *meddix tuticus*, a man of low birth, adored by the populace for his harangues against the wealth and treachery of the great. No man dared respond to the senate's last appeal.

These skirmishes around Capua gave rise to a military novelty. The centurion Q. Novius devised the plan of sending out foot soldiers, selected from the most athletic and active, to fight among the cavalry. Armed with a short buckler and seven javelins, they were seated behind the trooper on horseback, and on encountering the enemy were to leap to the ground and fight on foot. Thus the Campanians had to contend at once with foot soldiers, whose swift darts wounded or killed many men and horses, and cavalry who drove home the attack upon their disordered ranks. "From this time," adds Livy, "the Roman cavalry had the advantage over that of Capua."<sup>1</sup>

Hannibal meanwhile had returned to Tarentum to urge the siege of the citadel, but as he knew no better than did the Romans that method which the Greeks had already so successfully employed of storming a fortified place, it still held out against him. The Carthaginian general therefore endeavoured to compensate himself by taking Brundisium, which would have given him a useful harbour upon the Adriatic, but the attempt was unsuccessful. About this time, being informed by some Numidians who had escaped from Capua that the city was about to surrender to the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxvi. 4. I do not believe, as Livy seems to say, that the corps of *velites* was then for the first time formed; I think that a portion of them were selected for a new service. The legions could not have done without light infantry until so late as this (211).

Romans, he hastened thither; the inhabitants, seeing his troops upon the heights of Mount Tifata, adjacent to the town, believed themselves safe again. But in vain did Hannibal fling himself against the Roman entrenchments. He had thirty-three elephants; some of these, killed under the walls, filled up the moat with their bodies; it made a bridge, and a Spanish cohort succeeded in crossing upon it; but the assailants were driven back, while a sortie of the besieged at the same moment was repulsed. Upon this, Hannibal now found himself unable to live in this wasted country, and consequently unable to take up a position before this impregnable camp, conceived the audacious project of relieving Capua by making a sudden attack upon Rome. For five days he had been in the neighbourhood of the legions; scarcely had the sixth night wrapped the two camps in its darkness when he silently moves away, leaving all his camp fires burning.

Preceded by his Numidians, who serve as scouts and detain all couriers, he advances by rapid marches through Samnium.<sup>1</sup> The Appian and the Latin roads are shorter but more frequented, and he is anxious to arrive before it is known that he has set out for Rome. Either the city, defenceless, will fall into his hands, or Appius, recalled from Capua to the succour of the Capitol, will be defeated on the road; should Appius bring up but half of his troops in order not to raise the siege, Hannibal can the more easily crush the succouring force or else will let it pass and break up the camp. In any case, Capua should be delivered. On this plan everything had been reckoned on, except the invincible firmness of the Romans [and the cowardice of the Capuans]. When Hannibal appeared,<sup>2</sup> the senate recalled not one single cohort; the whole population rushed to defend the walls,<sup>3</sup> and two new legions drilling in the city came out boldly to meet the enemy. One should like to believe what Livy adds, that the same day a

<sup>1</sup> Here, as usual, I follow Polybius (ix. 2) rather than Livy; the latter says that Hannibal, marching upon Rome, went by the Latin road. But he has mastered only half of Hannibal's plan. On his return, he must have taken this route. Moreover, Livy is aware that the old historian Cælius Antipater says that Hannibal went from Campania into Samnium, and he adds (xxvi. 14) that it is uncertain whether it was going or returning that he took this road.

<sup>2</sup> At three leagues from Rome, on the banks of the Anio. Once he pushed forward as far as the Esquiline gate. Silius Italicus describes him contemplating the vast city from the top of a hill: *lentus celsis adstans in collibus intrat urbem oculis*. (xii. 488.) [See p. 656, note 3.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Shortly before this commissioners had been appointed to repair the walls and towers.

corps of cavalry was sent off to the army in Spain, and that the ground where the Carthaginians were encamped, being put up at auction in the Forum, found a purchaser at the usual valuation; but the departure of cavalry would have been an imprudence, and the sale a bravado, for which the Romans were not at this time in the mood.

For Hannibal, the dash upon Rome had failed; but he did



Region called the Camp of Hannibal, at Rocca di Papa.<sup>1</sup>

not doubt that Appius was coming, and he waited for him five days, spreading frightful devastation all around the city. When, according to his calculations, Appius was half way towards Rome, the Carthaginian general hastened his return to Capua by the shortest route (the *via Latina*), leaving the consuls and their recruits to believe that he fled before them. But the Romans had never let go their prey; Appius had remained in his entrenchments! Thus Hannibal only took vengeance upon the Roman force that had followed him: one night he fell upon their camp and

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* at Paris.



Castel Gandolfo.

slew a large number, and finally he retreated towards Rhegium, not to hear the despairing cries for help that came from the city he had not been able to save.

When the descendants of the Romans of the heroic age sought in the environs of their city the place where the formidable Carthaginian had stopped, they found no more suitable site for his camp than that Alban Mount, whose volcanoes had once shaken



Temple of the God Rediculus.<sup>1</sup>

all Italy, and a wide field sloping towards the crater of the Monte Albano; below Rocca di Papa became, and has remained, "the camp of Hannibal." From these heights (Castel Gandolfo), covered with trees centuries old, whose predecessors doubtless sheltered the hero, he was able to view at his feet the Latin plain, the seven hills, and the strong wall of Servius which sheltered this indomitable people from his attack.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a restoration by M. Thomas, *École des Beaux Arts*.

<sup>2</sup> [According to other accounts, he approached within 3 leagues of the city with his army, and even rode up to the walls in a *reconnaissance* with some cavalry.—*Ed.*]



Festus asserts that the Romans, proud that Hannibal should have fallen back so far after having dared so much, built in front of the Porta Capena a temple to Ridicule. There still exist in the neighbourhood of the circus of Caracalla some ruins bearing that name. But the *deus Rediculus* was originally only the god who brings back (*redire*);<sup>1</sup> the Romans did not laugh at Hannibal.<sup>2</sup>

Capua opened her gates (211). The chastisement was terrible. Before the entry of the Romans, thirty senators gathered at the house of one of their number, Vibius Virrius, had caused a banquet



Faunus and Tutanus (*deus Rediculus*).<sup>3</sup>

to be prepared with what was left of Falernian wine and the provisions of the siege. At the close they bade one another adieu; the last cup was a poisoned draught. Others counted on the generosity of the Romans, and Livy asserts that the senate had decided to pardon them, but that the proconsul, forestalling the messenger who brought the good news, ordered their execution before reading the despatch. We must make due allowance for the Roman severity and the manners of the time; the Capuans were to suffer what their enemies would have suffered had the case been reversed.<sup>3</sup> Seventy senators were beheaded. When the execution was ended, a Campanian, Jubellius Taurea, approached Fulvius, relates the historian, and cried out to him, "Since thou art so

<sup>1</sup> This god, an old Pelasgic divinity, was also called Tutanus (Varro, *ap. Nonnius*, 33), or the Protector; under the title of Fascinum he turned away spells and dangers. Faunus was also a protecting divinity.

<sup>2</sup> [This is the very improbable account of Polybius, probably invented by Roman vanity. According to Livy (xxxvi. 8), the proconsul, Q. Fulvius, who is the hero of the hour, brought up 16,000 men just in time to the *porta Capena*, and saved Rome from a panic which left an indelible remembrance for centuries to come. He was put in command of all the city forces, over the consuls. Appian adds that it was owing to his watchfulness that the Roman army pursuing Hannibal was saved from annihilation in his night attack. Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.* p. 440-2.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Double Hermes, bearing united the head of Faunus, crowned with ivy, and of Mutunus Tutanus, winged and crowned. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3277.

thirsty for our blood, why not strike me thyself, that thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thou?" "I should like well to do it," Fulvius rejoined, "but a decree of the senate forbids." "Well, then," rejoined Jubellius, "I will show thee something that thou wouldst not have the courage to do;" whereupon he killed his wife, his children, and lastly himself.<sup>1</sup> Three hundred nobles were condemned to chains, all the people sold, and the city and its territory declared Roman property. Some senators are said even to have proposed effacing to the last vestige the city which had dreamed of being mistress of Italy. Atella and Calatia had the same fate. For years these fertile regions were to be inhabited only by poor labourers, or by farmers and gangs of slaves belonging to the Roman nobility; and where once rose flourishing cities there never again was known the pride and delight of the ancients—municipal life. No more *curia*, no more magistrates, no more public assemblies; the rich and splendid Capua was reduced to be only a haunt of labourers, *receptaculum aratorum*, a depôt for harvests, *locus condendis fructibus*. Year by year a prætor brought thither the law and will of Rome.<sup>2</sup> Such was the terrible practice of war in ancient times. It made many victims, but it produced also the indomitable resistance, and the fierce ardent patriotism of a Jubellius Taurea.

The sons of some of the senators slain at Capua essayed to avenge their fathers and their country. The evening before a festival of Minerva they set fire to Rome at several parts of the Forum. All night and the following day fire raged in the city, and Rome would have been entirely consumed had not a slave given information of the plot, and caused the arrest of the incendiaries. Entrance into the city was at once forbidden to all Campanians.

The following year (210) the levies were made with difficulty; three years earlier it had been necessary to send commissioners among the allies to enrol the young men before the age of military service. This time they were able to collect only twenty-one legions, and to equip the fleet of Lævinus, destined for Sicily, the senators brought into the treasury all the gold, silver, and bronze that they possessed. One of the new consuls was Marcellus. On

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., III. ii. 24, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *de Leg. agr.*, 32, 33; Livy, xxvi. 16.

his return from Sicily with the spoils of Syracuse he had asked for a triumph, but only an ovation was granted him. He hoped this year for more distinguished success. "He who has been able to conquer the Carthaginians after Cannæ," he wrote to the senate, "will not let this man long exult over his last victory." He began well by the recapture of Salapia, whose Carthaginian garrison, five hundred Numidians, were put to the sword. At this very moment Hannibal, in the neighbourhood of Herdonea, was destroying a prætor and thirteen thousand legionaries, the second victory obtained by him near that city. It seemed that he would have respected this scene of his two victories. But the inhabitants had called in Fulvius, and Hannibal, for his part, desired to give a sharp lesson to those who proved unfaithful; the partisans of Rome were put to death, the city destroyed, and the surviving inhabitants transported to Thurium and Metapontum. Marcellus hastened to meet him, and a battle took place at Numistro; but notwithstanding the promises made by Marcellus, the combat remained indecisive; the Romans, however, were able to hold the field and to burn their dead, which gave them reason to speak of this engagement as a victory. A later writer, less occupied than Livy with the glory of Roman families and the honour of Marcellus, says that Hannibal skilfully posted himself between two sunken pathways which protected his flanks, and that he forced the consul to fall back.<sup>1</sup> A squadron attempting to revictual the citadel of Tarentum was destroyed about this time, but the brave garrison still continued their heroic resistance, and by successful sorties kept the effeminate city in perpetual alarm. The situation remained the same. Meanwhile Rome rallied slowly; nothing had made amends to Hannibal for the loss of Capua and of Sicily: Scipio in Spain was re-organising the Roman army; the Carthaginians, driven out of Samnium and Campania, had not a single great city upon which to rest, and their formidable chief had no other defence outside of his camp than the terror with which he inspired his adversaries.

The year 209 brought back Fabius, the Cunctator, to the consular office. While his colleague, Fulvius, guarded Campania and

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii. 2, 6.

Samnium from his position at Beneventum, while the garrison at Rhegium was keeping the attention of Hannibal's lieutenants fixed upon the extremity of Bruttium, and while Marcellus detained the Carthaginian leader at Canusium with three engagements upon three successive days, Fabius advanced rapidly upon Tarentum, and crowned his brilliant military career by the recapture of that city. Tarentum was treated as Capua had been: thirty thousand of her citizens were sold,<sup>1</sup> and Fabius poured 3,000 talents into the treasury at Rome. The same year Scipio entered Carthage.

The senate were already practising the policy summed up by the poet: . . . *parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. Tarentum and Capua were roughly handled on account of their importance, but the same Fabius, who so sternly carried out the senate's decrees against Capua, received kindly the Hirpini, the Lucanians, and the Volcentes, only gently blaming them for the misconduct of which they were now repenting. This was done to encourage treachery towards the Carthaginians: these nations had given up the Carthaginian garrisons posted in their towns.<sup>2</sup> By such judicious moderation Fabius well nigh gained the whole of Bruttium.<sup>3</sup>

The following year (208) Marcellus, being again consul, and his colleague, Crispinus, thought they could deal Hannibal a crushing blow, since the Carthaginian had not one fortified place left to him in Apulia. But upon the opening of the campaign, Marcellus fell into an ambuscade while reconnoitring imprudently, and was slain with the principal officers of his army. "A brave soldier," Hannibal said, on viewing his dead body, "but a poor general." However, he made a stately funeral for him, and placed upon the urn containing his ashes a golden wreath, which was afterwards sent to the son of the dead general.<sup>4</sup> Crispinus, though severely wounded, had time to inform the adjacent cities that Hannibal, being in possession of the signet ring of Marcellus,

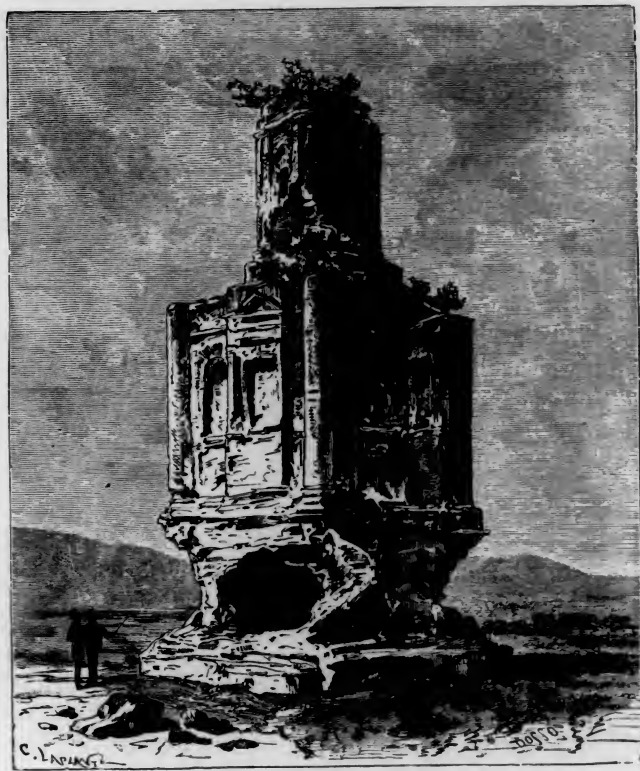
<sup>1</sup> Polybius, x. 1; Livy, xxvii. 16; Plut., *Fab.*, 21 seq.; Zonaras, ix. 8.

<sup>2</sup> In pursuance of this plan, the senate had granted the right of citizenship to Mutin the Libyan, and to Mericus the Spaniard, who had betrayed Achradina (see p. 645). Mutin appears later in command of the Numidian cavalry and the elephants in the army of the Scipios against Antiochus in 190. (Livy, xxxviii. 41.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxvii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> The museum of the Capitol contains a statue said to be of Marcellus, but the head does not seem to resemble that on the coins.

would probably seek to surprise them, and this precaution succeeded; in an attempt upon Salapia, the stratagem being detected, he was repulsed with a loss of six hundred men. He succeeded, however, in raising the siege of Locri, which the Romans had



Ancient Tomb, called Della Cannochia, near Capua.<sup>1</sup>

this time begun with engines of war supplied by the Greeks in Sicily.

Meanwhile, the allies of Rome were growing very weary of this murderous war. For eleven years Hannibal had been in Italy manœuvring with his scanty force amidst fourteen legions, outwitting the most experienced consuls, and as free in his movements, amid so many armies and fortified towns, as if the Romans had

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris), cabinet of engravings.

remained shut up behind their own walls. His victories had not been able to raise Italy in arms against them, nor to triumph over their firm resolve, but the courage of the allies was beginning to give way. The warlike peoples of central Italy did not yet murmur, but in the north the Etruscans and Umbrians threatened defection. It became necessary to make sure of the senate of Arretium, and to send an army to keep these nations under control.<sup>1</sup>

At Rome, the number of citizens had been reduced from 270,000 to 137,000.<sup>2</sup> Money was required for the fleet and for the army. Once more there was a general rivalry in patriotic devotion, and the senate resolved to employ the treasure kept for moments of extreme necessity. The *aurum vicesimarium*, which was the twentieth part of the price of enfranchised slaves, had produced, since the decree of 357 which had established that tax, the sum of 4,000 pounds of gold, which to-day would be worth nearly £168,000, and at that time was a very much more important sum. To all the political and military qualities which caused the triumph of Rome, we must add that far-reaching sagacity of the greatest administrative nation of antiquity which had prepared so long in advance this resource against evil days. Twelve colonies made reply that they had neither soldiers nor money, and the senate, powerless against them, took care to keep the matter quiet. Fortunately, eighteen others gave all that was required. "This devotion," says Livy, "saved Rome once more."

Their names should have been honoured, and Rome would have done well to engrave them in letters of gold upon the walls of her Capitol. The cities were, in general, those which having suffered most from the evils of war, were most desirous to bring it to an end—Signia, Norba, Saticula, and Fregellæ in the south of Latium; Cosa, Præstum, and Pontia upon the Tyrrhenian Sea; Luceria and Venusia in Apulia; Beneventum, Æsernia, Spoleto in Samnium; Brundisium, Adria, Firmum, and Ariminum, which, situated on the Adriatic, had reason to fear Carthaginian pirates;

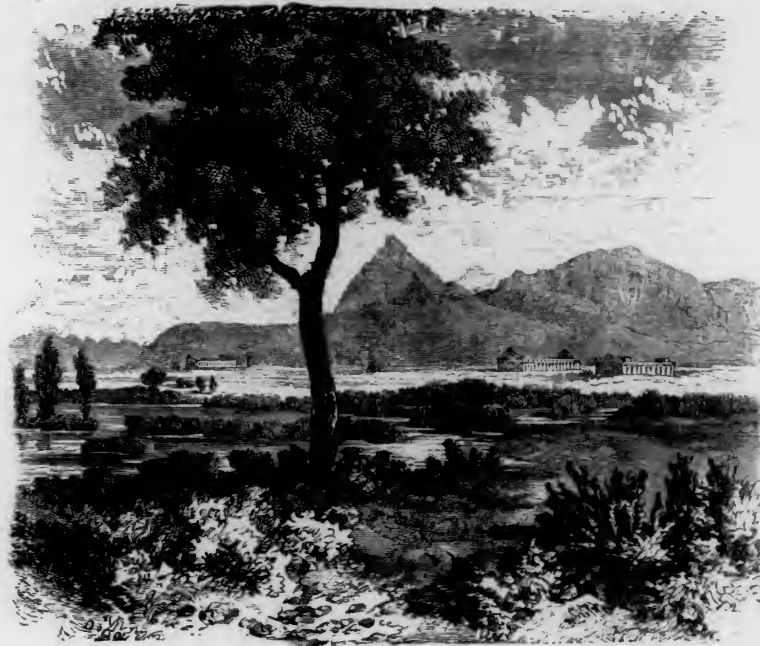
<sup>1</sup> Varro, the general vanquished at Cannæ, was in command. (Livy, xxvii. 24.)

<sup>2</sup> This estimate is very probably incorrect, for the next censors found 214,000 citizens (Livy, xxix. 37). Populations diminish less during great wars than is believed. In 1791 the population of France was 26,343,074, according to the Committee of the Constituent Assembly. In 1815, after twenty-four years of battles, it had increased three millions, and by official report had attained the number of 29,226,000.



and lastly the colonies on the river Po, Cremona and Placentia, whose existence could only be secured by Rome. Those which had refused their assistance were nearly all of them much nearer Rome—Nepete, Sutrium, Carseoli, and Narnia on the north, Alba, Ardea, Sora, Circei, Interamna, Setia, and Cales on the south.

At the moment when threatening signs of fatigue were manifest among the Latin allies, Rome was exposed to greater dangers

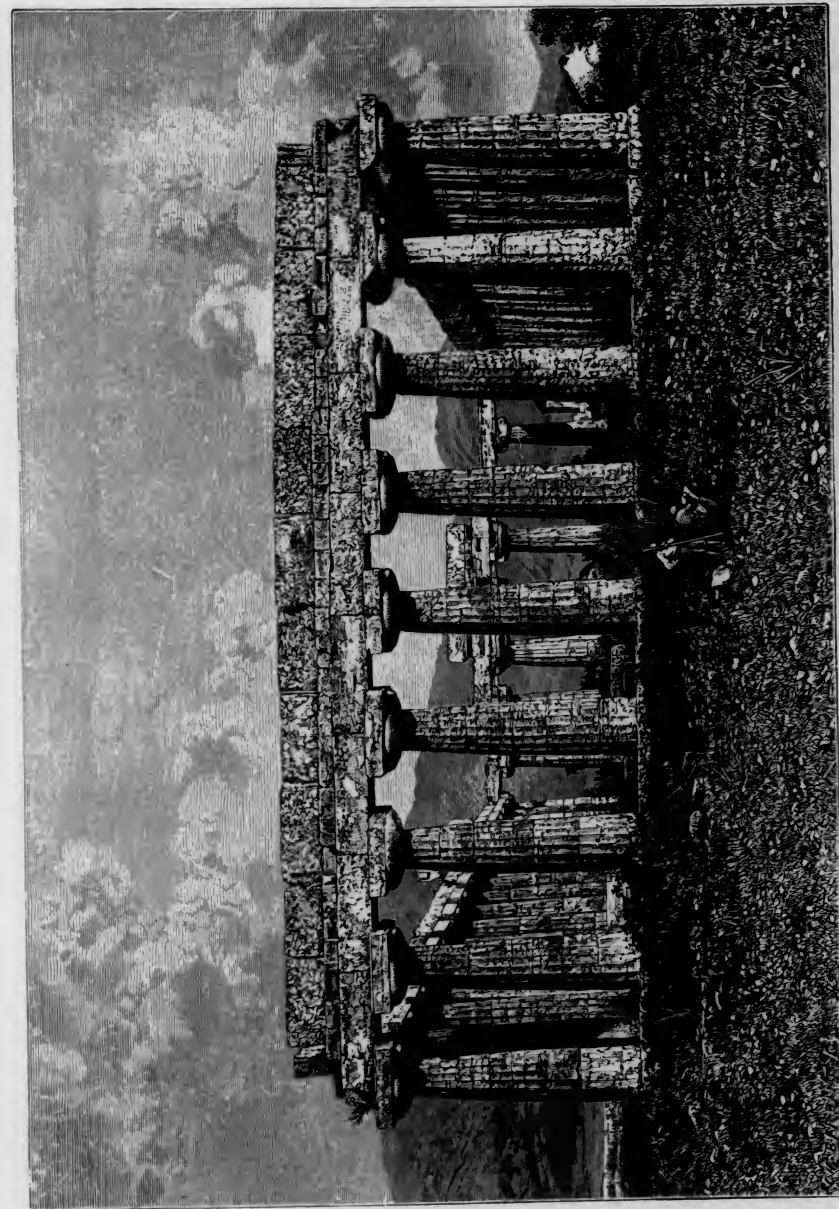


Ruins of Paestum.<sup>1</sup>

than she had ever before incurred. P. Scipio, who had been successful in Spain, had now suffered Hasdrubal to escape him, and the latter was advancing upon the Alps with an army increased upon the way by Gallic mercenaries. Notified by public rumour, Hannibal collected all his garrisons scattered throughout Bruttium, and set out through Apulia to meet his brother.

At Rome, in order to prepare against this new peril, the

<sup>1</sup> This general view of Paestum, clearly showing the situation of her three temples, represents the ruins as they appeared in 1750, at which time they were brought to the notice of the artistic and scientific world. Engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris).



One of the ruins at Paestum (probably not a temple).

senate annulled the exemption enjoyed by the maritime colonies, called in the disbanded volunteers (*volones*), and called home several corps of picked men. Scipio sent ten thousand men and a thousand cavalry; the prætor of Sicily four thousand archers and slingers. In taxing to the utmost all their resources the consuls were able



Cascade of the Liris below Sora, after its Junction with the Fibrenus.<sup>1</sup>

to collect a hundred thousand legionaries. Besides this, a fortified camp outside of Narnia defended the road through Umbria to Rome (207).

Of the two consuls, one, C. Claudius Nero, had not up to this time signalised himself by any brilliant exploits. He had served under Marcellus and had the fiery courage of that leader, together with an audacity akin to rashness. The other consul, Livius, condemned eight years before on retiring from the consulate [for

<sup>1</sup> From the *Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris). Cicero had a villa on an island in the Fibrenus, near by, where he wrote his treatise *De Legibus*. See the charming description he gives of the place in this treatise. (ii. 1, 3.)

peculation of booty in the second Illyrian war] by one of those decisions of the people which the spirit of faction inspires, had quitted Rome and lived in the country, an embittered hermit, suffering in all the woes of his ungrateful country, but refusing the succour of his strength and experience. The consuls Marcellus and Lævinus triumphed at last over this persistent grief. They



Apollo of the Vatican.<sup>1</sup>

compelled him to shave and to lay aside his mourning, and to return to his place among the senators, who laid upon him for the second time the duties of the consulship. Nero and Livius had been enemies, but the public peril and the appeals of the senate re-united them. Upon the approach of those great events which the year 207 was to witness, disastrous presages multiplied on every hand. At Cære a vulture flew into the temple of Jupiter; at Cumæ rats gnawed the golden ornaments of the statue of the god; the lake of Volsinia flowed with blood; stones fell from heaven; thunderbolts smote the temples of the gods and the walls and gates of the city.

To meet these dangers, and as if a breath from Greece had

<sup>1</sup> Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino.

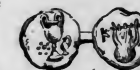
reached Rome, choirs of young girls, chanting through the city verses composed by the poet Andronicus, accomplished the expiations. "After a pure, chaste sacrifice offered by matrons, a procession set out from the temple of Apollo. Two white heifers came first; behind them were borne two cypress-wood statues of Juno Regina. Then came twenty-seven young girls in trailing garments singing hymns in honour of the goddess. The decemvirs,<sup>1</sup> crowned with laurel and clad in the prætexta, followed the chorus of maidens. From the Porta Carmentalis the procession marched to the Forum, where the young girls performed sacred dances, singing in cadence" (Livy).

Meantime Hannibal was seeking to break through the three Roman armies, which from Capua, from Venusia, and from Tarentum barred his way into upper Italy. Nero had frequently commanded the cavalry of a consular army; he knew how to send out scouting parties and to lay ambushes; near Grumentum he prepared an ambush for the Carthaginians, into which their leader fell, as far as Hannibal could fall; it was a success for the Romans, but not a victory. Falling back as far as Metapontum, Hannibal took up a position in the neighbourhood of Canusium, near the scene of his most brilliant victory, and awaited in an entrenched camp the arrival of messengers from his brother.<sup>3</sup>

The latter had crossed the Alps prosperously, and was now in the Cisalpine at the head of fifty-two thousand fighting men, to whom eight thousand Ligurians had lately been added. Instead of hastening his march to bring his brother this re-inforcement of 60,000 men, he stopped to besiege Placentia, and, when recognising his error and the impossibility of taking the city, he finally set forward into



Pontifex Veiled and Laurel-Crowned.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Canusium.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Decemviri sacris faciundis*. They had charge of the Sibylline books.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze figure in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,062 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> [On the contrary, Nero had conducted the campaign with great ill-success, and had allowed Hannibal, with a weaker army, to out-manceuvre him, and force him up all the way from Bruttium to the Aufidus.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> Two vases and a lyre. Silver coin.



Umbria, it was too late. Livius barred the way, and Nero was encamped before Hannibal. Hasdrubal had entrusted six Numidian and Gallic horsemen with letters for his brother, but [after passing all through Italy] they fell in with the outposts of Nero. So much had been conceded to prudence hitherto that Nero was now tempted to seek for victory from audacity; he therefore took the boldest resolution of the war, namely to abandon his camp before Hannibal and to bring 7,000 of his best troops to his colleague.<sup>1</sup> The plan was not so rash as it seemed. Hannibal, after two defeats, had just been executing between the Gulf of Tarentum and the banks of the Aufidus a series of marches and counter marches, during which he had never been able to get the advantage by any neglect or error on the part of his adversary. He, therefore, in turn was condemned to prudence. A Roman camp was not easily to be taken by storm. The Carthaginians, skilful as they were in the open country, did not know how to carry by main strength a strongly fortified position. Nero felt sure that his camp, even deprived of the best of the legionaries, could hold out until his return. He left there, besides, soldiers who had seen Hannibal retreat, also arms and munitions in plenty, and great hopes for the future. To reach the other army he had first to cross the plain which extends from the Aufidus to the Frento, between the Apennine chain and the huge bulk of Mount Garganus;<sup>2</sup> this was the difficult point of the enterprise. But midway stood the fortified town of Luceria, where the expedition could find support in case of need; beyond, they would come into a friendly country, from which, since Cannæ, the Carthaginians had been excluded. It was only necessary, therefore, to conceal from the enemy a day's march or two and the outgoing expedition would be safe, as well as the camp they left behind them.

Nero announced to the senate his design; he gave orders to the two legions in the city to march out and occupy the strong position of Narnia, which closes the valley of the Tiber; to the legion at Campania to return to Rome; and to the people of the

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus, *Strateg.*, I. i. 9. Livy (xxvii. 43) says six thousand infantry and a thousand horse, but he adds that Nero's force was increased upon the road by many veterans and volunteers. [This is only the Roman account.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> The illustration on p. 669 represents the site at the foot of Mount Garganus where stood in ancient times the city of Merinum, five miles from the modern city of Vietri.



The Monte Gargano.

country through which he should pass to have ready along the way provisions and transports. The rumour that a fresh and formidable African army was to bring fire and sword and slavery once more into their land had struck terror to the hearts of all. The orders of the consul were obeyed with promptness. The inhabitants ran eagerly to meet these soldiers whom they held to be the saviours of Italy, and every man brought what he had for men and horses, so that nothing detained the march; in six days<sup>1</sup> they had made more than 260 miles,<sup>2</sup> and Nero came up with his colleague on the banks of the Metaurus. Not to give the alarm to the enemy, he entered the camp by night, and made no addition to its extent, his soldiers being received into the tents of their comrades. But in the morning the trumpeters sounded twice, and by this Hasdrubal became aware that the two consuls were there together; his pickets also reported that there were to be seen in the enemy's camp old bucklers, lean horses, and faces sun-burnt as by recent marching. He believed his brother defeated, possibly killed, and all the forces of Rome gathered against himself. He retreated, his guides led him astray, and abandoned him; the consuls overtook him, and he was obliged to accept battle in a disadvantageous position. Nero, whom ten years' war with Hannibal has well trained in Carthaginian tactics, turned the left wing of Hasdrubal, cut the Gauls in pieces, and attacked in the rear the Spanish troops whom Livius was pressing hard in front. The Roman historians, who rightly consider this battle the reprisals of Cannæ,<sup>4</sup> maintain that of all this army, not a single man

Roman Trumpeter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Possibly seven, for Nero was six days in returning, and Livy says that he marched more rapidly on the return: *citatiores quam inde venerat agmine*. (xxvii. 50.)

<sup>2</sup> The distance between the Metaurus and Canusium is 285 Roman miles, or 422 kilometers, which gives about 70 kilometers, or 45 miles, for each of the six day's marches.

<sup>3</sup> Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,065.

<sup>4</sup> *Reddita æqua Cannensi clades . . . . . videbatur* (Livy, xxvii. 49). Polybius (xi. 5) says

escaped; "fifty-six thousand," they say, "fell with their leader, who, as a worthy son of Hamilcar, threw himself into the thickest of the *mêlée* when he perceived that victory was going over to the Romans."<sup>1</sup>

The very night after the battle Nero set out on the return; and the thirteenth<sup>2</sup> day from his departure he was in his camp again (207). His success had justified him. The head of Hasdrubal, thrown into the Carthaginian camp,<sup>3</sup> told Hannibal the destruction of his last hope. "I perceive here the fortune of Carthage," he is said to have exclaimed, bitterly. But fortune had nothing to do with it; he himself had been false to his own genius in being deficient in vigilance.

While Nero was accomplishing this audacious march, Rome was a prey to the most cruel anxiety. The matrons of the city crowded the temples, wearying the gods with their supplications; the senators were never absent from the curia, nor the citizens from the Forum. It seemed as if all dangers hitherto incurred were nothing in comparison with this supreme peril. Finally two horsemen arrive from Narnia with news of a great victory. Doubt was still felt, until a letter came from the camp. The messenger wished to give it to the prætor and to enter into the presence of the senate; the crowd detained him and dragged him to the rostra; but the magistrates interpose, and this people, respecting in their joy, as they have often done in their anger, the old customs of the city, repress their legitimate impatience. The letter is first read to the Conscrip Fathers, then to the people; it announces the approach of three consular envoys who have been present at the battle. The crowd hastens to meet them as far as the Milvian bridge. They are followed to the Forum, to the curia, and mounting the rostra, they relate all the details of the great event.

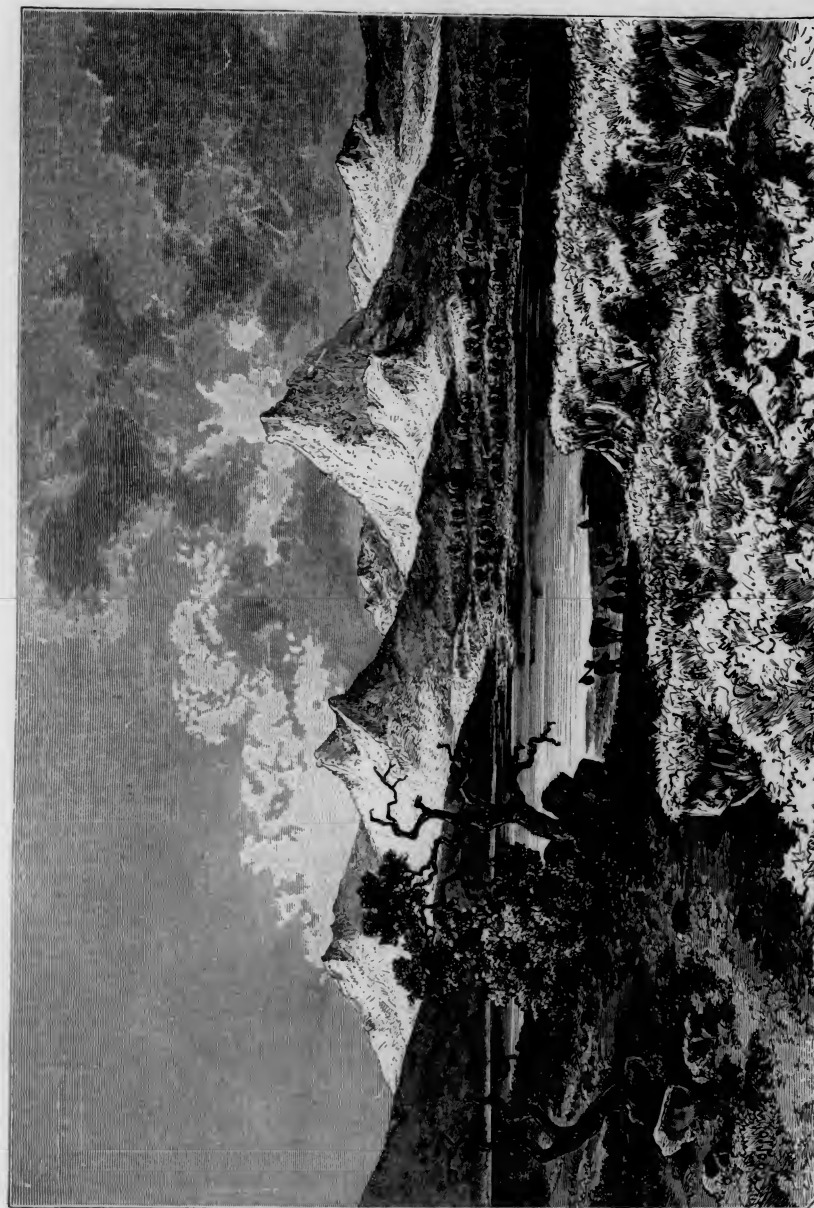
only: ἀπὸ θανάτου . . . οὐκ ἐλάττωσεν μυρίων. From the sale of the prisoners more than 300 talents were obtained. Cf. Horace, *Carm.*, IV. iv. 4:—

*Carthagini jam non ego nuntios  
Mittam superbos: occidit, occidit,  
Spes omnis et fortuna nostri  
Nominis Hasdrubale interempto.*

<sup>1</sup> [Polybius says 10,000 Carthaginians and 2,000 Romans.—*Ed.*]

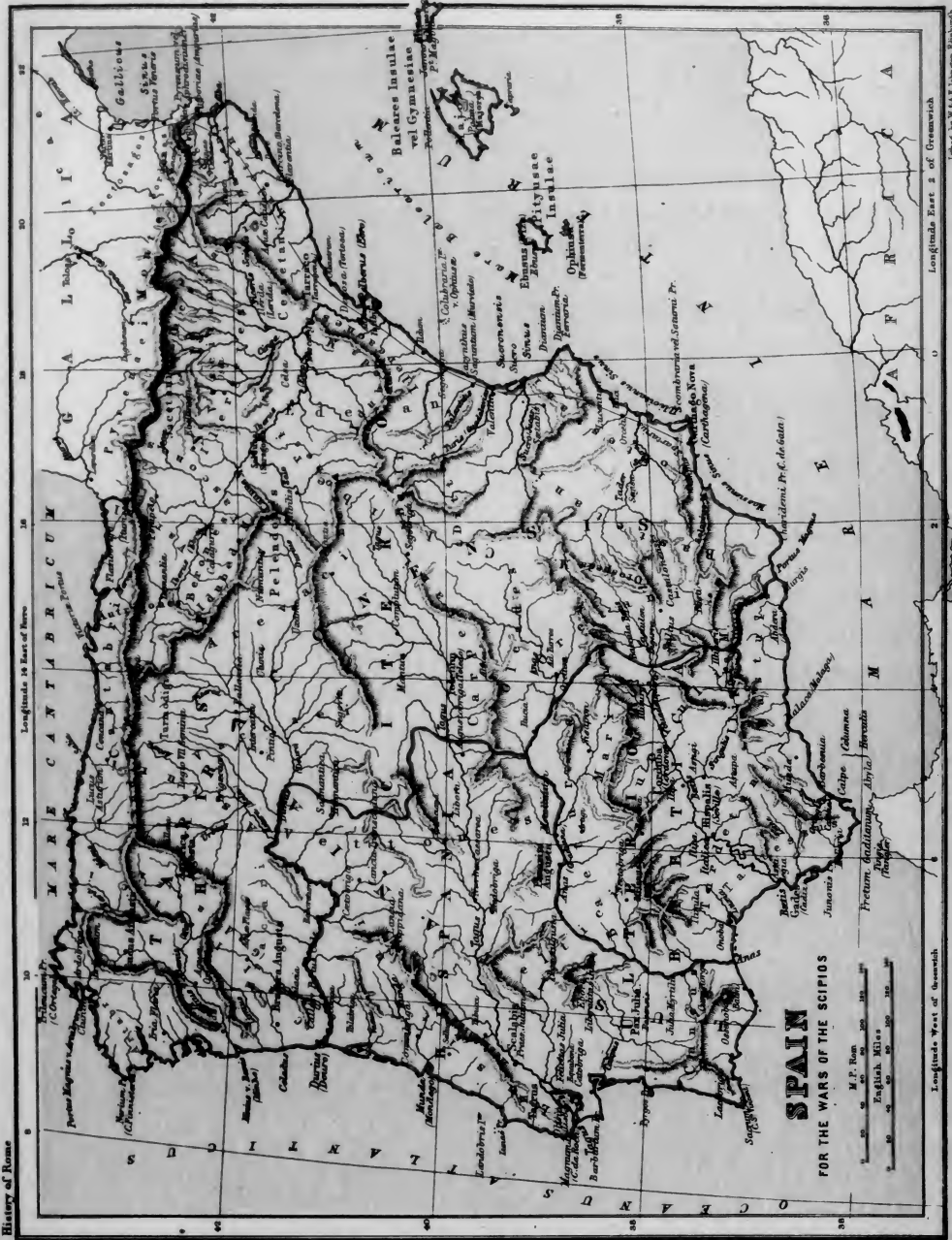
<sup>2</sup> Possibly fourteenth.

<sup>3</sup> [This contrasts strangely with the respect always shown by Hannibal for his fallen foes.—*Ed.*]



Monte Pollino and the Valley of the Crathis.





When they tell how many enemies have fallen, how the leader is slain, and how Nero is carrying his head to Hannibal, a great shout answers them back. Then a part of the crowd hastens to the temples to thank the gods; others rush to their homes to relate to the women and children and the old men, to all who have not heard the good news, that Rome is saved and the Carthaginians overthrown.

Sheltered in Bruttium, Hannibal however remained in Italy five years longer, till Scipio moved him from that impregnable retreat by himself laying siege to Carthage.

To understand how Hannibal was able to defend himself so long in this region we must notice its conformation. "The Calabrian peninsula is mountainous and very rugged.....The Apennines rise in abrupt escarpments above the zone of forest trees. Monte Pollino, overlooking the two seas, is higher than the Matese and all the other peaks in the Neapolitan territory; the group of which it is the centre occupies the peninsula from one sea to the other, and extends along the shore of the western waters in a wall of rocks more abrupt even than those of Liguria, and much more inaccessible by reason of the complete absence of roads. Towards the south it opens into beautiful wooded valleys, where the inhabitants gather from the trunks of the ash trees manna, an important article of commerce. The deep valley of the Crathis limits on the south and east this first mountain mass, and separates it from a second, less lofty, but more extended at its base; this is the Sila, whose schist and granite cliffs, of much more ancient origin than the Apennines, still keep the gloomy grandeur of their vast forests. South of the Sila rises a third mountain group, well named the Aspromonte, an enormous ridge, scarcely divided into distinct summits, but streaked over its entire extent with reddish ravines, which in winter are the beds of furious torrents. "The rough mountain,' still thickly wooded, spreads broadly out into the Ionian Sea its promontories, plumed with palm trees, and finally sinks beneath its waters at a point designated by sailors as the Parting of the Winds (*Spartivento*)."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, vol. i. pp. 485—6.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR; THE SCIPIOS.

#### I.—OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (218—205).

THAT which Hannibal had attempted in Italy, the three Scipios had accomplished in Spain. In 207 the Romans were almost masters of this peninsula. But we must return to a period a few years earlier.

When Cornelius Scipio had found himself forestalled by Hannibal at the passage of the Rhone, he entrusted to his brother Cnæus his two legions that the latter might occupy the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, a region which, recently subject to Rome and formerly in alliance with her, would doubtless show a friendly disposition. Marseilles, which had covered this coast with her trading posts, seconded Scipio with all her strength, and the skill of her pilots rendered him at once master of the sea. A single battle gained Cissa, threw the Carthaginians back across the Ebro (218), and the destruction of Hasdrubal's fleet at the mouth of that river permitted the Romans to ravage all the coast as far as the Straits. These first successes brought defections all over the country; a hundred and twenty cities joined themselves to the Romans, and the Celtiberians, the bravest and most numerous tribe in Spain, fighting alone, defeated Hasdrubal twice. As far as Bætica there were revolts, especially when the Romans, having seized the Spanish hostages, detained in Saguntum, sent them away with honour to their own cities.

His term as consul having expired, Cornelius returned to join his brother in Spain, with eight thousand men and thirty vessels. Strong in their united skill, they drove Hasdrubal back from the Ebro, at the time when Hannibal, after Cannæ, called his brother into Italy. Four victories, with the capture of Castulo and of

Saguntum, confirmed these earlier successes (215), and the offer of pay to the Celtiberian youth brought numerous auxiliaries to their banners (214). But in Spain, as in Italy, the nature of the country, bristling with mountains and with strongholds, made the war endless. The Scipios, weary with their rapid marches from



Tomb of the Scipios (so-called) near Tarragona.<sup>1</sup>

the Ebro to the Bætis, formed the plan of raising dissensions in Africa to prevent the sending of succour to their adversaries. Three centurions, sent to Syphax, king of western Numidia, gained him to the Roman alliance, disciplined his troops, and caused him to gain a victory over the Carthaginians (213). But this success

<sup>1</sup> De Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*. The ruin is Roman, but could not have been the tomb of those whose name it bears.



turned against them; Carthage, seeing herself menaced, took alarm. A numerous army, led by Masinissa, son of another Numidian king, defeated Syphax, drove him from his kingdom, and then crossed over into Spain, whence the danger had come. The Scipios, threatened by three armies, now saw the Suesetoni and the Celtiberians turn against them. The better to oppose so many adversaries the two brothers now separated. This was the cause of their ruin; attacked successively and by forces superior to their own, they perished (212). They deserve to share with Fabius the glory of having saved their country, and Rome preserved a grateful memory of their career. Cicero speaks of them as the thunderbolts of war.

Spain seemed to be lost; but Carthage had too many generals to be able to act with unity and decision. The fragments of the two Roman armies, gathered behind the Ebro by a young knight, Marcius by name, had time to recover their courage. Being attacked by Hasdrubal and by Mago, Marcius defeated them both in succession, and followed them across the Ebro;<sup>1</sup> and when in the summer of 211 Nero, after the fall of Capua, came with 13,000 men to take the command, which the senate was not willing to leave in the hands of a man elected by the soldiers,<sup>2</sup> Hasdrubal was already driven back into Bætica.<sup>3</sup> Shut up in a defile, he deluded Nero by negotiations, and made his escape. But a new general arrived, Publius Scipio, son of Cornelius.

With the lapse of time the life of the conqueror of Hasdrubal has become a marvellous legend. His birth, they say, like that of Alexander, was attended by prodigies, and he himself gave colour to these vague stories of a divine origin by passing long hours in the temple of Jupiter. All his words were serious, all his actions seemed to be under the guidance of the gods. No man received so many revelations by visions of the night or inspirations from on high. For him the oracles spoke. At the Trebia he is believed to have saved his father's life; after Cannæ

<sup>1</sup> [These defeats are probably much exaggerated by the Roman historians.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Marcius in his letters had taken the title of pro-prætor, and the example was a dangerous one.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, who ranks very high the merits of Hasdrubal, accounts for his defeats by the confusion and difficulties produced by the sending of other generals from Carthage.

he is said to have constrained at the dagger's point one Metellus and other young nobles to swear that they would not abandon Italy. When he presented himself as a candidate for the office of ædile the tribunes objected that he had not attained the required age. "I am old enough," he said, "if the Romans choose to elect me." This patrician was a *grand seigneur*, who never abased himself to flatter the people, yet was able to obtain from them, even while he defied them, all that he desired. As no other man sought the command of the army in Spain, he asked for it and obtained it, although he was but twenty-seven years of age, and had never filled any very important public offices. The two republics were accustomed to consider the government of this province as a right belonging in one family of each, which among the Carthaginians was the family of Barca, among the Romans that of Scipio.

Polybius, who believes neither in chance nor in the assistance of the gods, but has great faith in human reason, treats with contempt the superstitious legends current about Scipio. He received from Lælius, the friend and comrade in arms of the hero of Zama, the most intimate details about him, and regards him as a wise man, who made all things, even popular credulity, serve his purpose. "His ingenuity," he says, "in representing his designs as inspired by the gods gave his army confidence in undertaking the most difficult tasks."<sup>2</sup>

Upon arriving in Spain, Scipio gained the good will of the army by loading with honours and praises their former leader, Marcius, and in order to begin brilliantly, meditated an enterprise which should draw all eyes upon him. Without revealing his design to any one but Lælius, commander of his fleet, he set out from the banks of the Ebro with twenty-four thousand infantry



Scipio Africanus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From one of the two busts in green basalt in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 3,290—1. which reproduces the scars of wounds received by Scipio.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, x. 2.

and twenty-five hundred horse, and after seven days' march he pointed out to his army the towers of New Carthage, the arsenal and store-house of the Barcas. Defended on the one side by the citadel and lofty walls, and on the other by the sea and a lagoon, the place was deemed impregnable. Scipio took it in broad day at the first assault. Some fishermen at Tarragona had informed him that at low tide, especially when the wind blew from the north, the lagoon was fordable.<sup>1</sup> While a sharp attack drew the besieged towards the walls which defended the city on the land side, the hour of low tide came, the water in the lagoon sank away, and five hundred men easily crossed it and scaled the wall beyond. The north wind began to blow just at the moment, and the whole army regarded this as a miracle; Boreas and Neptune, they said, had fought with them (210).<sup>2</sup>

The soldiers from the fleet rivalled the legionaries in courage: a centurion and a marine disputed the honour of having been the first to scale the wall. They each received a mural crown in presence of the whole army. The rest received large rewards. To Lælius, his friend, who had commanded the fleet, Scipio gave a golden wreath and thirty oxen, with which a banquet was made on board the vessels. But he did not suffer the soldiers to forget their duty in the midst of victory. Every day he drilled them; the fleet had a sham fight or the galleys had races; the land force fought together with blunt javelins; and Polybius describes at great length the difficult manœuvres which he required the cavalry to perform that he might secure to man and horse the best use of the strength of each, and to the squadron rapidity of evolution and power of united action.

The Spanish hostages in the hands of the Carthaginians were detained in the city of Carthage; Scipio treated them kindly and gave presents to all of them, even to the children; to the boys swords, and bracelets to the girls; then he sent them

<sup>1</sup> At certain points of the Mediterranean coast the tide is very marked, and on the flatness of the shore and the direction of the wind depends the height to which it may rise. In the Adriatic [at Venice] and on the western coast of Sicily it rises from three to nine feet.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius (x. 2) had himself visited Carthage, and Lælius had related to him, among other details, that during the assault Scipio went everywhere, accompanied by three soldiers who shielded him with their bucklers against the arrows shot from the wall, and thus the general, seeing everything, could act upon each emergency without delay.

away to their own people. "Some of the soldiers," says Polybius, "who knew their general's weakness, had brought to him a young girl of remarkable beauty." Livy here interposes a love story, a graceful interlude in the midst of this stern history, where the



Great Discus of Massive Silver, called Scipio's Buckler.<sup>1</sup>

public man conceals so entirely the private man, where the passions of the individual remain hidden under the *paludamentum*

<sup>1</sup> This discus, one of the treasures of the *Cabinet de France*, weighs over ten kilograms, and was long famous as Scipio's buckler. It does not, however, represent that general restoring his betrothed to Allucius. The subject, taken from the *Iliad*, is the restitution of Briseis to Achilles by Agamemnon, who, placed in the midst of the three porticos, and bearing the sceptre of the king of kings, is the main figure of the scene. Ulysses harangues the son of Peleus, who makes a gesture of assent; Nestor leaning on his staff, and Diomedes listening to the king of Ithaca. A table bears the gifts offered to the hero by Agamemnon, and weapons are scattered before Achilles. No. 2,875 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

of the soldier or the senatorial toga. "Scipio having enquired in respect to the country and family of the young captive," says the historian, "was informed that she was betrothed to Allucius, chief of the Celtiberians. He sent for Allucius, and said to him: 'I present this captive to you, a gift worthy of us both, on the sole condition that you become the friend of the Romans. Know well that there exists upon earth to-day no people whose hatred should be more dreaded by you and yours, or whose friendship should be more desired.' The young chief, overwhelmed with joy, swore by all the gods to pay his debt of gratitude. The father and mother of the young girl wished to constrain Scipio to accept a considerable sum as ransom. He had the money laid at his feet, then said to Allucius: "Besides the dowry that you receive from your father-in-law, accept this from me."

I do not know that the details of this story are authentic, but the fact of the restitution of the hostages certainly is so, and for history that suffices. Allucius, returning to his own country, extolled to his companions the virtues of Scipio, "a man like the immortal gods, who has come into Spain to subjugate all men by his arms and by his clemency." He gathered together his dependents, and a few days later, at the head of 1,400 picked horsemen, returned to join the army of Scipio.<sup>1</sup>

The conduct of Scipio was politic, and honourable, which is also a form of good policy; moreover, this favourite of the gods desired to show himself superior to human weaknesses, and to serve his country's interests by this contrast with the arrogance, the exactions, and the outrages of the Carthaginian generals.<sup>2</sup> As a result, the principal Spanish chiefs, Edeco, Mandonius, and Indibilis brought him their troops, and, in their admiration, they gave him the title of king.

Still Scipio hesitated; the three armies, the three generals, who had conquered and killed his father and his uncle, might again unite. The one nearest to him, Hasdrubal, was encamped between Bæcula and Castulo, in the valley of the Bætis (Guadalquivir); he remained there an entire year, without calling to him his colleagues, and without making any movement to prevent

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxvi. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, ix. 11.

defections, which multiplied daily. Scipio marched against him in the summer of the year 209, and defeated him in a battle which cost the Carthaginians more than 20,000 men killed or taken prisoners. Notwithstanding this, Hasdrubal traversed the whole of Spain, and, deprived of his army, he accomplished that which as a conqueror he had not been able to do, he crossed the Pyrenees, Scipio no longer disputing with him the way. According to Polybius, Hasdrubal had for a long time been preparing this expedition: before his defeat was entire he made his escape with his elephants, his treasure, and a few soldiers,<sup>1</sup> made a detour through the valley of the Tagus in order to mislead Scipio's pursuit, and by the western Pyrenees came down into Gaul, where he remained in concealment for more than a year.<sup>2</sup> Scipio and Rome forgot him. But the storm gathered slowly, and when in 207 Hasdrubal came over the Alps with 52,000 fighting men, Scipio was accused of having let loose upon Rome a danger which he had not dared himself to encounter. The assertion was a calumny, for he had reason to believe that he had provided for everything in guarding by means of an army of 8,000 men strongly encamped at Suero the eastern passes of the Pyrenees, that is to say, the only road which appeared practicable for an army seeking to advance upon Italy. He had, moreover, lost track of the fugitive of Bæcula only by going in pursuit of adversaries who for the moment seemed more dangerous. It will be always laid to his charge, however, that he was neither able to penetrate nor to prevent the designs of Hasdrubal; but the laurels of Zama have hidden this fault.

Facing him remained, then, three other generals, Masinissa, Mago, and Hasdrubal Gisco. A fourth was on the way, Hanno, but this general was surprised and defeated by Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant. This success, the taking of Oringis by Lucius Scipio, and Scipio's own victory at Ilipa over 70,000 Carthaginians, reduced the Punic possessions in Spain to the city of Gades only

<sup>1</sup> x. 39, 7 and 8. Cf. Livy, xxvii. 19. The battle of Bæcula, in this case, must have been given to deceive Scipio [and no doubt the Punic losses are greatly exaggerated.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> According to Polybius (xi. 1) he must have crossed the Pyrenees at the end of the summer of 209, and he did not arrive in Italy until the spring of 207. Livy speaks of his celerity of movement, but also of expeditions of Roman and Massaliot emissaries into the interior of Gaul to observe him.



(206), and Scipio now began to think of Africa. Numidia, adjacent to the Carthaginian territory, was divided between two rival princes, Masinissa and Syphax. The former, who had served in Spain with the Carthaginians, felt his fidelity give way under so many heavy reverses, and opened negotiations secretly with Scipio. Syphax, on the contrary, had also fought for Rome, but his misfortunes rendered him circumspect. For the sake of deciding the two kings and uniting them against Carthage, Scipio did not hesitate to go over himself into Africa. At the court of the barbarian king he met Hasdrubal, who had come on the same errand, and he was able to get the better of him by his address and persuasive eloquence. Returning into Spain, he made haste to bring the war to an end; he took what towns remained in the enemy's power, and Gades, being abandoned by Mago, whom Carthage sent into Liguria to renew the attempt made by Hasdrubal, opened to him her gates.

At this juncture is placed an event which was of no importance as regards the war, but of very great consequence in the history of Rome—a military sedition. We have already noticed the case of a tribune whom Regulus was forced to threaten with rods because he refused after Ecnomus to go into Africa. In 253 it had been necessary to degrade 400 knights on account of their insubordination, and a little before this a legion in Rhegium had revolted. This time it was part of the army in Spain, the 8,000 men in camp at Suero, guarding the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, who upon a rumour of Scipio's death broke out in revolt. They drove their tribunes out of the camp, and gave the rods of office to common soldiers; they believed that Spain was about to fall into disorder and promised themselves an opportunity for plunder. A delay in respect to their pay served as a pretext; but Scipio was not dead, and the rumour of his restoration to health was enough to stop the insurrections upon which the revolting troops depended. He sent to the camp seven tribunes with no message of anger whatever; perhaps he sent word to the rebels that their services had not been sufficiently recompensed, and it was certain that money was due them; the general was collecting it among the allies; already at Carthage the treasury of the army was receiving the result of the tributes; if

the troops would go to Carthage they should be paid. Hither they came, confident in their numbers and re-assured against any severity by the rumour that the rest of the troops were to be sent away under Silanus for an expedition against the Laetani. Upon their approach the army at Carthage did indeed march out, but at the gates they stopped, and while the rebels convoked on the morrow, unarmed, in the market place, find Scipio seated on his tribunal, the army returns; they close all means of egress, and noiselessly surround the Forum. Scipio addresses the mutineers at considerable length to allow the troops to make their dispositions; first in the tone of a friend reproaching them, then with the displeasure of a chief whose confidence has been betrayed, finally with the severity of the pro-consul and the indignation of the patrician who has seen the gods, the auspices, the majesty of the law, the sacred rights of country violated. "There must be blood to expiate crimes like these!" At these words a great clash of arms is heard, the shock of the swords and bucklers in the army of Silanus, and the herald announces that a council condemns thirty-five of the guilty. Enticed the night before to houses where they had been stupified with liquor, they are seized without difficulty. Dragged naked into the midst, they are bound and scourged and then put to death. After this, the dead bodies being removed and the place purified by the priests, each soldier is required to renew his oath before the military tribunes, and there receives the arrears of his pay. Not a cry nor a murmur rises from the affrighted cohorts.<sup>1</sup> The sedition is at an end, but this outbreak reveals the change that is going on in military manners; and constant war will accelerate this transformation of the citizen-soldier, who defended his country into the mercenary soldier, who will presently sell her.

Scipio was then free to return to Rome, and to solicit, or rather to accept the consulship (206). But before quitting Spain he founded for his veterans, in Bætica, that colony of Italica whence came the two most distinguished emperors of Rome, Trajan and Hadrian.

He also conceived the idea of making a public impression

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxviii. 24-29.

by a funeral ceremony in honour of his father and uncle. He announced that he would give a gladiatorial display at Carthage. "At these combats there were seen no athletes of servile condition, nor any of those mercenaries who sell their blood. All were voluntary and unpaid combatants; some sent by the princes of the country, wishing to prove the native valour of their nations; others were eager to descend into the arena to gain their generals' favour; others still, for the mere pleasure of the strife. Some already engaged in disputes agreed to leave the matter to be then decided by the sword. Nor were these obscure men, but noble and illustrious personages, among others Corbis and Orsua, cousins, who disputed for the sovereignty of a city named Ibses, and who agreed to settle their quarrel in the lists. Corbis was the elder, but Orsua was the son of the late king. Scipio attempted to reconcile them, but they replied that they would have no other judge than the god Mars. Corbis was proud of his strength, Orsua of his youth; each preferred to die fighting rather than to submit to the authority of a rival. The elder by his skill triumphed easily over the fiery impetuosity of the younger."<sup>1</sup>

## II.—CONSULSHIP OF SCIPIO (205); BATTLE OF ZAMA (202).

With the battle of Metaurus ended in Italy the second Punic war. Hannibal had relied upon Syracuse, and it was taken; upon Philip, and he had been defeated;<sup>2</sup> upon the Gauls, and they had remained indifferent; upon Spain, and it had been conquered; upon Hasdrubal, and he was dead. His allies in Italy failed him also, for the prestige of his fame was fading away, while every day increased his necessities. Bruttium, so poor a country, was becoming exhausted in supplying his mercenaries, and everywhere, as at Locri, defections were planned. He felt himself surrounded by enemies, and hoped to control them by cruelty. The African blood showed itself. At Arpi he had caused the wife and children of a chief who had gone back to the Romans to be put to death

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxviii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> This very year (205) Philip sued for peace.

by fire. At Herdonea, at Terina, at Nuceria, he had driven out the people and burned the city. He did the same with all places that he could not keep. Remaining motionless in his camp, the Hannibal of earlier years could only be recognised by the prudence and anxiety of the Roman consuls and the discipline that he knew how to maintain, despite his reverses, in an army which only the hope of plunder seemed able to render united and obedient.

Meanwhile Carthage herself was menaced. The Romans had closed against her successively all the countries whence she had been accustomed to recruit her soldiers: Gaul, whose coasts were defended by Marseilles; Spain and Sicily, whence her armies had been driven out; Numidia, whose alliance had been gained by Scipio. Every spring the Roman fleet of Lilybæum ravaged Africa. In 207 the territory of Utica had been ravaged, and a Carthaginian fleet destroyed. Finally, Scipio turned against Carthage the two Numidian kings. The time for reprisals had come, and Cannæ was to be avenged. Scipio said as much publicly: "We must go over into Africa; Hannibal, driven into a corner in Bruttium, protected by mountains and impassable forests, will make a resistance there, the limits of which we cannot foresee; an attack upon Carthage will give him an honourable pretext, which perhaps he desires, to quit Italy."<sup>1</sup> But Fabius was determined that *his* method should have the honour of the final victory; and the young consul was sent into Sicily without fleet or army.

The common people often see and understand that which their wise men do not see and do not understand; with that admirable instinct which is only good sense applied to simple and great things, they had recognised the conqueror of Hannibal, and applauded his designs. What the senate denied him the allies gave. Etruria,<sup>2</sup> once of doubtful fidelity, offered an entire fleet, an immense quantity of arms, iron, cordage, and provisions; Umbria, the country of the Sabines, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Marrucini, promised soldiers; and the singular spectacle was seen of a fleet

<sup>1</sup> *Jam hoc ipsum præsagens animo præparaverat ante naves.* (Livy, xxx. 20.)

<sup>2</sup> It appears that at the approach of Mago there were yet some disturbances in Etruria (see Livy, xxx. 3). Such was the zeal of the allies that forty days sufficed to cut down the trees and construct the vessels. (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi. 39.)

and an army furnished spontaneously by the subjects of Rome, when Rome herself gave to her consul not a single soldier nor a single ship.

This unfriendliness of the senate followed Scipio into Sicily. Having found an opportunity to take Locri from Hannibal, he left Pleminius there as governor. The length of the war had, as was the case in France at the close of the First Empire, inspired the soldiers of the regular army with the utmost contempt for the peaceful dwellers in cities. The garrison at Locri, and Pleminius with them, disgraced themselves by a thousand excesses. The enemies of Scipio accused him of connivance. At Syracuse, they said, surrounded by philosophers and rhetoricians, he was forgetting Hannibal and the army. In this Greek, shod with sandals and wearing the chlamys, who could recognise the Roman consul? A commission was appointed to examine into his conduct, and two tribunes were sent with them to arrest him in the name of the people if these rumours should prove well founded. At Locri it was decided that Pleminius alone was guilty; at Syracuse Scipio exhibited the fleet, the magazines, the immense preparations for a descent upon the African coast, and sent away his judges full of admiration and hope.<sup>1</sup> At the same time Rome had sent deputies to Delphi to make an offering to Apollo, and the Pythia, speaking in the interest of Rome, had said: "An important victory awaits the Roman people."

All Sicily gathered at Lilybæum on the day of the departure (204). Scipio, on the deck of the prætorian vessel and overlooking thence his fleet and the immense crowd in the harbour, offered a solemn sacrifice, ending it, amidst silence of all, with this prayer: "Gods and goddesses of land and sea, I pray you, I implore you, let my command be fortunate for me, for the Roman people, for the allies, for my soldiers. Grant that our plans succeed, and bring us back to our firesides in health, in strength, and as victors." Then he cast into the sea the entrails of the sacrifice, and gave orders for departure. A favourable wind filled the sails; by noon the land was lost to sight. Four hundred transports

<sup>1</sup> In presence of the great events then preparing, the scandal caused by the conduct of Livius Salinator during his censorship is forgotten (Livy, xxix. 37). Moreover, historians seem to have singularly exaggerated this character. His reply to Fabius before the battle of Metaurus cannot be historical. (Livy, xxviii. 40.)

carried provisions for forty-five days and thirty thousand soldiers, among them the veterans of Cannæ; only forty war-ships escorted them. Upon the voyage they met not one Carthaginian vessel, and yet, after Zama, Carthage surrendered 400 vessels of war! Where were they when this [helpless] fleet advanced, bringing her destruction?

Before embarking Scipio had received news of the defection of Syphax, whom Hasdrubal had gained over by giving him in marriage Sophonisba, his daughter, and of the defeat of Masinissa, driven out by Syphax from his hereditary kingdom. The adventures of this gallant Numidian show us ancient Africa, the same then that we see it to-day. Tracked upon a mountain by Bocchar, an officer of Syphax, Masinissa escapes him. Again, shut in a valley where Bocchar guards the egress, he flees across the precipices and gains the plains of Clypea, whither Bocchar pursues him, overtakes, and surrounds him. Masinissa is wounded, but escapes with four horsemen; Bocchar however has recognised him, despatches all his force in pursuit, cuts off his route to the desert, and brings him to bay on the bank of a deep torrent. The fugitives dash into the water; two are carried away by the rapid flood, and Bocchar, who believes the prince has perished, returns to claim his reward from Syphax. In the meanwhile, Masinissa, hidden in a cavern, is recovering from his wounds, while his two companions forage for his support, and as soon as he can again mount his horse quits his retreat boldly, reappears among the Mas-sylians, incites them to revolt, and once more a king, attacks at once Carthage and his rival. A new defeat drives him again to the desert. He now flees, escaping from the hot pursuit of Vermina, son of Syphax, until his enemy, wearied out, gives up the chase; then Masinissa reaches the lesser Syrtis, and there awaits the arrival of the Romans (204).

Scipio had just landed at the Pulchrum Promontorium when he perceived a group of dusty horsemen riding up. It was Masinissa, who had crossed the whole of the Carthaginian territory to join him. Scipio had expected the assistance of two kings, but one was unfriendly, and the other a fugitive from his kingdom. This fugitive however, was the best horseman in Africa, and the two Numidias resounded with the fame of his brilliant courage;



Scipio welcomed him with respect, counting upon his services to make an important diversion. Two cavalry engagements, the ravaging of the country, and the blockade of Utica inaugurated with but little *éclat* this expedition into Africa, which was not strengthened as had been the case in the time of Regulus by the defection of the allies of Carthage to the Roman allegiance, a change in their sentiments doubtless arising from a change of conduct towards them on the part of the Carthaginian senate. The following year was more fruitful (203). Hasdrubal and Syphax had gathered fifty thousand men.<sup>1</sup> Under cover of negotiations Scipio reconnoitred their camps, which were huts of reeds and straw; during the night he set fire to them, while his legions surrounded the encampment; three thousand men only escaped;<sup>2</sup> a new army of thirty thousand Carthaginians and Numidians were destroyed in another engagement. The time had come for employing Masinissa; Scipio sent him with Lælius in pursuit of Syphax, already twice defeated. The Massylii hastened to join their prince, who challenged his rival to single combat, and the Roman infantry had but to show themselves to put to flight the enemy, already weakened by the furious onslaught of the Massylii. Syphax, his capital city Cirta, with Sophonisba and all his treasure, fell into the power of Masinissa. The latter had formerly been a suitor to Hasdrubal's daughter, and he now hoped that he might shield her from Roman displeasure by making her his wife. But Scipio remembered that it was she who had detached Syphax from the Roman alliance, and he sternly demanded that she should be given up to him. Whereupon the Numidian king sent her a cup of poison. How much of truth is there in this romantic story, which Livy places amid his recitals of a pitiless war? The Numidian king was ambitious to add to the number of his wives her whom Carthage might have called "the daughter of the Republic," and once having entered the royal harem, there was no other exit for Sophonisba but death.

This important expedition secured to Scipio the support of all the Numidians. In vain would Hannibal return to Africa;

<sup>1</sup> Livy says 93,000 men, but taking the number of dead, of prisoners, and of fugitives, we find but 50,000.

<sup>2</sup> According to Appian, only the camp of Hasdrubal was burned.

this cavalry to which he owed his victories was now turned against him. The Carthaginian senate had in fact recalled him, while to gain time and to delay Scipio, already master of Tunis, it gave up a few prisoners, and despatched an embassy to Rome.<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginians had at this time two armies in Italy, under command of Hasdrubal and Mago; the latter, sent out in 203 to carry on Hasdrubal's expedition, had held his ground two years in the mountains of Liguria, and had then been wounded in a great battle fought with the Romans (203). Mago was at Genoa ill from his wound, when he received the order to return to Carthage; he embarked with his army and died upon the way, near Sardinia.<sup>2</sup>

For five years Hannibal had not attempted one of those bold enterprises which had so often disconcerted the Romans, and he allowed the consuls to boast of the re-taking of several small cities as if they had been so many victories. But woe to him who should venture to molest the Carthaginian in his lair! The hero turned and struck a blow, and then fell back into inaction. Sad and gloomy, he felt himself conquered by something mightier than his own genius, the institutions and virtues of Rome. Over armies, over generals, he had been victorious, but this people had something of the power of the ocean. In vain had he driven it back; like the sea, returning slowly, invincibly, it had rallied. Already he had not room to stand, the rising tide threatened him, and mounting higher and higher, reached the walls of Carthage and assailed its gates.



The Lacinian Juno.<sup>3</sup>

In leaving Italy Hannibal left behind him cruel and insulting farewells. In the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno he erected a tablet, on which was inscribed in Greek and in Punic the story of his victories, which was read by Polybius, and around the temple he put to death all the Italian mercenaries who refused to follow him. Tradition relates also that he had the design of

<sup>1</sup> Livy accuses the Carthaginians of having violated the truce by intercepting a convoy of three hundred vessels, and also allowing three envoys of Scipio to be insulted and almost slain by the populace.

<sup>2</sup> [This brilliant leader has received but scanty justice in history.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Head of Lacinian Juno on a coin of Crotona.

carrying off the golden statue of the goddess, whose angry countenance arrested the sacrilege.<sup>1</sup> For some time his vessels had awaited him; and he now sailed towards the lesser Syrtis. Scipio had landed at Pulchrum Promontorium, a name of good augury; the first object beheld by Hannibal upon the African coast was a ruined tomb. People and soldiers alike read the future in these presages (203).

Scipio was eager to finish the war, for he feared that each spring might bring out to him a successor. No one had been envious of his command in Spain, it was not long since his hopes had been esteemed idle; but Fabius was now dead, and the new consuls worried the senate and the tribunes with their importunities for the province of Africa. With that equity which the people show in important circumstances, the thirty-five Roman tribes would have no other general in Africa but the man who had reconquered Spain and forced Hannibal to leave Italy.<sup>2</sup>

Before the battle which was to decide the destinies of the world, Hannibal, in a conference with Scipio, desired peace. But peace without a defeat of the great Carthaginian would have been inglorious and of brief duration: Scipio refused, and hastened to fight, to take advantage of the 4,000 cavalry which Masinissa had just brought to him, as well as to anticipate the arrival of succour promised by Vermina to Hannibal.<sup>3</sup>

The two armies were of equal strength in respect to infantry; but Scipio's cavalry was more numerous than that of Hannibal. All the art of war and all the results of experience on either side were brought into play (Oct. 19, 202).<sup>4</sup> On Hannibal's part there were no more of those stratagems which had deceived so many consuls; but his arrangements were admirable. His poorest troops were upon the wings, to occupy the Numidians

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Div.*, i. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in Livy (*xxx. passim*) the efforts of the consuls Claudius and Lentulus to obtain Africa; the senate always referred the affair to the people.

<sup>3</sup> Appian says (*Libyca*, viii. 34) that Hannibal massacred 4,000 Massylii who had come over to him on suspicion of their treason, and Livy (*xxx. 36*) relates that a few days after the battle of Zama Vermina ventured to attack Scipio, who killed 16,000 of his men.

<sup>4</sup> On that day, according to Zonaras, there was an eclipse of the sun, which astronomical calculations prove to have been visible in the north of Africa. Livy (*xxx. 29*) places Hannibal at Zama and Scipio near the city of Naraggara. According to Appian (*Libyca*, viii. 36) there was at Zama some days earlier a cavalry engagement favourable to the Romans.

and to attract them in pursuit far from the field of battle. His van consisted of a formidable line of eighty elephants; behind them the Gallic and Ligurian mercenaries to blunt the Roman swords and break the ranks of the legions. His main army, Carthaginians and Africans, were drawn up to receive the attack of troops disturbed and fatigued by the preceding combat, and finally 200 yards behind, the old bands from Italy, his most devoted soldiers, ready to complete the victory or else to flee with him into Carthage, that he might not return thither undefended. But Scipio had so placed his legionaries that opposed to the elephants were bands of bowmen who filled the air with their arrows. The mercenaries, broken and driven back upon the second line, carried disorder into it; meanwhile Scipio had halted his soldiers, reformed their ranks, and now hurled them into the second combat in as good order as if they were marching out of camp. During this terrible shock Lælius and Masinissa, instead of allowing themselves to be led away in pursuit of the enemy's cavalry, had brought their Numidians in upon Hannibal's rear. He fled from the field, covered by 20,000 of his soldiers,<sup>1</sup> as far as Hadrumentum and thence to Carthage, which he re-entered thirty-six years from the time when he had left there with his father, Hamilcar. He returned a fugitive, bringing back as the fruit of so many wars and victories and conquests only a humiliating peace. Some no doubt, would have willingly devoted the ruined general to the fate which so many Carthaginian chiefs had suffered the day after a defeat. But the general who had so long held fixed upon himself the admiration of the world could not be treated like an obscure chief. The Carthaginian people loved the man who had borne their name so high, and they would not have permitted the opposite faction, after depriving him of the means of victory, to call him to account for his defeat.

The veterans of Cannæ had brilliantly restored the honour of the Roman arms. From Zama Scipio returned to Tunis, and here he met and destroyed an army which Vermina, the son of Syphax, was bringing to the aid of Hannibal. In Scipio's council there were some officers who talked of not leaving Africa till the

<sup>1</sup> [According to most historians his veterans were cut to pieces.—*Ed.*]

name of Carthage should be effaced from the list of nations. But the enterprise was long and difficult; others later would profit by their achievements; already one of the consuls of the year 202, Tiberius Claudius Nero, was preparing to strike a last blow at the hereditary enemy. Scipio resolved to treat. Perhaps also noble thoughts may have occupied this great soul. Since Carthage was no longer formidable, she at once became useful. While Hannibal and Carthage survived, Rome could not give way to the dangerous intoxication of victory. She must needs keep her Roman virtues, her discipline, her courage, against this peril ever liable to spring up again. This policy was, according to Appian,<sup>1</sup> the favourite one of the Scipios, and they doubtless owed it to the head of their house.

Scipio at first concluded an armistice of three months, with the payment by Carthage of 25,000 pounds of silver; she engaged moreover, to furnish, as long as the truce should last, pay and subsistence for the Roman army. At Rome the people compelled the senate to allow to the conqueror of Zama the honour of bringing this war to an end, and ten commissioners were associated with him to aid him with their counsels. He did not require the extradition of Hannibal, and made the following terms: Carthage should retain her own laws and her possessions in Africa; she should deliver up all prisoners and deserters, all her ships except ten, all her elephants, and should never train any in future; she should not make war even in Africa without the permission of Rome, and should not again employ mercenaries; the sum of 10,000 talents should be paid to Rome in fifty years; a hundred hostages should be given up, aged from fourteen years to thirty; she should indemnify Masinissa, and receive him as an ally.<sup>2</sup>

At Carthage one of the senators dared to complain of these conditions; Hannibal dragged him from the platform. When the assembly murmured: "I have always lived in camps," the rude soldier said, "and I do not understand your city manners." Then he proved the necessity of submitting. The ambassadors set off

<sup>1</sup> *Libyca*, viii. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xv. 18; Livy, xxx. 36. When they brought to Rome the first instalment of the tribute they attempted to pass debased coinage; their pieces had a fourth of alloy. (Livy, xxxii. 2.)

for Rome. The senate accepted the conditions to which Scipio had agreed, and sent two heralds to Africa with the sacred stones, the vervains, and the consecrated plant which grows at the Capitol.<sup>1</sup> Scipio received 4,000 prisoners and a large number of deserters; the latter were put to death by the axe or by crucifixion, a punishment at that time unknown at Rome, but habitual at Carthage and in the East. Five hundred vessels were delivered over to him, which he burned at sea, in sight of Carthage, thus indicating that Rome did not desire for herself that maritime power of which she had just deprived her rival. The tribute came last. On seeing the grief of the Carthaginians at parting with their gold Hannibal began to laugh. "When they took our ships and our arms it was time to weep," he said; "the loss which costs you the most regret is the least of your misfortunes." Carthage was disarmed, and that she might never recover herself, Scipio fixed at her side an indefatigable enemy, Masinissa, to whom, in presence of his troops, he gave the title of king, with the territory of his ancestors, the strong city of Cirta, and a part of the kingdom of Syphax, the rest however, being given to Vermina, that the presence of that mortal enemy might in turn ensure Masinissa's fidelity.

All things being thus settled in Africa, Scipio returned to Lilybæum. Thence he sent his army to Rome on board of the fleet, he himself returning by land, traversing the whole length of Italy, in the midst of an immense concourse of the Italian peoples, as if to efface the shame of so many battle-fields, by exhibiting him to whom the genius of Hannibal had at last been obliged to succumb. His entry into Rome was the most splendid triumph. He brought home for the treasury 123,000 pounds of silver, and each soldier had received 400 *ases*. Syphax followed the chariot.<sup>2</sup> He was the first king condemned to this shame. But soon Perseus and Jugurtha were to tread this *via dolorosa*, which was for Rome the triumphal path; later Vercingetorix the Gaul, Juba, the daughter of the Ptolemies, and the queen of Palmyra. Duillius had only an inscription upon a rostral

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxx. 43.

<sup>2</sup> According to Livy, contradicted however by Polybius, who must be the better informed, Syphax had died in prison before the triumph. Polybius says he died at Tibur, five years later. The veterans of Scipio received lands in Lucania and Apulia.



column; Scipio received the name of Africanus, and a *plebiscitum* decreed that his statue, placed in the temple of Jupiter with the triumphal robe and laurel crown, should be brought forth every year for a new triumph on the anniversary of the day. To these almost divine honours it was desired to add power, and in the delirium of her gratitude Rome offered to Scipio the consulship and dictatorship for life.<sup>1</sup>

But this people was unjust towards itself. It was the people who was the real conqueror in this terrible strife. Very early in the war the gods failed her, and we shall see later on that of this there remained a bitter recollection. But Rome never failed to herself; she was her own providence, and secured her salvation by wisdom in council, by discipline in action, and by constancy in sacrifice: virile virtues like these are greater than Hannibal and stronger than Scipio. The crowd however, feels the need of personifying its fortune in human form. To honour him who had conquered at the last hour Rome forgot her laws; she offered to Scipio that which later she allowed Cæsar to take, and it was a grave symptom of a new condition of minds, presaging interior revolutions. It is not enough to say that the victory of Zama finished the second Punic war: it began the conquest of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 56: . . . . . *perpetuum consulem et dictatorem*.



Winged Victory crowning a warrior, who is preceded by another. From an ancient intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1545 of the Chabouillet catalogue.

END OF VOL. I.

## ALPHABETICAL INDEXES.

### I.—COINS AND GEMS.

	Page		Page
Acarmania . . . . .	508	Camarina . . . . .	371
Adria ( <i>as of</i> ) . . . . .	xix	— (primitive epoch) . . . . .	459
Ædiles (plebeian) . . . . .	178	Camers (bronze coin attributed to the Etrusco-Umbrian town of) . . . . .	LXXVII
Æneas . . . . .	4	Canusium . . . . .	667
Æsculapius (arrival of) . . . . .	555	Capua . . . . .	cv
Æsernia . . . . .	402	Carthage . . . . .	442
Agathocles . . . . .	467	— (gold coin) . . . . .	443
Agrigentum . . . . .	469	— (moneta <i>castrensis</i> ) . . . . .	622
— . . . . .	473	Cephalœdium . . . . .	483
Alba-Longa . . . . .	xc	Chastity (altar of) . . . . .	299
Alexander II., king of Epirus (gem) . . . . .	380	Civic crown . . . . .	211
Alexander the Molossian . . . . .	329	— — with laurel leaves . . . . .	—
Ancilia . . . . .	19	Coins (bronze) . . . . .	209
— or shield of Mars . . . . .	102	— (silver) . . . . .	549
Ancona . . . . .	cxii	— (gold) . . . . .	550
Anna Perenna . . . . .	164	Colony . . . . .	398
Antigonus Gonatas . . . . .	382	Concord . . . . .	cxviii
Antistia (the <i>gens</i> ) . . . . .	42	Consul between two fasces . . . . .	153
Apollonia . . . . .	507	Coreyra . . . . .	507
Aquinum . . . . .	402	Cosa . . . . .	402
Ariminum ( <i>as of</i> ) . . . . .	267	Cossura (Pæno-Roman coin of) . . . . .	448
Arpi . . . . .	632	Crotona . . . . .	cxv
<i>As</i> in bullion (actual size) . . . . .	126	Cumæ . . . . .	cx
— of Adria . . . . .	xix	Cybele . . . . .	559
— <i>libral</i> Etrusco-Umbrian . . . . .	LXXVII		
— — of Tudur . . . . .	LIII	Decius Mus . . . . .	319
Augurinus . . . . .	237	Decurions (coin of the) . . . . .	400
Aulus Postumius . . . . .	57	Demetrius Poliorcetes . . . . .	382
		Denarius (silver, of 16 <i>ases</i> ) . . . . .	497
Beak-head of a ship . . . . .	475	Diana or the moon . . . . .	534
Beneventum . . . . .	381	Dii Penates (heads of the) . . . . .	19
Black stone (coin) . . . . .	557	Dioscuri . . . . .	57
Boii . . . . .	510		
Brundisium . . . . .	403	Elea . . . . .	cxv
Brutus . . . . .	157	Elephants (African) . . . . .	496
Buxentum . . . . .	xxv	— (fighting) making a prisoner . . . . .	376
		— (quincussis) . . . . .	383
Cadiz . . . . .	441		
— in Phrygia . . . . .	565		
Cales . . . . .	327		

	Page		Page
Enna . . . . .	644	Lucanian Heraclea . . . . .	376
Escutcheons ( <i>jus imaginum</i> ) of the patricians . . . . .	70	Malta (Ægypto-Roman coin of) . . . . .	447
Entella . . . . .	473	Mamertines (coin of the) . . . . .	468
Equity . . . . .	226	Mamilia ( <i>gens</i> ) . . . . .	57
Ercte . . . . .	489	Marcellus at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius . . . . .	520
Fabia (coin of the <i>gens</i> ) . . . . .	68	Marcii (coin of the) . . . . .	20
Fabius Pictor . . . . .	532	Mars . . . . .	77
Fasces . . . . .	153	Matri Magnæ . . . . .	82
Faustulus . . . . .	5	Merchant vessel under sail . . . . .	330
Feronia . . . . .	82	Messina . . . . .	465
<i>Fides</i> or good Faith . . . . .	100	Metapontum . . . . .	xxv
Flora . . . . .	541	Metellus (coin commemorative of the victory of) . . . . .	483
Frentani . . . . .	c	<i>Municipium</i> (coin of) . . . . .	394
Gabii (treaty with the) . . . . .	59	Naples . . . . .	395
Garlands of leaves round a temple . . . . .	99	Navius (miracle of) . . . . .	34
Gaulos (Pæno-Roman coin of) . . . . .	448	Nola . . . . .	395
Gela . . . . .	372	Nuceria . . . . .	396
— . . . . .	468	<i>Ops</i> or wealth . . . . .	cxxx
Gelon . . . . .	638	Pæstum (coin of) . . . . .	330
Good success . . . . .	cxxx	Palladium (the) after a coin . . . . .	106
Hicetas . . . . .	371	Pallor . . . . .	28
Hiero II. . . . .	465	Panormus . . . . .	485
Hieronimus . . . . .	638	Pharos . . . . .	509
Honour and Virtue . . . . .	521	Philip V., king of Macedon . . . . .	636
Hope . . . . .	198	Phintias . . . . .	371
Horatio (coin of the <i>gens</i> ) . . . . .	52	Populonia . . . . .	xxviii
Horatius Cocles . . . . .	52	— coin of, with a gorgon's head . . . . .	lxxvi
Issa . . . . .	508	Prisoner . . . . .	262
Italy (coin of Antoninus representing) . . . . .	i	Ptolemy III., Euergetes . . . . .	521
Janus . . . . .	19	Philadelphus (after a coin) . . . . .	382
— <i>as</i> , found at Volterra . . . . .	cxlvi	<i>Puteal</i> of Libo . . . . .	139
Juno Sospita (the serpent of) . . . . .	326	Pyrrhus . . . . .	374
— (the Lacinian) . . . . .	692	Regillus (battle of lake) . . . . .	57
— Lucina . . . . .	37	Regulus (coin) . . . . .	480
— Moneta . . . . .	548	Rhea Sylvia . . . . .	5
Jupiter (gem) . . . . .	235	Rhegium . . . . .	469
— Capitolinus (temple of) . . . . .	131	Rome seated upon the Seven Hills . . . . .	58
Knight holding his horse by the bridle . . . . .	315	Rome and the she-wolf . . . . .	5
Lares . . . . .	151	Rostra (the) . . . . .	326
Larinum . . . . .	605	Rutulians (coin attributed to the) . . . . .	xcii
Laus . . . . .	cxv	Sabines (rape of the) . . . . .	64
<i>Lectisternium</i> (state bed for the festival of) . . . . .	112	Sacrifice (instruments of, after various coins) . . . . .	101
Leontini . . . . .	638	Salapia . . . . .	635
Liberty (head of) . . . . .	434	Salian priest . . . . .	19
Libya . . . . .	443	Samnium . . . . .	ciii
Lilybæum . . . . .	460	Sardinia . . . . .	440
Lipari . . . . .	467	Saturnus . . . . .	2
Lucania . . . . .	cv	Segesta . . . . .	469

	Page		Page
Selimonum (coin of) . . . . .	485	Thunderbolt with twelve forks . . . . .	cxxxv
Sergius Silus . . . . .	631	Thurii . . . . .	cv
Servilius Ahala . . . . .	236	Tiber (the) . . . . .	82
Sicily . . . . .	464	<i>Triquetra</i> (the) . . . . .	465
Sidon . . . . .	440	Tuder (libral <i>as</i> of) . . . . .	liii
Suessa (coin of) . . . . .	327	Venus Erycina . . . . .	478
Sybaris . . . . .	xxxix	Venusia . . . . .	xi
Sylvanus . . . . .	142	Vesta holding the Palladium and a sceptre . . . . .	99
Syracuse . . . . .	645	— — and the cup of libations . . . . .	112
Tarentum . . . . .	395	Vestal . . . . .	105
Tarpeia . . . . .	11	Vestals round the altar . . . . .	108
Tauromenium . . . . .	489	Victory crowning a warrior . . . . .	697
Teanum . . . . .	614	Volscian coin . . . . .	xciv
Teate . . . . .	c	War vessel with beak-head . . . . .	352
Temesa of Bruttium . . . . .	93	— — a double beak-head . . . . .	475
Terina . . . . .	civ	Youth . . . . .	cxxxiii
Terror . . . . .	28		
Thunderbolt with eight forks . . . . .	cxxxv		

## II.—MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

Adoration before a tomb . . . . .	89	Arretium (earthenware of) . . . . .	354
— gesture of . . . . .	90	Arms (tomb called that of) . . . . .	181
— . . . . .	90	Astarte . . . . .	479
Æneas carrying Anchises . . . . .	3	Atellane characters . . . . .	539
Ager Romanus (map of) . . . . .	134	Athletic victor in boxing . . . . .	542
Agrigentum (plan of) . . . . .	470	Augur . . . . .	115
— (the old walls of) . . . . .	646	Aurunci (wall of the town of) . . . . .	xcviii
— (ruin of the temple of Castor and Pollux . . . . .	647	Aventine (present state of the) . . . . .	205
Alatri (wall of) . . . . .	xciii	— (wall of the) . . . . .	207
Alba Fucentia (plan of) . . . . .	355	Baal-Hammon (remains of the temple of) . . . . .	445
Alphabets of Central Italy . . . . .	lxvii	Bellona (priest of) . . . . .	323
— Etruscan . . . . .	lxi	Bronze arms . . . . .	lxxv
— Early Roman (Latin) . . . . .	60	— and tools (found at Bologna) . . . . .	lxx
— Northern Italy . . . . .	cxix	— jewels . . . . .	lxxiii
Alps and Apennines (the limits of the) . . . . .	vii	— vases . . . . .	lxxii
Alsium (tumuli at) . . . . .	403	— vessels . . . . .	lxxxvii
Altar of the temple called that of Quirinus at Pompeii . . . . .	167	Brutus . . . . .	50
— (domestic) . . . . .	84	Bulla . . . . .	87
Ancus Marcius . . . . .	29	— (young man wearing the) . . . . .	87
Antium (ruins of) . . . . .	331	Cabeiri (the) . . . . .	xlv
Argentarii . . . . .	548	— . . . . .	xlvi
— . . . . .	551	Cæles Vibenna and Mastarna . . . . .	118
Apollo (priest of) . . . . .	554	Cære (vase of) . . . . .	39
— Pythian . . . . .	253	Camillus . . . . .	109
— of the Vatican . . . . .	666	Campanian horsemen . . . . .	620
Appian Gate (the) . . . . .	404	Caudine Forks (the valley of, near Caserta) . . . . .	338
— Way . . . . .	300	Cannæ (battlefield of) . . . . .	609
— (causeway in the valley of Aricia for the passage of the) . . . . .	312	— (ruins of) . . . . .	607
Arch Gallus (an) . . . . .	558	Capitoline Hill (the) . . . . .	131
Ardea (remains found at) . . . . .	53	Capua (lower part of the amphitheatre at) . . . . .	618
		— (ruins of the amphitheatre) . . . . .	619

	Page		Page
Capua (ancient tomb called Della Can- nochia near) . . . . .	660	Etruscan funeral urn . . . . .	368
Carthage (plan of) . . . . .	437	— gorgon . . . . .	LXIV
— (aqueducts of) . . . . .	438	— jewels and ear-rings . . . . .	LXXIV
— (cisterns of) . . . . .	439	— Mars . . . . .	351
— (port of) . . . . .	444	— sideboard . . . . .	134
Carthaginian art (remains of) . . . . .	455	— tomb . . . . .	LIX
— warrior . . . . .	523	— warrior . . . . .	274
Castel d'Asso (valley of) . . . . .	LXXXV	— — . . . . .	513
— Gandolfo . . . . .	653	— standard-bearer . . . . .	348
Castor (the three columns of the temple of)	56	Eugubine tables (fragment of) . . . . .	LIV
Cenis (mont) . . . . .	583	Fæsulæ (walls of) . . . . .	511
Ceres . . . . .	190	Falerii (old gate of the citadel of) . . . . .	251
— found at Ostia in 1856 . . . . .	161	Faun of Praxiteles . . . . .	81
Chariot-races (genii of) . . . . .	541	Faunus and Tutanus . . . . .	656
Chastity (temple of) . . . . .	297	Figure in toga . . . . .	576
Chickens (as auspices) . . . . .	343	— with four wings . . . . .	LXIV
Chimæra in the gallery of Florence . . . . .	LXVII	Figures placed at the prow of Punic ships . . . . .	450
Chiusi (candelabrum of bronze found at)	255	Flint weapons found in the Roman Cam- pagna . . . . .	XXXVI
Cinerary Urns, reproducing the forms of the cottages constructed by the ancient inhabitants of Latium . . . . .	137	Flute-player . . . . .	342
Circe, Ulysses and Elpenor . . . . .	xcv	Fortuna (statue in the Vatican) . . . . .	79
Circei (wall of) . . . . .	44	— Virilis (tetrastyle temple of) . . . . .	80
Circello (monte) . . . . .	ix	Fortune (temple of, at Præneste) . . . . .	271
Claudia dragging the vessel of Cybele . . . . .	557	Frater Arvalis . . . . .	103
Cloaca Maxima . . . . .	31	Furia (tomb of the <i>gens</i> ) . . . . .	516
— — . . . . .	132	Futile (vase of the vestals) . . . . .	105
Clusium (Chiusi) (black vases of) . . . . .	LXXXVIII	Gallie chariot . . . . .	360
Colony (ground plan of lands for a) . . . . .	309	Gargano (monte) . . . . .	669
Comic actor . . . . .	540	Gaul (wounded) . . . . .	270
— scene . . . . .	537	Gauls . . . . .	256
— — . . . . .	538	Geese of the Capitol . . . . .	250
Concord (temple of) . . . . .	283	Girgenti (temple of Concord at) . . . . .	471
Corsica and Sardinia (map) . . . . .	505	Gold ring of a Roman knight . . . . .	621
Courage (temple of) . . . . .	517	Greek tomb-reliefs . . . . .	492
Crathis (monte Pollino and the valley of the) . . . . .	673	Grinder (the) . . . . .	51
Cucumella (the) . . . . .	LXXXIV	Group from the villa Ludovisi . . . . .	515
Cumæ (the cave of the Sybil of) . . . . .	45	Hannibal . . . . .	570
— (ancient gate at) . . . . .	623	— (camp of) . . . . .	652
— (temple of the giants at) . . . . .	325	Haruspex . . . . .	503
Demons leading away a soul . . . . .	CXXXVII	Hope . . . . .	187
Diana with the hind . . . . .	125	Horatii (tomb of the) . . . . .	23
Duillius (rostral column of) . . . . .	477	Human sacrifice represented in the cata- comb of Vulci . . . . .	LXV
Elephant ( <i>ex-voto</i> ) . . . . .	453	Human sacrifice . . . . .	269
Elysian repast (an) . . . . .	91	Jewels found at Bologna . . . . .	LXXI
Erebe (mount) . . . . .	493	Juno . . . . .	504
Eryx (view from mount) . . . . .	493	— of Herculaneum . . . . .	114
— (remains of the town of) . . . . .	490	— nursing Hercules . . . . .	78
Etna from Taormina . . . . .	491	Jupiter Feretrius (ruins called those of the temple of) . . . . .	242
Etruscan alphabets . . . . .	LXI	— (of Herculaneum) . . . . .	114
— archer . . . . .	274	— (head of) . . . . .	CXXXV
— cups . . . . .	138	— Stator (temple of) . . . . .	13
— figures . . . . .	LXIII		

	Page		Page
Lacinian Cape (the) . . . . .	373	Roman bracelet . . . . .	12
Lares (the) . . . . .	85	— in toga . . . . .	CXLI
Lectisternium (seat for a) . . . . .	287	— camp . . . . .	428
Liris (cascade of the) below Sora . . . . .	665	— Campagna (articles in terra-cotta found in the) . . . . .	XXXVII
— (fall of the) . . . . .	275	— (flint weapons found in the) . . . . .	XXXVI
Lucumon's helmet . . . . .	LXXXVIII	— (cattle of the) . . . . .	XXXII
Maccus . . . . .	539	— (view of the) . . . . .	XXXIII
Marcellus . . . . .	645	— galley . . . . .	476
Mercury . . . . .	531	— horse-soldier . . . . .	423
— found at Palestrina . . . . .	74	— soldier . . . . .	421
Messina (the straits of) map . . . . .	466	— — . . . . .	422
Metapontum (ruins of the temple of) . . . . .	CIX	Rome followed by a magistrate . . . . .	239
— (harbour of) . . . . .	CXVII	Romulus . . . . .	7
Milestone (a) . . . . .	158	— (remains of the wall of) . . . . .	9
Minerva of Herculaneum . . . . .	114	Rosa (monte) . . . . .	III
Naples and Mount Vesuvius . . . . .	XV	Sacred tree . . . . .	94
Nemi (lake) . . . . .	229	Saguntum (remains of the theatre of)	574
Nola (vase of) . . . . .	569	Sannite horseman . . . . .	350
— — . . . . .	625	— warrior . . . . .	348
Nomentum (bridge of) . . . . .	164	— — . . . . .	349
Norba (walls of) . . . . .	XLVII	— — . . . . .	CII
Norchia (restoration of tombs near) . . . . .	345	Santa Maria di Leuca (cape of) . . . . .	XI
Numa Pompilius . . . . .	15	Saturn (the eight columns of the temple of) . . . . .	16
Nuraghe of Sori . . . . .	440	Saturnius . . . . .	2
Nymphæum of Egeria . . . . .	17	Scipio Africanus . . . . .	679
Offering ( <i>ex-voto</i> ) . . . . .	451	— (buckler of) . . . . .	681
Order of battle (plan) . . . . .	427	— Barbatus (tomb of) . . . . .	356
Pæstum (ruins of) . . . . .	662	Selinus (archaic metope from) . . . . .	495
— — . . . . .	663	— (frieze of, dating about 400) . . . . .	482
Palatine (ancient substructions of) . . . . .	66	— (metope of temple at) . . . . .	488
Paludamentum . . . . .	505	— (metope of the latest temple) . . . . .	484
Pelasgic remains . . . . .	XL	— (remains of) . . . . .	487
Pilum (the) . . . . .	425	Servius Tullius (section of the <i>agger</i> or rampart of) . . . . .	37
Ploughman (the) . . . . .	140	— (fragment of the wall of) . . . . .	36
— Tuscan . . . . .	LXIX	— ( <i>agger</i> or rampart of) . . . . .	35
Po (present state of the coast to the south of the mouths of) . . . . .	XX	Sezze . . . . .	195
Pomegranate ( <i>ex-voto</i> ) . . . . .	453	— (ruins of a temple near) . . . . .	196
Pontifex veiled and laurel-crowned . . . . .	667	She-wolf of the Capitol . . . . .	544
Pontine marshes (present condition of) . . . . .	XXIV	Shrine (entrance of a) . . . . .	CXXIX
Pozzuoli . . . . .	633	Sicily (map of) . . . . .	462
Præneste (chest of) . . . . .	390	Signia (gate of) . . . . .	43
— (lid of) . . . . .	535	Spoletum . . . . .	509
— (Phœnician cup found at) . . . . .	180	Stola . . . . .	146
— (Palestrina) . . . . .	—	Sun-dial or astrological altar of the Gabii . . . . .	546
— (temple of Fortune at) . . . . .	271	Suovetaurilia . . . . .	417
— (group in bronze recently found at) . . . . .	139	— — . . . . .	111
Priest presenting the incense box . . . . .	222	Sutrium . . . . .	266
Pyrrhus . . . . .	375	Sybaris (plain of) . . . . .	CXIII
Ravenna (canals and pine forests) . . . . .	XXI	Syracuse (harbour of) . . . . .	640
Rediculus (temple of the god) . . . . .	655	— (ruins of) . . . . .	641
		Tanit (the goddess) <i>ex-voto</i> . . . . .	451
		— (the temple of) <i>ex-voto</i> . . . . .	454



	Page		Page
Taormina (Teatro Greco) . . . . .	490	Two women burning incense and per-	
Taormina (theatre of) . . . . .	502	fumes upon two portable altars before	
— (view of) from a loggia of		an image of Mars . . . . .	CXXXIV
Dominican convent . . . . .	503	Tuscan ploughman . . . . .	LXIX
Tarentum (harbour of) . . . . .	372	Tusculum . . . . .	185
Tarpeian rock (the) . . . . .	221	— (present state) . . . . .	186
Tarquins' (supposed tomb of the) . . . . .	57	Veii (plan of the city of) . . . . .	188
Tatius . . . . .	12	— (the city of) . . . . .	245
Terminus (the god) . . . . .	CXXV	— (vases found at) . . . . .	249
Terni (cascade of) . . . . .	365	Venus of Capua . . . . .	626
Terracina (rock of) . . . . .	129	— (headless, found in the Acheradina) . . . . .	643
Temple of Vesta, of the Sybil or Her-		Victory (statue of) . . . . .	604
cules, at Tivoli . . . . .	CXXXI	Viso (monte) . . . . .	587
Thrasimene (lake) map . . . . .	596	Volcanoes (extinct, about Alba) . . . . .	XXXI
Tiberina (the insula) . . . . .	47	Volterra (gate of) . . . . .	LXXXI
Tivoli (temple of Vesta of the Sybil, or		Votive shield . . . . .	369
Hercules at) . . . . .	CXXXI	Vulcan of Elba . . . . .	CXXXVI
Toga (Roman in a) . . . . .	CXLI	Warrior mounted with a man on the	
Torques (Gallie) . . . . .	277	crupper behind him . . . . .	628
Trumpeter (Roman) . . . . .	671	Woman spinning . . . . .	141
Tuccia (the vestal) . . . . .	107	Zeus and Here . . . . .	486
Twelve gods (altar of the) . . . . .	602		
— (bas-relief of the altar of the)	601		

III.—COLOURED MAPS AND PLATES;<sup>1</sup>

1. Italy in the centre of the ancient world . . . . .	I
2. Physical Italy . . . . .	VIII
3. Ancient races of Italy . . . . .	XXXVI
4. Ancient and modern Rome . . . . .	138
5. Territory of Veii . . . . .	198
6. Central Italy . . . . .	316
7. Northern Italy . . . . .	354
8. Southern Italy . . . . .	370
9. Colonies and military roads . . . . .	398
10. Hannibal's route . . . . .	578
11. Spain, during the war of the Scipios <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	674
1. Etruscan ornaments . . . . .	LXXIV
2. Sepulchral room at Caere . . . . .	LXXXII
3. Two old men weeping for the dead . . . . .	CXXXVIII
4. Amphora of Cervetri <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	78
5. Funeral image <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	88
6. Fragment of terra-cotta found at Metapontum . . . . .	104
7. The temple of Cora (as restored) . . . . .	190
8. Crossing the Rhone . . . . .	580

<sup>1</sup> Opposite the pages indicated.<sup>2</sup> Representation of a sacrifice. The principal personage raises the left hand in sign of prayer, and with the right hand holds a cup, into which Victory pours wine. A young man cooks the flesh of the victim over the flame; on the other side of the altar, the flute-player, who ordinarily assists at sacrifices. All three are crowned with laurels and ivy. (*Atlas of the Inst. arch.*, vol. ix., pl. 53.)<sup>3</sup> This painting found in a tomb at Cervetri represents a funeral scene. A chief prays or worships before a woman clothed exactly the same as that of a sarcophagus which was found in the same sepulchral chamber. She is perhaps the image of the dead, and raises both hands in the attitude which commonly denotes invocation. (*Ibid.*, vol. vi., pl. 8.)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## VOLUME I.

## INTRODUCTION.

## THE PRE-ROMAN EPOCH.

I. The geography of Italy . . . . .	Page I
II. The ancient population of Italy—Pelasgians and Umbrians . . . . .	XXXVIII
III. The Etruscans . . . . .	LVIII
IV. Oscans and Sabellians . . . . .	XC
V. Greeks and Gauls . . . . .	CVIII
VI. Political organisation of the ancient nations of Italy . . . . .	CXXII
VII. Religious organisation . . . . .	CXXVIII
VIII. Summary . . . . .	CXL

## FIRST PERIOD.

## ROME UNDER THE KINGS (753–510); FORMATION OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

## CHAPTER I.

## TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF THE KINGS.

I. Romulus (753–716) . . . . .	1
II. Numa (715–673) . . . . .	12
III. Tullus Hostilius (673–640) . . . . .	20
IV. Ancus Marcius (640–616) . . . . .	28
V. Tarquin the Elder (616–578) . . . . .	29
VI. Servius Tullius (578–534) . . . . .	35
VII. Tarquinius Superbus (534–510) . . . . .	40

## CHAPTER II.

## CONSTITUTION OF ROME DURING THE REGAL PERIOD—PRIMITIVE ORGANISATION.

I. Sources of Roman history . . . . .	59
II. Probable origin of Rome . . . . .	63
III. Patricians and clients . . . . .	67
IV. Senate and king; plebeians . . . . .	72

## CHAPTER III.

## RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.

I. The public gods . . . . .	Page 77
II. The domestic gods . . . . .	84
III. The manes . . . . .	88
IV. Naturalism of the Roman religion and formal devotion . . . . .	94
V. Sacerdotal colleges . . . . .	100
VI. Public festivals . . . . .	110

## CHAPTER IV.

## CHANGES IN RELIGION AND CONSTITUTION UNDER THE THREE LAST KINGS.

I. The gods of Etruria at Rome; reforms of Tarquin the Elder . . . . .	113
II. Reforms of Servius Tullius . . . . .	117
III. Tarquin the Proud; power of Rome at this epoch . . . . .	128

## CHAPTER V.

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

I. Character of ancient Roman society . . . . .	135
II. Private manners . . . . .	140
III. Public manners . . . . .	147

## SECOND PERIOD.

## ROME UNDER THE PATRICIAN CONSULS (509-367).—STRUGGLES

## WITHIN—WEAKNESS WITHOUT.

## CHAPTER VI.

## INTERNAL HISTORY FROM 509-470.

I. Aristocratic character of the revolution of 509; the consulship . . . . .	152
II. The tribunate . . . . .	159
III. The agrarian law . . . . .	168
IV. Right of the tribunes to accuse the consuls and to bring forward plebiscita . . . . .	174

## CHAPTER VII.

## MILITARY HISTORY OF ROME FROM THE DEATH OF TARQUIN TO THE DECENVIRS (495-451).

I. The Roman territory in 495; Porsenna and Cassius . . . . .	179
II. Coriolanus and the Volscians; Cincinnatus and the Æquians . . . . .	190
III. War against Veii . . . . .	197

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE DECENVIRS AND CIVIL EQUALITY.

I. Bill of Terentilius . . . . .	201
II. The decenvirs (451-449) . . . . .	213
III. The twelve tables . . . . .	217

## CHAPTER IX.

## EFFORTS TO OBTAIN POLITICAL EQUALITY (449-400).

I. Re-establishment of the tribunate and consulate . . . . .	227
II. New constitution of the year 444 . . . . .	232
III. Struggle for the execution of the new constitution . . . . .	236

## CHAPTER X.

## MILITARY HISTORY FROM 448 TO 389.

I. Conquest of Anxur or Terracina (406) . . . . .	240
II. Capture of Veii (395) . . . . .	244
III. Capture of Rome by the Gauls (390) . . . . .	254

## CHAPTER XI.

## MILITARY HISTORY FROM 389 TO 343.

I. Re-building of the city; the Roman legion . . . . .	263
II. Return of the Gauls into Latium, Manlius, Valerius Corvus . . . . .	267

## CHAPTER XII.

## ACCESSION OF THE PLEBEIANS TO CURULE OFFICES.

I. The Licinian laws; division of the consulships . . . . .	278
II. The plebeians gain admission to all offices . . . . .	282

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE AGRARIAN LAW AND THE ABOLITION OF DEBT.

I. Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo . . . . .	300
II. Laws on debt . . . . .	305
III. The Ærarii; censorship of Appius (312) . . . . .	308

## THIRD PERIOD.

## WAR OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE, OR CONQUEST OF ITALY (343-265).

## CHAPTER XIV.

## WAR WITH THE SAMNITES AND LATINS (343-312).

I. First Samnite war; acquisition of Capua (343-341) . . . . .	316
II. The Latin war (340-338) . . . . .	321
III. Second Samnite war (326-312) . . . . .	329

## CHAPTER XV.

## COALITION OF THE SAMNITES, ETRUSCANS AND SENONES (311-280).

I. Third Samnite war (311-303) . . . . .	344
II. Second coalition of Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls (300-290) . . . . .	353
III. Coalition of the Etruscans and Senones; war against the Lucanians (283-281) . . . . .	364

## CHAPTER XVI.

## WAR WITH PYRRHUS (280-272).

I. Rupture with Tarentum; first campaign of Pyrrhus in Italy (282-278)	370
II. Pyrrhus in Sicily; capture of Tarentum (272)	380

## CHAPTER XVII.

## ORGANISATION OF ITALY BY THE ROMANS.

I. The freedom of the city and the thirty-five tribes	386
II. Municipia, prefectures, and federal towns	393
III. Colonies and military roads	398
IV. Religious supremacy; Rome governs and does not administer	407

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## INTERNAL STATE OF ROME DURING THE SAMNITE WAR.

I. Manners	410
II. The constitution; balance of forces	412
III. Military organisation	419
IV. Recapitulation	433

## FOURTH PERIOD.

## THE PUNIC WARS (264-201).

## CHAPTER XIX.

## CARTHAGE.

I. Commercial empire of the Punic race	435
II. Carthaginians and Liby-Phœnicians; commercial policy of Carthage	443
III. Mercenaries	450
IV. The constitution	453

## CHAPTER XX.

## THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264-241).

I. The treaties between Rome and Carthage (509-279)	461
II. Operations in Sicily (264)	464
III. Maritime operations; landing of the Romans in Africa (260-255)	474
IV. The war is carried back into Sicily (254-241)	482

## CHAPTER XXI.

## CONQUESTS OF ROME AND CARTHAGE BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS (240-219).

I. Roman expeditions round Italy and into Gallia Cisalpina	497
II. Carthage; wars of the mercenaries; conquest of Spain	521

## CHAPTER XXII.

## INTERNAL STATE OF ROME IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE TWO PUNIC WARS.

I. Commencement of Roman literature, popular games and festivals	Page 530
II. Changes in manners, religion, and constitution	543

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## THE SECOND PUNIC WAR UP TO THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ (218-216).

I. Hannibal in Spain	566
II. Hannibal in Gaul; crossing of the Alps	578
III. Hannibal in Cisalpine Gaul; battle of Ticinus; battle of Trebia (218)	585
IV. Thrasimene (217) and Cannæ (216)	591

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, FROM THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ TO THAT OF THE METAURUS (216-207).

I. Measures taken at Rome after Cannæ; defection of Capua	613
II. Siege of Capua; patriotism and constancy of the Romans	625
III. Hannibal creates disturbances in Macedon and Syracuse (214-212)	636

## CHAPTER XXV.

## END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR; THE SCIPIOS.

I. Operations in Spain (218-205)	676
II. Consulship of Scipio (205); battle of Zama (202)	686

## ALPHABETICAL TABLES.

I. Coins and gems	697
II. Maps and engravings (marbles, bronzes, statues, vases and jewels)	699
III. Coloured maps and plates	702
Table of contents of first volume	703



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**HISTORY OF ROME**

AND

**THE ROMAN PEOPLE.**



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# HISTORY OF ROME

AND  
THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY  
VICTOR DURUY,  
MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE, EX-MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, ETC.

EDITED BY THE REV. J. P. MAHAFFY,  
PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
AND COMPILED AND ARRANGED BY KELLY & CO.

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VOLUME II.  
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WITH 652 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 5 MAPS, AND 10 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.



LONDON:  
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## PREFATORY NOTE TO VOL. II.

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I TAKE the earliest occasion to make two acknowledgments inadvertently omitted from the Preface to Vol. I. I am indebted to M. DURUY for many valuable corrections and notes supplied specially for this edition; also to the kindness of MRS. KEGAN PAUL for permitting the use of three of her Sicilian sketches for the illustrations (pp. 498—9, and 503) in the first volume. They are now all the more valuable as her sketch-book has since been destroyed by fire. M. DURUY wishes me to add that the inscription of Ahenobarbus on p. 488 of this volume is spurious, the pretended discovery being a fraud exposed since the page was printed.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN, MARCH, 1884.

## FIFTH PERIOD.

### CONQUEST OF THE WORLD (201—133).

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ABOUT THE YEAR 200 B.C.

#### I.—ITALY, AFRICA, SYRIA, EGYPT.

"IT is as delightful to me," says the historian, "to have come to the end of the Punic war, as if I myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. But my spirit quails before what is to come. . . . I am like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea: the further I advance, the more I see before me vast depths and bottomless abysses."<sup>1</sup> Beyond Hannibal, Livy discerned Philip, Antiochus, Viriathus, the kings of Pontus and of Numidia, and the great and noble figure of Vercingetorix the Gaul. Beyond the second Punic war, so simple in its history, yet so majestic in its plan and its results, he saw a century and a half of battles, of disgraceful intrigues, of reverses and of successes, upon the three continents, and he regretted leaving the fair days of the republic to enter upon these endless wars which were to exhaust her military population, to render the great tyrannical, the lowly servile, and to make of liberty a lie.

Sixteen years of devastations and of murderous conflicts had

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxi. 1.  
VOL. II.



impoverished and decimated the peninsula.<sup>1</sup> But the wounds made by war heal quickly in the victorious nation. As early as the year 206, after the battle of the Metaurus, the senate had sent back the labouring population into the fields, reducing the standing army for the sake of leaving more hands for agriculture. Colonies sent into Campania and Bruttium, and the distribution of lands in Lucania and Apulia among Scipio's veterans<sup>2</sup> had re-peopled the wastes made by war;<sup>3</sup> territory also distributed among the creditors



Silver Campanian Coin.<sup>5</sup>

of the State had cleared off the debt of the second Punic war, and left free for new enterprises all the resources of the exchequer.<sup>4</sup> With the return of peace Italy was destined to see her prosperity revive, and her mercantile cities inherit the commerce of Carthage. The sea was free to her. As far as the Pillars of Hercules there were only conquered nations or allied peoples, and the Illyrian and Macedonian wars had opened Greek waters to the Italian traders.<sup>6</sup>

No danger seemed to threaten the future; the Roman dominion had emerged all the stronger from the fearful trial of the second Punic war, and all nations turned their anxious gaze towards this formidable power. "Think you that Carthage or that Rome will be content, after the victory, with Italy and Sicily?" said a Greek orator, while the struggle was yet undecided. These fears were

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Libyca*, 131. Ἀννιβίου τετρακίσια ἑμπρήσαντος ἄσση καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τρεῖς κόντα ἐν μόναις μάχασι ἀνελόντος.

<sup>2</sup> Two acres for each year of service in Spain or Africa; it is said, also, that other grants were made to veterans of the Spanish, Sicilian, and Sardinian wars. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

<sup>3</sup> These colonies were made at the expense of Hannibal's allies. The Bruttians, the Lucanians, and the Picentines were henceforward employed only as servants, couriers, or messengers. (Aul. Gell., x. 12 and 13; Strabo, v. 251.) Galba, a dictator, passed the whole period of his office in travelling through Italy, determining the fate of the cities.

<sup>4</sup> A rent of one *as* was levied upon these lands, in token that they belonged to the public domain, and could be redeemed by the State.

<sup>5</sup> Head of Minerva, with the laurel-wreathed helmet. On the reverse, KAMHANO, written from right to left, a bull with human face, and a stork.

<sup>6</sup> I have already spoken repeatedly of the importance of Italian commerce: I will here add that the hundred thousand Romans put to death by Mithridates in Asia Minor were not tourists but speculators. I will also remind the reader that it was these very Roman merchants who, by their influence at Rome, made Marius consul. Commerce and banking created the equestrian order. We shall recur to this subject again.

well founded, for the ambition of Rome was vast, and she had ample means to gratify it. Her generals, trained in the school of Hannibal to war on a large scale, her soldiers, whose discipline and courage we have so often extolled, were without rivals, and no assembly equalled her senate in political sagacity. But, more than her armies, and more than her leaders, it was the weakness of other nations that made the power of Rome.

In Africa, she need only let the jealous hatred of Masinissa have its way, and Carthage would never recover from the defeat of Zama.

In Spain, the legions were soon to fight against their former allies, but this war with races owing their strength to the soil which bore and sheltered them, proved for three-quarters of a century nothing more than a rough schooling for the soldiery, a road to fortune for the generals, and to the senate a useful pretext for keeping the republic on a war footing, for distributing lucrative appointments, and for keeping on foreign service the more turbulent of the plebeians. In no case—whatever may have been said of Numantia and Viriathus—was it a serious danger.

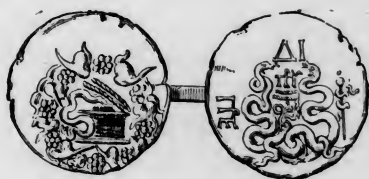
In the case of Gaul, Rome remembered too well former perils to risk her fortune in that fierce and dangerous chaos. In that direction she maintained for a century and a half a prudently defensive attitude.

Germany was not yet discovered; the Alps were still an effective barrier even to the Romans. But the Cisalpine remained a serious danger, though exaggerated by Roman anxiety, causing wars laborious and unprofitable, destructive to consuls and armies, never affording decisive blows, brilliant victories, or a chance of those ambitious surnames which Roman generals were now so eagerly coveting.<sup>1</sup> South of Italy, as in the west and north, there was for a long time nothing of importance to accomplish. The senate, therefore, directed their attention towards the east, where were vast but weak monarchies, and immense wealth almost defenceless.

The whole east was strewn with the *débris* of Alexander's empire. In Asia, ten kingdoms had been set up at the expense

<sup>1</sup> Scipio is the first Roman general who took the name of the conquered country.

of the Seleucidae; in Thrace, the native rulers had been restored; Cyrene had separated herself from the still prosperous Egypt of the Ptolemies; lastly, the Greek cities, scattered along the coasts, were divided among these various kings, or else maintained against them a profitless liberty.



Didrachme (cistophorus) of Pergamus.<sup>1</sup>

The kingdom of the Seleucidae still extended over an immense area, from the Indus to the Ægean Sea. But within there was no cohesion, and all along its frontier, defended neither by rivers nor mountains, there were enemies: on the south, the kings of Egypt; on the north and east, the Bactrians and the Parthians, former subjects, now revolted, and on that account all the more formidable. In Asia Minor the Galatians were dangerous neighbours, and if the kings of Pergamus possessed but insignificant



Ætolian Drachme.<sup>2</sup>

forces, the support of Rome rendered them dangerous enemies. Two of these kings, Attalus and Eumenes, were to play the same part for the senate as the Ætolians did in Greece, Masinissa in Africa, and Marseilles in Gaul. Notwithstanding this belt of enemies, notwithstanding the serious disadvantages of the geographical position of this Seleucid empire—a long and narrow strip that might be cut in twenty places, nothing had been done to attach the different subject races to the cause of their masters.



Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 222-205.<sup>3</sup>

Quite recently one Satrap, Molon, had been able to detach from the empire the provinces beyond the Tigris, while another, Achæus, had made himself independent in Asia Minor, and the Ptolemies

<sup>1</sup> Mystic cistus whence emerges a serpent into a crown of vine-branches and ivy. On the reverse, ΠΕΡ, first letters of the name Pergamus, ΔΙ, a monogram, two serpents, and a thyrsus.

<sup>2</sup> Head of a young man. On the reverse, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, and the two letters ΝΙ, beginning of a magistrates title. Young man leaning on a gnarled stick, holding a sword under the left arm, and having one foot upon a rock. Weight 10.54 gr., imitated from Milesian coinage.

<sup>3</sup> From a tetrastater in the *Cabinet de France*.

had effected the conquest of Syria. Antiochus III., however, had conquered Molon and Achæus, driven the Egyptians back beyond Pelusium, subjugated Smyrna, struck terror into the Arabs, and had brought back from his expedition into Bactria and India a hundred and forty war elephants. He was now menacing Thrace, and had combined with Philip of Macedon to divide the rich inheritance left by Ptolemy Philopator to a child; dazzled by these various successes, he had arrogated to himself the title of Antiochus the Great.

But what weakness beneath this borrowed splendour! At Magnesia it did not cost the Romans four hundred men to drive before them like chaff the immense army of Antiochus. The reason was that, unfaithful to Alexander's idea, all his successors remained foreigners to the Asiatic races. Antiochus himself insulted their gods by his sacrilegious acts, their customs and modes of speech by his manners and his language, the just ambition of their national chiefs by his predilection for Greek adventurers. At that time Greece furnished mercenaries for the armies of all nations; ministers, generals, and courtiers for all princes. There could not be found among the satraps of Antiochus a Mede or a Persian, and the natives were only employed in those light-armed corps which uselessly swelled the numbers of Asiatic armies. Greeks and descendants of Macedonians furnished the phalanx; but it is well known how readily men of European descent become enervated by an Eastern climate. Besides, the phalanx, although it had succeeded once, was none the less a military mistake in Asia.<sup>1</sup>

To all these causes of weakness was added yet another, that there could not be union between the two great portions of the empire, the eastern and the western. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome had disturbed the world's balance. Formerly civilization and power were in Asia; at that time, Babylon, Ecbatana, and Persepolis were at the centre, and ruled with ease from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Now that Europe had emerged from barbarism and become the heir of oriental civilization, the regions

<sup>1</sup> [Alexander knew this perfectly well, and never tried to win a battle with the phalanx, which was Philip's invention to meet Greek infantry armies. Alexander won his battles with his heavy cavalry, making the phalanx his defensive wing, and at his death he was in the act of breaking it up into lighter corps. Nevertheless, against the Roman legion, and on even ground, it proved a very dangerous form of tactics.—Ed.]

to the west of the Euphrates, covered with new cities, with the language, manners, and ideas of Greece, had entered into the sphere of European action, while eastward of the Tigris all things remained Asiatic. The Tigris and Euphrates, therefore, separated two worlds, two civilizations. The Seleucidae sought to re-unite them, and perished in the attempt. The oriental provinces went back to the Parthians, and later, to the Persians. The western provinces were united to the empire of Rome, later to that of Constantinople, and the separation has lasted to our own times.

Egypt had more unity, and apparently more strength, at least to defend herself. Together with the tomb of Alexander, the Ptolemies had kept some of his ideas; in the hope of making Egypt the great commercial power of the world, they had annexed to it, on the south, the countries lying along the Red Sea; on the north, Cyprus, Palestine, and Syria, the perpetual and legitimate object of ambition to all the intelligent rulers of Egypt; and besides, many cities of the coast of Asia Minor, of Thrace, and of the islands of the Ægean Sea. Unfortunately the Ptolemies, remaining Greek upon the banks of the Nile, as the Seleucidae had done upon the Euphrates, did not strive to create for themselves a power from the national feeling. They abandoned the provinces, they neglected the old capitals, Thebes and Memphis,<sup>1</sup> and all the power and life which this Hellenized Egypt possessed concentrated itself in Alexandria, a new city situated almost outside of the country. Thence the Ptolemies could better keep watch upon the affairs of Asia and of Greece. After every victory Alexander was accustomed to ask: "And what do the Athenians say?" His generals could not feel that Greece was a foreign country to them. They had so easily conquered the East, that in their eyes there was no strength anywhere but in Greece, and they cared more to establish in her cities their influence or their authority than to gain provinces elsewhere. Aratus and Cleomenes had both accepted Egyptian gold as the price of their assistance against Macedonian

<sup>1</sup> This must be understood only in a political [and very restricted] sense, for the Ptolemies built many temples [did their best to fuse the nations], but the native population escaped entirely the influence of their rulers. Thus in his *Histoire d'Égypte*, Champollion-Figeac could say (p. 401): "In this country nothing was Greek, neither language, religion, manners, opinions, nor prejudices [except the Greek part of Alexandria]. In all these respects Egypt remained free from the Macedonian rule." And it was for this reason the more feeble.

schemes. Having confidence also in no courage save that of the Greek soldiers, the Ptolemies confided their armies and even their lives to mercenaries always ready to betray them, as, for instance, to the Ætolian Theodotus, who sold Cœle-Syria to Antiochus III., and the Cretan Bolis, who, sent by Ptolemy IV. into Asia Minor to save Achæos, gave him up instead to the king of Syria. All Egypt was in Alexandria, and Alexandria, like her kings, lay at the mercy of those whom Polybius calls the Macedonians.<sup>1</sup> "In respect to the state of this country," adds the same writer, "we can only say with Homer: 'To traverse Egypt the way is long and difficult.'"

The importance that the Ptolemies attached to these transmarine possessions, their rivalry with the kings of Macedon and Syria, and possibly the fear of Carthage, whose competition as a commercial power was dreaded at Alexandria, made them enter early into an alliance with Rome. In the year 273, Philadelphos concluded a treaty with the republic, which was maintained by



Ptolemy V., Epiphanes  
(205-181).<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Lepidus.<sup>3</sup>

his successors, and during the second Punic war Ptolemy IV. sent corn to Rome. Such was, in 201, the intimacy of the relations established between the two governments that, to put an end to the disturbances of the kingdom, the guardianship of Ptolemy Epiphanes, then but ten years of age, was offered to the Roman senate, and Lepidus, a senator, resided for some time at Alexandria as tutor to the young king.

<sup>1</sup> See in Strabo (xvii. 12) the sad picture which Polybius, who visited Alexandria in the year 143, has drawn of that city, and all that Polybius himself (xv. 25) has said. Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, said to Sosibius, minister of Philopator, that there were in Alexandria 3,000 mercenaries from the Peloponnesus, and 1,000 Cretans, and that with these troops there was nothing to fear. At the battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had Thracians, Cretans, Gauls, Africans, Ætolians, Peloponnesians, and, for his entire fleet, only thirty decked vessels. (Polybius, v. 16.)

<sup>2</sup> Octodrachm (27.85 gr.).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A woman's head, representing Alexandria. On the reverse, Lepidus placing the crown on the head of Ptolemy. The legend, his name with the words: *Tutor regis*. All the Greek Orient came forward to welcome the Roman dominion. As early as the year 195, Smyrna erected a temple to the divinity of Rome.

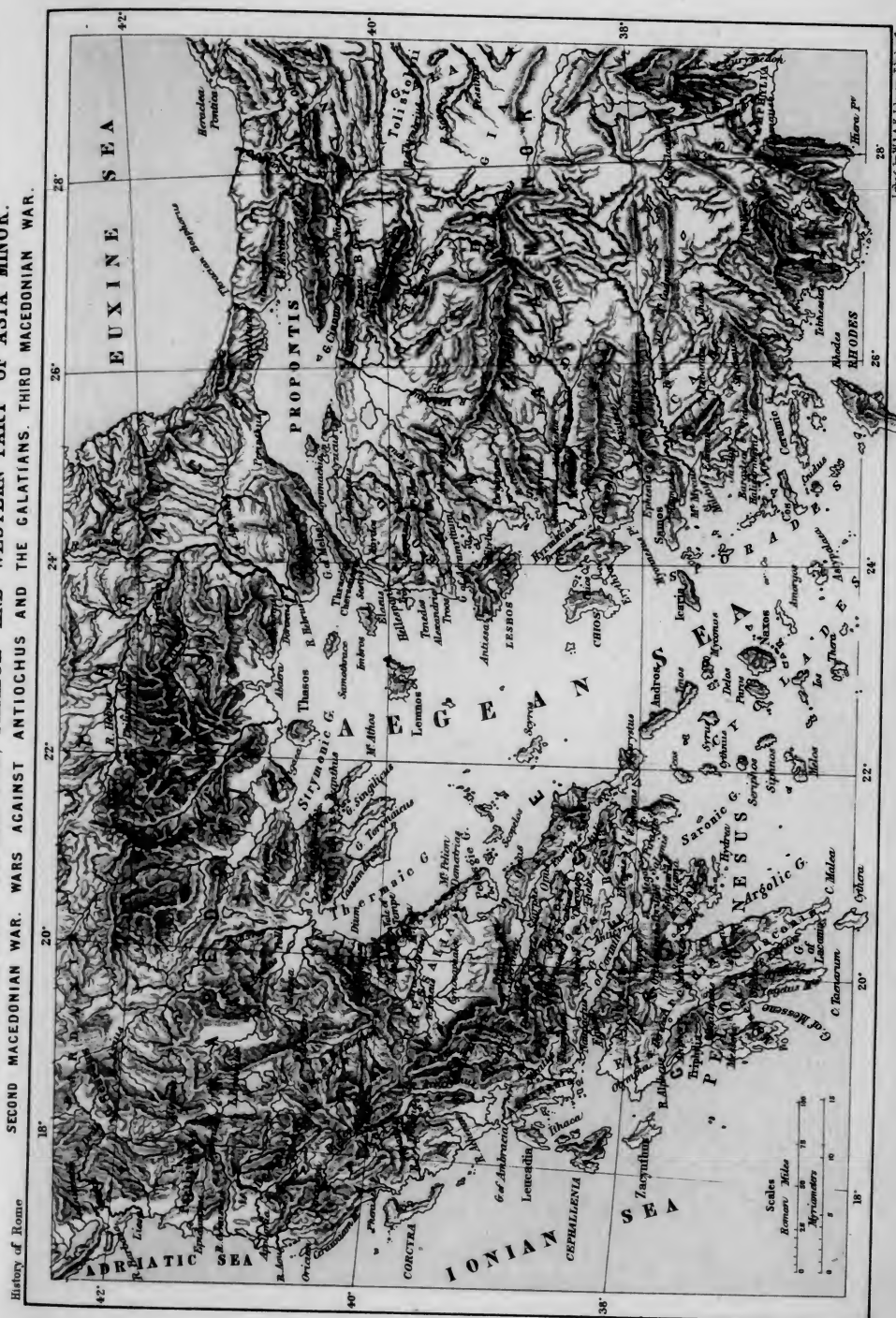


## II.—GREECE.

Since the war with Pyrrhus, the senate had carefully watched the revolutions in Greece. This beautiful country had long been without strength and deprived of liberty. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, which had by turns ruled it, had exhausted themselves in sustaining a fortune too great for them, and their power had passed into the hands of semi-barbarous races. By its union with Macedonia, Greece appeared formidable, and that which democracy, so strong in resistance, but so feeble in attack, had not been able to do, royalty accomplished: the Persian empire, scarcely shaken by Cimon and Agesilaus, fell into the hands of Alexander. The rivalries and wars of his successors gave back to the Greek cities their independence, but not their former vitality. During these few years of subjection they had lost all energy, and even their respect for their past glory. "When the gods make a man a slave," said Homer, "they take from him half his virtue." This might have been said of States as well as of individuals; for servitude, like hot summer weather drying up the failing rivers, dries up the springs of life in republican States. At Chaeronea the Athenians still fought bravely, and Demosthenes, some years later, might have repeated to the Thebans, upon the ruins of their city, his splendid consolations: "No, no, you have not failed in rushing on death for the salvation of Greece." But what had become of these two republics under the Macedonian rule? The one only astonished the world by its servility, the other, by its degradation.

The disturbances in Macedon, the fall of the great cities, the political torpor of Corinth and Argos, left a clear field in Greece. Two new peoples appeared there: the Ætolians and the Achæans, who till now had lived unknown among their mountains or on the sterile shores of the Morea. And so, before her political existence came at last to an end, Greece called to the front the most obscure of her children. But the lustre which they spread over her last days was as fleeting as their own power. Now enemies, now united again to oppose Macedon, they but

ILLYRIA, GREECE, MACEDONIA, THRACE AND WESTERN PART OF ASIA MINOR.  
SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR. WARS AGAINST ANTIOCHUS AND THE GALATIANS. THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.

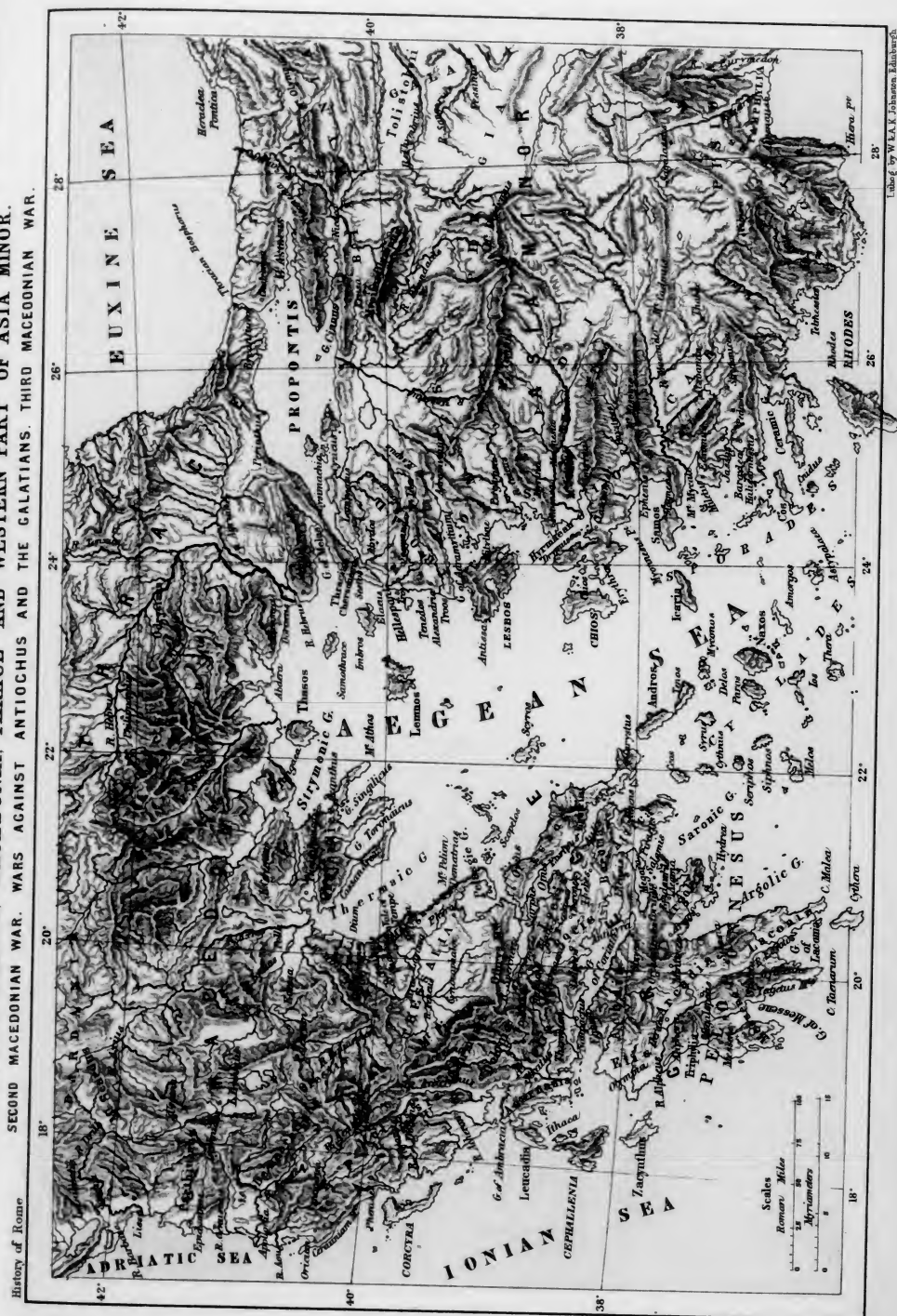


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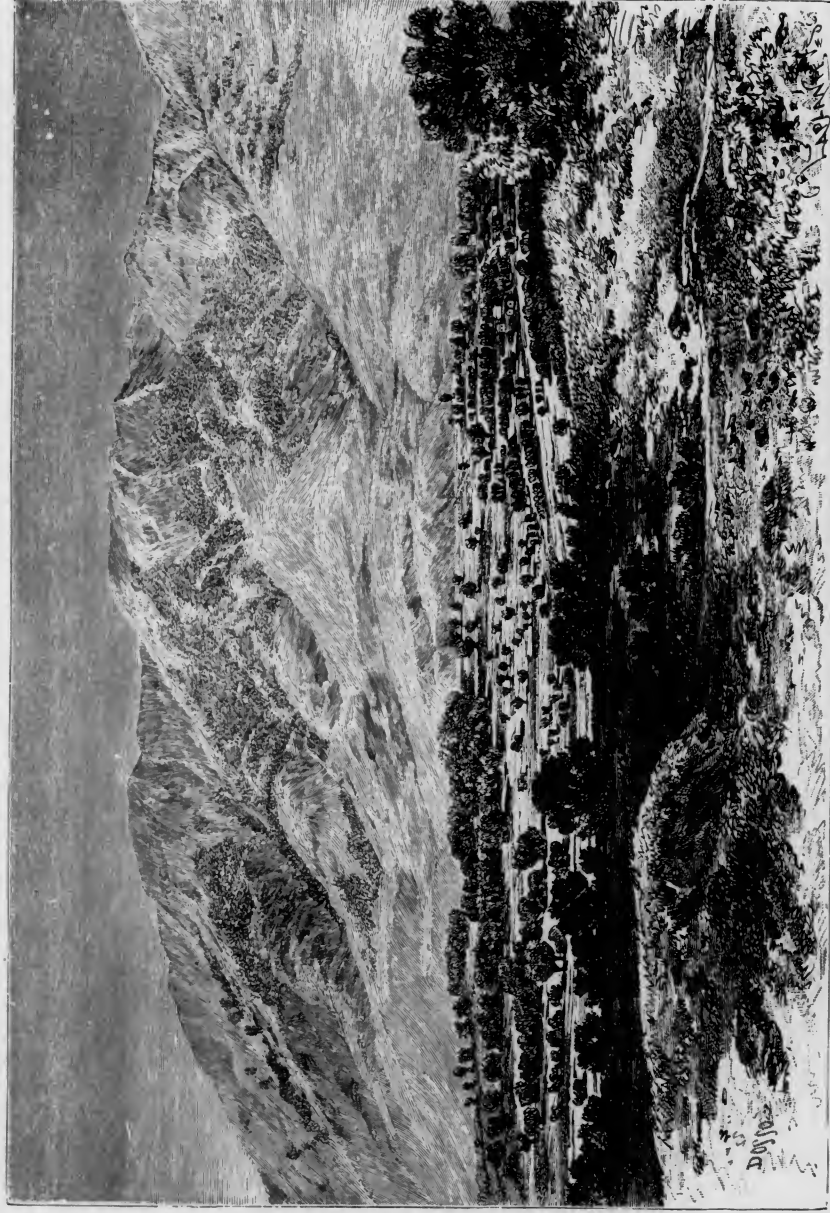
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Plain of Apochori at the foot of Mt. Tonarus (where are the remains of Dodona).



increased the confusion in which perished the last remnants of patriotism.<sup>1</sup>

Ætolia was inhabited by a race of men at strife with all their neighbours, and living only by pillage. Wherever war had broken out thither they hastened, like birds of prey drawn by the smell of blood, and ready to plunder enemies and friends alike. And when they were called upon to renounce this savage custom: "We could sooner take Ætolia from Ætolia," they said, "than prevent our warriors from carrying off spoils from the spoiled."<sup>2</sup> They were worse than wreckers, plying their cruel trade far into the Peloponnesus, into Thessaly, and Epirus. In 218, their leader, Dorimachus, plundered and destroyed the most famous sanctuary in all Greece (except Delphi), the temple of Dodona, which never recovered from the disaster.<sup>3</sup>

The portrait which Polybius draws of this people is by no means flattering; but the excellent Polybius was an Achæan, and of the aristocratic party, that is to say, the mortal enemy of the Ætolians, who were of the popular faction. We may therefore believe that without actually calumniating them, he has sketched them with adverse pencil. They had one virtue, certainly, then rare in Greece; they were brave, for they dared to resist Macedon, and Rome, and the Gauls; and they knew how to attain power. The Ætolian league, more solidly organized than any other ever was in Greece, subordinated the cities to the general assembly, and thus held the confederates united by a close tie; hence the league attained great foreign influence, for its action was more prompt, and its plans were more consistently carried out. Its confederates were numerous; some in Peloponnesus, some even as far away as the coasts of Thrace and of Asia Minor, such as Lysimachia, Chalcedon and Chios.

In central Greece they held Thermopylæ, Locris, Phocis, and

<sup>1</sup> [The whole history of this most interesting phase of Greek liberty, which lasted nearly three generations, and which seems much underrated in the text, has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Freeman in his admirable volume on the *History of Federal Government*.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Λάφυρον ἀπὸ λαφύρου. (Polybius, xvii. (xviii.), 3.)

<sup>3</sup> Dodona was at the foot of Mount Tomarus, which, over 6,000 feet in height, is next to Pindus the highest mountain in Lower Epirus. (Cf. Carapanos, *Dodona and its Ruins*.) Our illustration is copied from that admirable work. It is to this author that is due the very recent discovery of the ruins of Dodona.

the south of Thessaly. But this power, instead of being helpful to Greek liberty, turned against it, for it was not possible that the Ætolian league, with its principles of government and its rules of conduct, should ever become the nucleus of a general confederation. What Sparta had been for the Peloponnesus, that, Ætolia was for all Greece, namely, a continual menace, and to complete the resemblance, the Ætolian strategus Scopas proposed, as the revolutionary king of Sparta, Cleomenes, had done, to abolish debts and establish new laws favourable to the poor.<sup>1</sup> For fear of Sparta, Aratus delivered over the Peloponnesus to the Macedonians, and when Philip declared himself the enemy of Rome, the latter found in the Ætolians most useful auxiliaries.

Achaean Coin.<sup>2</sup>

They laid open to her central Greece, and it is possible that their cavalry secured for Flamininus the victory at Cynoscephalæ.

Among the Achæans public morality was of a higher tone, and their chiefs, Aratus, Philopœmen, Lycortas, the father of Polybius, truly desired the welfare of Greece. Instead of seeking this end by an absolute supremacy, as Athens, Sparta, and Macedon had done, they hoped to attain it by a federation, like the early Hellenic amphyctionies in its principle, viz., in the equality of all the associated States. The Achæan league, which secured equal rights to every one of its members, which respected the individuality of the different States, and yet called upon them to act in common, seemed likely to make an united Greece, stronger and more formidable than she had ever been before. In 229, almost all the cities of the Peloponnesus and a part of central Greece had become members of the Achæan confederation.

But institutions alone cannot save nations. Of this league we have only the charming picture that Polybius has drawn of its government; we forget its intestine rivalries and its general feebleness. No doubt if the Spartans had cordially joined the league, if the Ætolians had been less unfriendly, and the neighbouring

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xiii. 1; Livy, xlii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Obverse, a head of Jupiter. On the reverse, a dolphin, the symbol of Dyme, placed under the monogram X with ΘΕΣΕ, the initials of two magistrates. Triobol.

kings less jealous; if, in a word, the body of Greek nations having Macedon for its head, and wielding with its thousand arms the sword of Marathon and Thermopylæ, had held itself ready to defend the sacred soil against all invasion, no doubt it would have been necessary for Rome to send more than two legions to Cynoscephalæ. "I see," said a deputy from Naupactus, in the presence of the assembled Greeks,<sup>1</sup> "I see a stormy cloud arising in the west; let us hasten to terminate our puerile disagreements before it bursts over our heads." But union and peace were not possible between the aristocratic tendencies of the Achæans and the revolutionary spirit of Lacedæmon, between the peaceful Corinthian traders and the Klephts of Ætolia, between all these republics and the ambitious kings of Macedon. Dissensions existed even within the cities, and the more deep-rooted because the strife was not for power but for wealth. Each city had its party of rich and poor, the latter always ready to take arms against the former, those who had nothing to attack those who were in possession of property. Hence arose violent hatreds, from which the senate knew how to derive advantage. Continually threatened with a social revolution, the rich turned their hopes towards Rome, and as soon as the legions appeared, there was a Roman party in Greece.<sup>2</sup>

To bring these nations into fraternal union, then, it would have been needful to begin by obliterating the memory of their past and their inveterate hatreds; also it would have been needful to prevent contact with that rich and corrupt East, which constantly drew away into the schools of Alexandria and Pergamus all the poets and scholars who yet remained to Greece, and into the courts of the Ptolemies and Seleucids all her men of talent and courage. These oriental rulers had not a minister, a general, a governor of a city, who was not of Hellenic birth. Greece was giving her best blood and receiving vices in exchange. "Everywhere in this country," says Polybius, "high offices are bought at small cost;<sup>3</sup> entrust a talent to those who have the management of the public funds, take ten securities, as many promises, and twice as many

<sup>1</sup> In 217. (Polybius, v. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> Legal interest in Athens was 18 per cent. (Dareste, *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, July, 1878, p. 486.) At this rate debts increased with extreme rapidity, and it is easy to see how they became the scourge of the Greek cities as they were at Rome in early times.

<sup>3</sup> iv. 9.

witnesses; never will you see your money again."<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere he cites that Dicaearchos, the worthy friend of Scopas, who, when sent by Philip to plunder the Cyclades contrary to his sworn engagement, built, wherever he landed, two altars, one to Impiety, the other to Injustice.<sup>2</sup>

This thirst for gold had produced a moral degradation which destroyed all devotion to public interests. Hence, what torpor in most of the cities! Athens, the alert and intelligent city which once took the initiative in the most glorious measures, now refuses

Coin of Athens.<sup>4</sup>

to unite her destinies with those of Greece,<sup>3</sup> and by the sacrilegious honours she pays to all kings, those *Divine Saviours*, as she calls them, to whom she raises altars and offers sacrifices, proves how ready she herself is for servitude.<sup>5</sup> Aratus sets her free from the Macedonian garrison in the Piræus, and restores Salamis to her, without moving her from her apathetic indifference. It only remained for her to forbid by public decree her citizens from ever concerning themselves in the general affairs of Greece, as the Boeotians had done, who, not to be disturbed in their pleasures, had declared patriotism to be a crime against the State.<sup>6</sup>

"Thebes," says Polybius, "died with Epaminondas. It is the custom there to leave one's money, not to one's child, but to one's boon companions, on condition that it be spent in orgies; many men, therefore, are under obligation to give more feasts in

<sup>1</sup> vi. 56, and xviii. 2. The Greeks could not believe that Flamininus did not sell peace to Philip . . . τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xviii. 37: τὸν μὲν Ἀσιβείας, τὸν δὲ Παπανομίας.

<sup>3</sup> τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων οὐδ' ὅποιος μετέχον . . . εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκείχοντο. (Ol., exl. 3; Polybius, v. 106.) Athens, he says, has always been like a vessel without a captain; after escaping the most furious tempests, she goes to pieces in calm weather upon shoals full in sight.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Athene. Reverse, first three letters of the name Athens, ΑΘΕ, and three names of magistrates. The owl consecrated to this goddess, standing upon a vase; a caduceus, and a monetary mark, ΣΦ. Athenian tetradrachm. (Cf. Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 362.)

<sup>5</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, 10; Livy, xxxi. 14-15. Later on we shall see her degrading prayer "to the god Demetrius."

<sup>6</sup> Οὐδ' ἐκoinώνησαν (Βοιωτοὶ) οὔτε πράξεις οὔτ' ἀγῶνες οὐδὲν ἐτι τοῖς Ἕλλησι μετὰ κοινού ἔργματος. (Polybius, xx. 4.)

a month than the month has days. For nearly twenty-five years the tribunals remained closed. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Since the time of Philip, Corinth was no longer free. One garrison occupied her walls, another her citadel; and Aratus seized and afterwards sold the Acrocorinthus, without the citizens interfering even in the sale. Their arsenals were empty, but statues, and elegant vases, and marble palaces glittered on every side; they made it their pride that their city should be extolled as the most pleasure-loving in all Greece, and their temple of Aphrodite was rich enough to have in its service a thousand courtesans.<sup>3</sup>

Corinthian Didrachme.<sup>2</sup>

After having destroyed or subjugated the other cities of Argolis, Argos herself fell under the rule of tyrants. Three times the Achæans penetrated the city and fought against mercenaries. The inhabitants, indifferent observers from their house-tops of a strife in which their own destinies were at stake, applauded the best performance. "You would have thought," says Plutarch, "they were looking at the Nemean games."

Argive Didrachme.<sup>4</sup>

Sparta was nothing but one perpetual revolution. Within a few years the Ephors had been massacred four times, and the royal power increased, abolished, then re-established, bought, and finally left in the hands of a tyrant. Sparta, pledged to poverty and equality, had become the richest and most oligarchical country in

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, vi. 6, and xx. 6. Boeotian stupidity, ἀνασθησία, and gluttony, Βοιωτία ἐγ, have become proverbial. Cf. Athenæus, x. 11. However, the fact that Pindar and Epaminondas were Boeotians, also the discovery of the very graceful figurines of the necropolis of Tanagra, compel us to accept with reserve the common opinion in respect to Boeotian stupidity.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Athene. In the field, a bearded head, monetary symbol marking a coinage. Beneath the Pegasus is the koppa (Ϟ) initial of the name Corinthus; it was customary to mark with this symbol horses of a special breed. [Cf. *σαρφόρα*, probably for Sicynic horses.—*EL.*]

<sup>3</sup> [These were, however, a direct source of gain, and rather prove the greatness of the commerce and thoroughfare in that city.—*EL.*]

<sup>4</sup> Obverse, a head of Juno with a diadem. Reverse, ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ; cow's head, adorned with fillets, between two dolphins. Argive Didrachme.



Greece.<sup>1</sup> From the 9,000 Spartans of Lyeurgus, the number had fallen below 700, of whom 600 were beggars,<sup>2</sup> deprived of all political rights by the loss of their ancestral property.<sup>3</sup> Wealth, accumulated in the hands of women, had engendered unbridled corruption; everything could be bought for money.<sup>4</sup>

Lyeurgus.<sup>5</sup>

Agis and Cleomenes attempted, it is said, to put in force the ancient laws of Lyeurgus, and to recreate anew the Spartan people. But the one perished before he had accomplished anything; the other effected only a military revolution in the interest of his own power, and gave Sparta an appearance of life merely by appealing to popular passions. Throughout the Peloponnesus the poor called upon him, expecting that he would

Antigonus.<sup>6</sup>

divide the land among them and abolish all debts. Hence the alarm which seized Aratus and the Achæan league, when they beheld Cleomenes at the head of 20,000 slaves, debtors, and proletaries, threatening not only the independence of States and their government, but the property of each individual. Far indeed was this radical tyranny from the austere polity of Lyeurgus.

To escape from this danger the Achæans threw themselves

<sup>1</sup> Χρησίον δὲ καὶ ἀργήριον οὐκ ἴσταν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. (Plato, *Alc. I.*, p. 122 E.)

<sup>2</sup> The Spartan population had fallen off from 8,000, in 480, to 6,000, in 420 (O. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. 233); after the battle of Leuctra only 2,000 remained. Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6), reckoned the number at 1,000. Under Agis there were 700. (Plut., *Agis*, 5.) Many causes contributed to the rapid extinction of this race: the law for the exposure of infants, the continual wars, the increasing inequality in respect to wealth since the law of Epitades (Plut., *Agis*, 5), which reduced the poor to a condition of political inferiority ὑπομεινόντες (see Cinadon's conspiracy in Xenophon, *Hell.*, iii. 3, and Aristotle, *Pol.*, viii. 6), and prevented them from bringing up children, although a man having one son was exempted from military service, and having three, from all civic obligations (Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 13; Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, p. 415); finally the usage τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἔχειν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας (Polybius, xii. 6), and the *Creticus amor*.

<sup>3</sup> Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 7; Stob., *Serm.*, 40: Τὸν μὴ ἐμμένοντα τῇ ἀγωγῇ κἂν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλείως ᾧ εἰς τοὺς ἔλλοτας ἀποστρίλλουσιν.

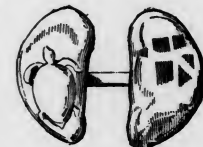
<sup>4</sup> In the time of Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6, 11) women in Sparta possessed two-fifths of all the property owned in the State. Plato (*de Leg.*, i.) had been struck with the depravity of Spartan manners, and held the women responsible for it.

<sup>5</sup> Bronze Coin of Sparta with [a conventional] head of Lyeurgus.

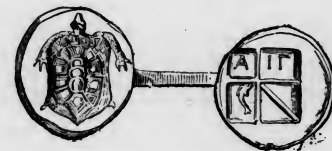
<sup>6</sup> This head of Antigonus Doson used to be called Cleomenes.

into the arms of the king of Macedon; under him they would at all events lose only a portion of their independence.<sup>1</sup>

The battle of Sellasia destroyed this factitious power, and Cleomenes carried into Egypt his turbulent ambition and his misconceptions of times and of men; he perished calling the Alexandrians to liberty! After him, Sparta remained a prey to factions, whence emerged the tyranny of Machanidas, which was destroyed by Philopœmen. But Sparta, despite her abasement, was too proud of her old glory to consent to disappear into the Achæan league. To Machanidas succeeded Nabis,<sup>2</sup> and the Spartans remained allies of the Ætolians.

Coin of Ægina.<sup>3</sup>

Need we speak of smaller states? Ægina has disappeared from the arena;<sup>4</sup> soon she will serve for an instance to show how greatness and glory pass away.<sup>5</sup> Megara is but an obscure dependent of the Boeotian or the Achæan leagues; the Eleans, like Messene and part of Arcadia, are dependent upon the Ætolians; the weakness of Phocis still attests, after four generations have passed by, the terrible vengeance of the Sacred War; Eubœa and Thessaly are powerless;<sup>6</sup> Crete given up to disorder and to

Drachme of Ægina.<sup>7</sup>

all manner of evil passions, "to *cretise*," was a synonym for lying.<sup>8</sup>

Even with patriotism and sounder morals, the Greeks could not have been saved, and though peace and unity had reigned from

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the dependence of the Achæans upon Macedon, see Plutarch (*Aratus*, 45, 51, 52) and Polybius (iv. and x. 1 to 5).

<sup>2</sup> See in Polybius (xiii. 7, and xvi. 13) a picture of the tyranny of Nabis.

<sup>3</sup> A tortoise and a rude square. Very ancient Didrachme

<sup>4</sup> However, yet once more she resisted a Roman general, Sulpicius Galba, who caused all her inhabitants to be sold into slavery. (Polybius, ix. 42a.)

<sup>5</sup> See the too much admired letter of Sulpicius to Cicero to console him when no consolation is possible—a daughter's death: *Ægina, Megara, Piræus, Corinthus quæ oppida, quodam tempore, florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent.* (*Fam.*, iv. 5.)

<sup>6</sup> Hannibal said of Boeotia, Eubœa, and Thessaly: *Illis nullæ suæ vires sunt.* (Livy.)

<sup>7</sup> Same symbols, but artistically wrought. In the square a dolphin, and the first letters of the name Ægina.

<sup>8</sup> "Crete," says Polybius, "is the only country in the world where gain, no matter what may be its nature, passes for honest and legitimate. . . . If you look at individuals there are few men more knavish; if you consider the state, there is none in which more unjust designs are conceived. (vi. 9.) Cf. Diod., *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119.

Cape Ténarum to Mount Orbelus, Rome would notwithstanding, with a little more time and effort, have reduced her no less completely.

Upon the confines of Europe and Asia, there was activity and wealth in the commercial cities ranged along the shores of the Propontis, upon the sea coast of Asia Minor, and in the islands of the Ægean Sea. Byzantium, the queen of the Bosphorus, Cyzicus, and Rhodes especially, had even established with Smyrna, Abydus, Chios, Mitylene, and Halicarnassus a sort of league or *hansa* for mutual defence. But there was no real strength; Rome could easily

Byzantine Coin.<sup>1</sup>

get the better of these cities, leaving to them that which was their supreme ambition, commerce, with its profits, and municipal liberty, with its agitations.

If we depend upon the judgment of Montesquieu, we shall strangely deceive ourselves in respect to the strength of Greece at this period. The fears expressed at Rome have been taken in earnest; in the crafty dealing of the senate has been found a proof of Greek power, and her warriors have been counted by hundreds of thousands. It is a mere optical illusion produced by the great names of the past—at a distance, ships of the line, seen near at hand, logs floating upon the water. Athens was not able to put a stop to the ravages of the

Coin of Smyrna.<sup>2</sup>

Chalcidian pirates, nor of the Corinthian garrison. In the year 200 some bands of Acarnanians overran Attica with impunity, burning and massacring, and 2,000 Macedonians kept the city besieged.<sup>3</sup> When Philip ravaged Laconia up to the very walls of Sparta, Lycurgus had but 2,000 men with whom to oppose him.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Bacchus. On the reverse, a bunch of grapes, and the legend, BY(Z)ANTION. Copper coin.

<sup>2</sup> Turreted head of the city. The reverse, ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ (magistrate's name), and a monogram; lion passant; the whole surrounded by a wreath. Tetradrachm of Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxi. 14, 22.

Philip himself entered upon the campaign with 5,700 soldiers in 219, and the year after he had only 7,500. The contingent of Argos and of Megalopolis is 550 men, and all the Achaean confederation cannot put under arms during the war of the two leagues, the most exciting war of this period, more than 3,500 national troops.<sup>1</sup>

Coin of Halicarnassus.<sup>2</sup>

In 219 three cities withdrew from the confederation; for their defence an army of 350 soldiers was sufficient. The Eleans had never more than a few hundred men under arms; at the battle of Mont Apelauros they were 2,300 strong, including mercenaries.<sup>3</sup>

The marine had fallen even lower. The Athenians, who equipped 300 vessels at Salamis, have now for their entire fleet three open galleys;<sup>4</sup> Nabis has no more.<sup>5</sup> The Achaean league, which comprises Argolis, Corinth, Sicyon, and all the maritime cities of the ancient Ægialeia is in a position to equip but six vessels, three to guard the Corinthian Gulf and three the Saronic.<sup>6</sup> In Livy is mentioned the ridiculous fleet of Philopœmen, the flagship being a four-banked galley which had for eighty years been rotting in the harbour of Ægion;<sup>7</sup> the Ætolians have not a single ship;<sup>8</sup> and we remember that the Illyrian pirates carried their depredations with impunity as far as the Cyclades. Rhodes even, whose power is so vaunted,<sup>10</sup> after a serious quarrel with Byzantium, sends but three galleys into the Hellespont; and yet the parties

Prusias I.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At one time a levy of 11,000 men was decreed, but of this number 8,300 were mercenaries. (Polybius, v. 91.) See in the same author (x. 5) the deplorable condition of the cavalry before the reforms of Philopœmen.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Medusa. The reverse, the name of the city, HALICARNASSI (ΩΝ), and the bust of Pallas. Drachme of Halicarnassus. (3·85 gr.)

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, iv. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxxi. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Id., xxxv. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Polybius, v. 91.

<sup>7</sup> Livy, xxxv. 26.

<sup>8</sup> In their expeditions against Epirus, Acarnania, and the Peloponnesus, they employed τὰς τῶν Κεφαλληνῶν ναυσί. (Polybius, v. 3.)

<sup>9</sup> Strab., xiv.; Diod., xx. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Prusias I., king of Bithynia, about 228, died between 183 and 179. Attalus was king of Pergamus, and Achaëus, of that portion of Asia Minor which was a dependency upon the empire

in this war were two famous republics, three kings, Attalus, Prusias, and Achæus, with an indefinite number of Gallic and Thracian chiefs.<sup>1</sup>

This weakness was not accidental. I will not say that the military spirit was dead in Greece, but for the last two centuries her sons had been wasted in causes foreign to herself, and the lucrative occupations opened to them in the East had led them to desert the cause of their country.<sup>2</sup> At the very time when the Spartan king Areus perished and the last remnants of Hellenic liberty were falling beneath the attacks of Antigonos, Xanthippus had brought away the bravest of the Lacedæmonians to the assistance of Carthage. Later, during the second war of the Romans against Philip, Scopas came to enrol under the standard of Ptolemy 6,000 Ætolians, and, without the opposition of the strategus Damocritus, all the youth would have followed him.<sup>3</sup> In the time of Alexander, Darius had already 50,000 Greek mercenaries; we have seen that they were also the chief dependence of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids.

There existed therefore between Greece and the East an interchange equally disastrous to both; the latter took men and lost the confidence and support of the national forces; the former received gold, and with that gold, destructive to her own morals, bought in turn mercenaries for her private quarrels. I have already spoken of that deadly ulcer of states, *condottierism*, which destroyed Carthage and the Italian republics of the Middle Ages; it had now extended over the whole of Greece. Macedon, even, had foreigners in her pay; at Sellasia there were 5,000 or 6,000 of them in the army of Antigonos. In the Achæan armies mercenaries formed more than half the troops. The kings and the tyrants of Sparta had no other soldiers.<sup>4</sup>

of the Seleucidæ (223-214). The head of Prusias is from a tetradrachm. During the first war between Rome and Philip, he was the ally of the latter. He was therefore concerned in the treaty of 205, but he held himself aloof from the second war, now about to commence.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, iv. 12. However, in 191, the Rhodians joined the Roman fleet with twenty-five decked vessels (Livy, xxxvi. 45), and in 190 with thirty-five. But the fact cited in the text shows what contemptible wars at this time disturbed the Greek world.

<sup>2</sup> Lysiscus expressed the true idea of the Greeks—Alexander has subjugated Asia to the Greeks. (Polybius, ix. 11.) Hence they flung themselves upon this prey with more avidity than did the Spaniards in the sixteenth century upon the New World, and we know what ills the conquest of America caused in the end to Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxi. 43.

<sup>4</sup> See Polybius, ii. 13, in regard to Cleomenes and Antigonos; iv. 13, in regard to the

Wealth obtained in evil ways proverbially takes wings. Asiatic and African gold did not remain in Greece, because industry was there no longer. The cities were depopulated and in want. Of Megalopolis it was said, "Great city, great desert." Destitution prevailed everywhere. Mantinea, men and property together, was not worth 300 talents, and Polybius would not give, he says, 6,000 talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. Attica, two centuries earlier, was the richest country in Greece. A recent estimate of its landed property and personalities had given but 5,750 talents, half the sum which Pericles kept in reserve in the public treasury before the war in which his fortunes waned. And this very people, who at that time spent a thousand talents for a single temple, to-day being required by arbitrators to pay 500, had not the means of doing it. Hence armies were small, affairs were on a petty scale; a little noise about trifling matters; while across the Adriatic resounded the grand tumult of the mortal strife between Hannibal and Rome. All the memories of other days cannot make us believe that this worn-out people, a prey to confusion and giddiness, are yet capable of devotion and heroism. "Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!"

In certain cities the administration of justice was suspended; there were tribunals that remained closed twenty years, not for lack of criminals, but for lack of judges upon whom the factions could agree;<sup>1</sup> society was relapsing into barbarism. The family, like the city, was perishing. Many avoided marriage to escape the duties of paternity, and refused to bring up the children born from their transient unions.<sup>2</sup> This artist race even ceased to respect that which is still the best part of their fame—their masterpieces of art. Before the Heruli and the Goths came, bringing devastation into Greece, the Greeks themselves burned their own temples, destroyed their pictures, overthrew their statues; in one day Philip of Macedon caused the destruction of 2,000 statues in the capital of Ætolia. "This man," said the Athenian deputies at the assembly at Naupactus, "this man makes a sacrilegious war upon

Achæans; iv. 17, v. 8, concerning Philip; v. 3, the Eleans; and in regard to Athens, Livy, xxxi. 24. Crete furnished mercenaries to all the world, even to the pirates. (Strabo, x. 477.) Agesilaus (Plut., *Ages.*) had already employed hired troops.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xx. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, xxxvii. 4.



the gods; he burns temples, mutilates statues, and destroys even the tombs of the dead."<sup>1</sup> The Lacedæmonians did the same at Megalopolis, the Ætolians at Dium, Prusias at Pergamus and Lemnos. And the sober Polybius, indignant at these sacrilegious frenzies, exclaims in his turn, "Verily, these men are insane; they addressed to the gods their supplications; they offer victims to them; they bend the knee before their images; they are as superstitious as women, and they lay waste their temples."<sup>2</sup>

Doubtless there were still enlightened and patriotic Greeks, and when the question shall be clearly put between Greece and Rome, between liberty and submission, we shall again find sentiments and impulses worthy of a great people. But it is too late. The Achaean league could no longer bring safety—the moment for that has passed, nor could the federative system, into which a skilful aggressor can too easily bring dissension; the only thing now possible would be a close alliance with Macedon under a great prince. Let us see whether that great prince existed.

### III.—MACEDON.

Surrounded by the sea and by rugged mountains, inhabited by a warlike race, devoted to her kings and proud of the position they had made for her in the world, Macedon was truly a powerful State. As in the case of Carthage, Rome made three attempts before she could achieve her rivals destruction. If



Coin of Opus.<sup>3</sup>

Philip V. had possessed nothing but Macedon, his conduct no doubt would have been as simple as his interests, but he held also Thessaly and Eubœa, Opus in Loeris, Elatea and the larger part of Phocis, the Acrocorinthus

<sup>1</sup> In regard to Philip's ravages in Attica, Cf. Livy, xxxi. 5, 24, 26, 30. Not content with throwing down the statues, he caused them to be broken. At Thermus he burned the temple and threw down 2,000 statues. (Polybius, v. 9; xi. 3.) The Ætolians, on their part, destroyed the ancient sanctuary of Dodona, and at Dium the temple and the pictures of the kings of Macedon. The plundering of Delphi by the Phocians will be remembered.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxii. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Ceres. Reverse, ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ, and Ajax sword in hand. Didrachme of Opus.

and Orchomenus in Arcadia. In three of the Cyclades, Andros, Paros, and Cythnos, he maintained garrisons; also in Thasos and some cities of the coast of Thrace and of Asia; a considerable part of Caria belonged to him. These remote and scattered possessions multiplied hostile contacts. His Thracian towns, Perinthus, Sestus, and Abydus, which commanded the passage from Europe into Asia, made him dangerous to Attalus of Pergamus; his cities in Caria and the island of Iasus, to the Rhodians; Eubœa, to the Athenians; Thessaly and Phocis, to the Ætolians; his possessions in the Peloponnesus, to Lacedæmon.



Didrachme of Thasos.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Abydus.<sup>2</sup>

With more consistency in his plans and a wiser use of his strength he might have ruled over all Greece, for he held its fetters, to quote the words of Antipater. But he always made war less as a king than a predatory chief, rushing in one campaign from Macedon to Cephallonia, thence to Thermus, from Ætolia to Sparta, completing the destruction of no enemy, leaving each enterprise incomplete.<sup>3</sup> In these wars his numerical strength never exceeded a few thousand men, and Plutarch speaks of the difficulties he had in raising troops.<sup>4</sup> He could not withdraw soldiers from Macedon, for whenever they knew of his absence the Thracians, the Dardanians, and the Illyrian tribes fell upon his kingdom. To conquer these barbarians, to crush the Ætolian league, to expel the



Coin of Iasus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Satyr carrying off a woman. Reverse, hollow square. Silver coin of Thasos of very ancient date.

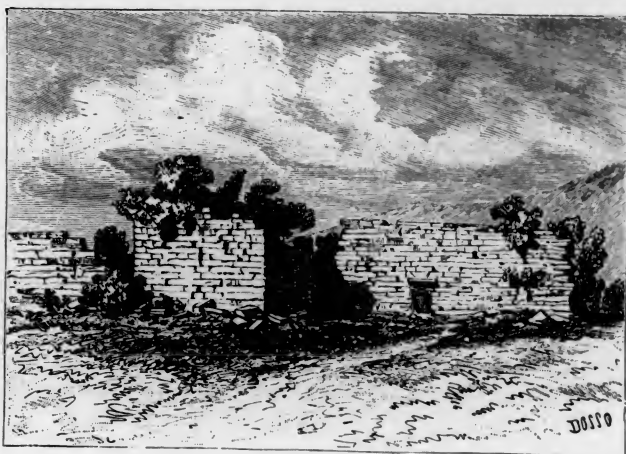
<sup>2</sup> Bust of Diana. Reverse, ΑΒΥΔΗΝΩΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, an eagle and a torch; the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Abydus.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, v. 1-15.

<sup>4</sup> Heads of the Dioscuri coupled. Reverse, ΙΑΣΕΩΝ. Figure leaning upon a dolphin. Bronze coin of Iasus.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Flamininus*.

tyrants of Sparta and to gain over by gentleness the rest of the Greeks—this was the rôle Philip proposed to himself. But he had not the ability to play it. If it is not true that, as Polybius asserts, he caused Aratus to be poisoned,<sup>1</sup> he certainly alienated his allies by his excesses and his perfidy. "A king," he dared to say, "is bound neither by his word nor by moral laws." The eyes of the most careless observer saw drawing near "the tempest which the Ætolians were attracting from the

Iasus.<sup>2</sup>

West."<sup>3</sup> Philip only neither saw nor understood this.<sup>4</sup> And when the senate sent to declare war upon him he was fighting in Asia against Attalus and the Rhodians for the possession of some unimportant places in Thrace and Caria. His reply to the Roman messenger, Æmilius Lepidus, shows his mocking levity in the

<sup>1</sup> The assertion of Polybius seems to be ill supported by evidence. Notice, *passim*, the reproaches that he addresses to Philip on account of his conduct at Messene and at Argos; also the speech of Aristenes. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> Part of the wall of Iasus, with eastern side. (*Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, Lebas and Waddington, pl. lxvi., fig. 1.) This city was then in possession of Macedon.

<sup>3</sup> Speech of Lysiscus, Polybius, ix. 11. As the second Punic war drew near its close the fears of the Greeks increased and the conviction that they were destined to swell the number of the conquests of Rome. (Polybius, xi. 6.) "Threatened by Carthage and by Rome," said a Greek, "we shall escape from servitude only if Philip can regard all Greece as his own and watch over her." (Polybius, v. 104.)

<sup>4</sup> Except in making his treaty with Hannibal: "From this moment the idea of conquering Italy occupied him even in his dreams." (Polybius, v. 101-8.)

midst of most serious affairs. He would forgive him, he said, the arrogance of his language for three reasons—first, that he was young and inexperienced; next, because he was the handsomest man of his age; and lastly, because he bore a Roman name.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman power, until now limited to the West, was about to penetrate into that Eastern world belonging to the successors of Alexander. It is Rome's immortal honour, the one immense benefit which makes us forget all her unjust wars, that for a certain length of time she united these two worlds, which are in their nature so divided in interests and so foreign one to the other; that she mingled and blended the brilliant but corrupt civilization of the East with the barbaric energy of the West. The Mediterranean became a Roman lake—*mare nostrum*, they called it, and the same life circulated upon all its shores, called, for the first and last time, to share a common existence.

A century and a half of efforts and of prudence were required for this result: for Rome, not working for a man, but for a patient aristocracy, had no need to attain the end at a single leap. Instead of rearing suddenly one of those colossal monarchies formed like the statue of gold, with feet of clay, she slowly founded an empire which fell only under the weight of years and of hordes from the North. After Zama, she might have attempted the conquest of Africa, but she left Carthage and the Numidians to wear one another out. After Cynoscephalæ and Magnesia, Greece and Asia were ready for the yoke, but she still left to them fifty years more of liberty. The truth is, she still keeps, with her pride in the Roman name and her insatiable desire for power, some of her early virtues. The Popillii are more numerous than the Verres at present; she had rather rule the world; later, she will set herself to pillage it. And so, wherever any strength is observed, thither Rome despatches her legions; everything like power is destroyed; ties uniting States, leagues of whatever kind are broken up; and when she recalls her soldiers they leave behind them anarchy and weakness. The work of the legions being ended, that of the

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xvi. 15.

senate begins: first, force, afterwards tact and policy, and the old senators, grown gray amid the alarms of the second Punic war, seem now to enjoy themselves far more in that play of state-craft, always the highest of Italian arts.

Many reasons, moreover, enjoined this reserve. Against the Gauls and the Samnites, against Pyrrhus and Hannibal, that is to say, in the defence of Latium and of Italy, Rome had used all her strength; it was a question of life or death. In the wars in Greece and Asia only her ambition and her pride were at stake, and prudence required that a little rest should be allowed to the plebeians and the allies. The senate also had too many affairs upon their hands at the same time—wars in Spain, in Corsica, in the Cisalpine, and in Istria, to permit any serious handling of the Eastern question; two legions only were sent to fight with Philip and with Antiochus. It was enough to conquer them, but not enough to plunder them. Besides, from the moment when the Romans began to penetrate into this Greek world, where the glory of the past concealed so much present weakness, they felt that they could never be too moderate. Those pitiless enemies of the Volscians and the Samnites in their next wars no longer ravage the country and exterminate their adversaries. Not for their own interests did they come, they said, to shed their blood; it was to advocate the cause of oppressed Greece. And this language, this conduct, they never changed, even after victory.

The first act of Flamininus, on the morrow of Cynoscephale, will be to proclaim liberty to the Greeks. All who bore that honoured name seemed to have a right to their protection, and the little Greek cities of Caria and along the Thracian and the Asiatic coasts will receive with wonder their liberty at the hands of a people whom they scarcely know. All will be deceived by this air of disinterested kindness. No one will observe that what Rome is doing in giving independence to their States and cities has the effect of destroying the confederations just struggling to re-form, in which perhaps might be the hope of new strength for Greece. Separating them from one another, and attaching them to herself by a tie of self-interested gratitude, she placed them all unconsciously to themselves under her influence. She made them her

allies, and it is well known what became finally of the allies of Rome. So profitable did the senate find this policy of sowing dissensions everywhere and awakening on all sides extinct rivalries, that for more than half a century they followed no other.

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a coin of the Servilian family bearing the head of Flora, already represented (vol. i. p. 541.)



Warriors joining their Swords.<sup>4</sup>



## CHAPTER XXVII.

### SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200-197).<sup>1</sup>

#### I.—FIRST OPERATIONS OF ROME IN GREECE.

THE conqueror of Zama had scarcely descended from the Capitol, and the temples yet resounded with thanksgivings, when one of the consuls came, in the name of the senate, to say to the assembled centuries: "Will you, do you decree, that war be declared against king Philip and the Macedonians for having done injury and violence to the allies of the Roman people?" The centuries unanimously refused the proposal. They had had enough of glory and battles; peace and rest were the objects of their desire; but the Roman people belonged to themselves no longer. They had become the instrument of a self-imposed necessity, which must inevitably be wielded for the conquest of the world.

Vainly did the Roman nation now desire to stop in the bloody career wherein its own liberty was also to perish. Victory had made it a king, and it must needs accept the anxieties, the perils, and the proud misery of its royal condition. "The senators," said Bæbius, the tribune, "wish to make war endless, to the end that their dictatorship may be endless." The consul reminded them of the treaty with Hannibal, of the 4,000 mercenaries sent to Zama,<sup>2</sup> of Philip's threats against the free cities of Greece and Asia, his attacks upon the allies of Rome in the East, upon Attalus of Pergamus, the Rhodians, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, the ward of the senate. At that very moment he was besieging Athens. Athens, the consul said, would be a new Saguntum, and Philip another Hannibal. The war must be carried into Greece if they desired not to have it in Italy. "Go to the vote, then," he said, in conclusion,

<sup>1</sup> For the first Macedonian war, see vol. i., p. 636.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxx. 42.

"and may the gods who have accepted my sacrifices and have given me auspicious omens inspire you to decree what the senate has resolved." The people yielded. The senate, however, had so little real anxiety in the case that they armed for Italy and the provinces but six legions in all, although the war was then recommencing in the Cisalpine, where Hamilear, the Carthaginian, was fomenting disturbances among the Insubrians.

We have seen what was the situation in Greece and in the Eastern world, and have noted the strength of the different States and their alliances. Philip had lately allied himself with Antiochus III. of Syria and with Prusias of Bithynia for the purpose of despoiling the Thracian and Asiatic possessions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was in his turn defended



Tetrastater of Antiochus III.<sup>1</sup>

by Rhodes and by Attalus of Pergamus. In Greece, his declared enemies were, Sparta under the rule of Nabis; Athens, which had just exchanged rights of citizenship with Rhodes; and the Ætolians, who ruled from one sea to the other<sup>2</sup> and occupied Thermopylæ; while his excesses left him but lukewarm friends. The consul Sulpicius, sent against him, came over bringing but two legions; Carthage sent them corn, Masinissa furnished them Numidian troops, Rhodes and Attalus contributed ships, and the Ætolians, after some hesitation, sent their [Thessalian] cavalry—the best in Greece. Nabis, without declaring for Rome, was already in open war with the Achæans.



Coin of Chalcis.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as the campaign opened, Philip, notwithstanding his activity, found himself hemmed in by enemies on every side. A lieutenant of Sulpicius

<sup>1</sup> Crowned head of Antiochus. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, and a monogram. Apollo seated upon the *omphalos* or central point of the world. From the *Cabinet de France*. (33.95 gr.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 9. Livy however mentions several Phocian towns in alliance with Philip.

<sup>3</sup> Woman's head. Reverse, XAA, and an eagle tearing a serpent. Drachme of Chalcis in Eubœa.

sent to the help of Athens burned Chalcis, the chief city of Eubœa; the Ætolians with the Athamanes ravaged Thessaly; Pleuratus, king of Illyria and the Dardanians, came down into Macedon; lastly, another lieutenant pushed a reconnaissance into Dassaretia. From this side Sulpicius attacked, that is by Lychmidus and what was afterwards the Egnatian road, having as his object the stronghold of Heracleia (near Monastir). Philip arrived in time to cover it, and closed to the Romans the defile through which they would have been able to come down into the fertile fields of Lyncestis. But in this mountainous region the Macedonian phalanx was useless, and although Philip had gathered 24,000 men, he could not hinder his adversary from turning his position on the north and coming down into the plain by way of Pelagonia.<sup>1</sup> At the end of a few months, therefore, Sulpicius found

Heracleia in Macedon.<sup>2</sup>

himself in the heart of Macedon; but winter was drawing near; without magazines, without strongholds, he could not winter in an enemy's country: he therefore returned to Apollonia.

During the summer, the combined fleet had driven Philip's garrisons out of the Cyclades, had taken Oreus, and pillaged the coasts of Macedon (200). A few predatory excursions into Attica, some slight advantages gained over the Ætolians, who had made incursions into Thessaly, and the taking of Maroneia, a rich and powerful Thracian city, did not balance

Coin of Maroneia.<sup>3</sup>

for Philip the danger of having suffered the enemy to penetrate into the very heart of the Macedonian kingdom.

The new consul, Villius, found the army in a state of mutiny, and passed the entire campaign (199) in restoring discipline. He

seems, however, to have only succeeded by discharging the mutineers,

<sup>1</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 302.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Hercules. Reverse, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ, in a hollow square. Hemidrachm of Heracleia.

<sup>3</sup> Galloping horse; above, a vase, and the first letters of the name Maroneia. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΟΩ, a magistrate's name, surrounding a vine branch enclosed in a square. Tetradrachm of Maroneia.

who, having entered upon this war in the hope of a rapid campaign and much plunder, had found themselves disappointed in both respects. At least, it is certain that the successor of Villius was obliged to bring out 9,000 fresh troops. Encouraged by this inaction, the king took the offensive, and entrenched himself upon both sides of the Aoüs, in an impregnable position covering Thessaly and Epirus, whence he could cut off the Romans from the sea, if they should recommence the expedition of Sulpicius.

The people had raised to the consulate Titus Quinctius Flaminius, although he was but thirty-two years of age, and had held no other office save the quaestorship the preceding year; but his reputation anticipated his services; he was, moreover, a member of one of those noble families who had already begun to set themselves above the laws. A good general, a better statesman, pliant and crafty, a Greek rather than a Roman, he represented that new generation who were abandoning ancestral traditions and adopting foreign manners. Flaminius was the true author of that Machiavellian policy which gave up Greece defenceless into the hands of the legions. He has been called a second Scipio, but he has neither the noble-mindedness nor the heroic courage of Africanus. The blood of Philopœmen and of Hannibal lies at his door.

Titus Quinctius Flaminius.<sup>1</sup>

It is already noticeable that the Roman leaders are less noble, just as the interests they serve become less worthy.

Flaminius at first did no better than his predecessor. The fruitless attempt made by Sulpicius had shown that Macedon could be reached only with difficulty through the mountains on the north-west, and the attack on the south by the fleet had resulted in nothing but some indecisive predatory raids. It remained to try a direct attack in front. But Philip had posted himself in a narrow gorge between two mountains, descending with abrupt, rocky precipices to the river which occupied nearly the whole of the pass.<sup>2</sup>

For six weeks Flaminius remained before the impregnable camp of the Macedonians. There were skirmishes every day, but

<sup>1</sup> Head of Flaminius, from a stater struck in Macedon.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxii. 5. This defile is now the Cleisoura pass, at the confluence of the Desnitza and the Zoïoussa (Aoüs).

"when the Romans strove to climb the ascent, they were overwhelmed with darts and arrows which the Macedonians poured in upon their flanks; so the skirmishes were exceedingly sharp, and many on both sides were killed and wounded; but this was not decisive, nor of a nature to end the war."<sup>1</sup>

Discouragement was beginning to be felt when Charops, an Epirot chief, whose country was wasted by the Macedonians, furnished the consul with the means of abandoning this dangerous inaction. He sent to him a shepherd, who, accustomed to lead his flocks through the defile of Cleisoura, knew all the paths over the mountain, and now offered to lead the Romans in three days to a point whence they would command the Macedonian camp. After satisfying himself that the shepherd came in truth from Charops, Flaminius selected a force, consisting of 4,000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry, gave them orders to move only by night, as there was a moon at the time sufficient to light their road, and directed them on arriving at the designated spot to kindle a great bonfire. On the third day, the signal was duly made; a mighty shout rang up from the depths of the pass, and at the same moment was heard the reply from the heights above which commanded the royal camp. The Macedonians attacked in front and threatened from the rear,



Coin of Gomphi.<sup>3</sup>

were struck with panic; they took to flight, and did not stop till they reached Thessaly, beyond the mountain chain of the Pindus.<sup>2</sup> At news of this victory, which gave Epirus into the power of Flaminius, the Ætolians fell upon Thessaly, and Amyntander, king of the Athamans, opened to the Romans, through the defile of Gomphi, an entrance into this province. Philip, not daring to risk a battle, had withdrawn into the vale of Tempe, after pillaging the open country, burning the unfortified cities, and driving the population into the mountains. This conduct presented a dangerous contrast to that of the Romans, who were held by Flaminius to

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Flaminius*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> The memory of this event lingers yet in Epirus, clothed however in one of those legends with which the popular imagination delights to invest historic fact. (Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, I., p. 302.)

<sup>3</sup> The obverse, a head of Medusa; the reverse, ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ; Jupiter seated, leaning with his left hand upon a long sceptre, and holding his thunderbolt in the right hand. A copper coin.

the strictest discipline, and had suffered with hunger rather than commit any depredations in Epirus.<sup>1</sup> Many cities, therefore, opened their gates, and Flaminius had reached the banks of the Peneus,



Didrachme of Carystus.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Eretria.<sup>3</sup>

when the courageous resistance offered by Atrax arrested his victorious march. Near at hand was the important city of Larissa, which the Macedonians held with a large force. The consul fell back.

In this campaign the allied fleet had taken, in Eubœa, Carystus and Eretria (198), "whence they took away a quantity of statues, of ancient pictures, and masterpieces of every sort." The Macedonians found there were disarmed and ordered to pay a ransom of 300 sesterces each.

Instead of losing the winter as his predecessors had done, by returning to take up his quarters near Apollonia, Flaminius led his legions to Anticyra, upon the Corinthian Gulf, whither the vessels at Coreyra, his port of supplies, could bring him in all safety the provisions of which he had need. He was here in the very centre of Greece, and while his troops were capturing the smaller cities in Phœcis, and besieging the strongly fortified town of Elatea, which they at last took, his negotiations, his threats, the advice of adherents, and new hostilities on the



Head of Demeter, found at Apollonia.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxii. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Cow and calf. On the reverse, a cock, and the legend ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ.

<sup>3</sup> Woman's head. On the reverse, ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΦΑΝΙΑΣ and two bunches of grapes. Eretrian drachme.

<sup>4</sup> Demeter (Ceres) found by M. Heuzey (*Mission de Macédoine*, pl. xxxii). VOL. II.



part of Nabis, compelled the Achæans to accept his alliance.<sup>1</sup> He had promised to restore to them Corinth, but the Macedonian garrison repulsed all attacks, and even captured Argos, which it gave up to Nabis. This furious tyrant at once proclaimed two laws, one decreeing the abolition of debts, the other, the distribution of lands, showing very clearly the character that all the revolutions of the time assumed in Greece. Nabis, having drawn from Philip all the advantages that he could expect, now went over to the Roman alliance; the rest of the Peloponnesus had already entered it.

Flaminius was desirous to terminate the war himself by a peace, or better still, a victory. Philip having asked for a conference, he agreed to it, and on either side were taken those jealous precautions so much employed in the Middle Ages. The interview took place on the shore of the Maliaë Gulf. The king made his appearance in a war-vessel escorted by five barges, but refused to land, and discoursed from the prow of his galley. "This is very inconvenient," Flaminius said; "if you would land, we should converse better." The king refusing, Flaminius added, "Of what are you afraid?" "I am afraid of nothing," rejoined the king, "save the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the men who surround you." The day passed in vain recriminations; on the morrow the king consented to disembark on condition that Flaminius should send away the allied chiefs, and landed with two of his officers. The consul had with him no one but a tribune; a truce of two months was agreed upon, during which the king and the allies should send an embassy to the senate. The Greeks first made their complaints; when the Macedonians wished to answer with a long speech, they were summoned to answer only to the question, whether their master would consent to withdraw the garrisons he had placed in the Greek cities, and on their reply that they had no instructions on this point, they were dismissed. This was what Flaminius wished.

In central Greece the Bœotians only hesitated.<sup>2</sup> Flaminius proposed a conference. The strategus, Antiphilus, came to meet

<sup>1</sup> Philip had, however, relinquished to the league, at the beginning of this campaign, Orchomenus, Heræum, and Triphylia; also to the Eleans, Aliphera. (Livy, xxxii. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> The Acarnanians remained faithful to Philip up to the battle of Cynoscephalæ.

him with the principal Thebans. Flaminius advanced almost alone, accompanied by the king of Pergamus; he speaks to the deputies individually, he flatters and distracts them; they walk on as they talk, and enter the city, and go as far as the market-place, while a great crowd follows, eager to see a consul, and to hear a Roman who speaks their language so well. But, at some distance, 2,000 legionaries were following; while Flaminius held the crowd in rapt attention, his soldiers seized upon the fortifications, and Thebes was taken.<sup>1</sup>

In this novel winter campaign Flaminius had conquered Greece, had reduced Philip's army to his own subjects, and was now able to meet him in the field. Upon the return of spring, the consul went in search of Philip as far as Phere in Thessaly, taking with him 26,000 men, of whom 6,000 were Greeks, and among these Greeks 500 Cretans. Philip, who for twenty years had been wasting his strength in mad enterprises, was able to gather 25,000 soldiers only by enrolling boys of sixteen.<sup>3</sup> Of these 16,000 composed the phalanx.



Drachme of Phere.<sup>2</sup>

The diplomacy of the senate rather than its legions had gained the honours of the first Macedonian war. In the present war, the legion with its rapid movements, and its missile weapons, the javelins and the formidable *pilum*, was now to find itself engaged against Alexander's phalanx, a dense mass, whose soldiers placed sixteen deep, and armed with lances twenty-one feet long, seemed a wall bristling with pikes. Since the battle of Chaeronea, which had prostrated Greece at the feet of Macedon, that is to say, for 141 years, the phalanx had been esteemed the most formidable engine of war ever invented by man.<sup>4</sup>

The Romans were along the shore of the Pagasæan Gulf, within reach of their fleet; Philip, at Larissa, his head quarters. The two armies were on their way to meet each other, and for two whole days marched side by side, separated only by a chain

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> Naked figure standing by the side of an ox which he is about to sacrifice. On the reverse, a horse galloping, and the name of the city ΦΕΡΑ in old Greek letters.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> [Cf. note, p. 5.—Ed.]

of hills, and neither of them suspecting this dangerous neighbourhood. Imagine Hannibal in the Macedonian camp!<sup>1</sup>

The battle took place in June, 197, near Scotussa, in a plain where were many scattered hillocks, called dogs'-heads, *Cynoscephalæ*. The action was begun, contrary to the design of both generals, by the Ætolian cavalry, and Philip had neither time nor means to bring his phalanx into order. Upon the irregular ground it lost its strength in losing its solidity; the shock of Masinissa's elephants, an attack in the rear skilfully directed, and the uneven pressure of the legionaries broke it; 8,000 Macedonians remained dead upon the field. The destruction of this phalanx, which the Greeks believed to be invincible, inspired them with an admiration for the tactics and the bravery of the Romans which Polybius himself shares.

Philip, with the fragments of his army, took refuge in the city of Gonnus, at the entrance of the gorges of Tempe, on the highway between Thessaly and Macedon. Thus posted, he protected his own kingdom; but having neither strength nor courage to continue the war, he proposed negotiations. The Ætolians were eager to push the war to the last extremity. Flaminius refused to do this, boasting the magnanimity of the Romans. True to their habit of sparing the vanquished, he said that Rome would never destroy a kingdom which sheltered Greece from the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Gauls, and whose existence, he dared not



Coin of the Oresti.<sup>2</sup>

add aloud, was necessary to the policy of the senate to balance the power of the Ætolians. Philip recalled his garrisons from the cities and islands of Greece and Asia which they still occupied, relinquished all control over the Thes-salians, and gave to the Perrhæbi, that is, to the Romans, Gonnus, his real sea-port. He surrendered his fleet, with the exception of five transports, disbanded his army with the exception of 5,000 troops, pledged himself never to keep war-elephants again, paid 500 talents,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy's remarks (xxxiii. 5) confirm ours respecting the difference between a Greek and a Roman camp.

<sup>2</sup> OPPHETION, man leading two oxen. The reverse of this octodrachm of the Oresti bears a hollow square, like so many other coins of an early epoch.

<sup>3</sup> M. Letronne estimates the value of a talent of silver at 5500·90 francs. M. Dureau de

promised an annual tribute of fifty for ten years, and bound himself by an oath not to make war without consent of the senate.

After being disarmed, he was humiliated by being forced to receive and to pardon the Macedonians who had betrayed him. Flaminius stipulated even that the Oresti should be made independent, a Macedonian tribe who had revolted during the war, and whose country was one of the keys of the kingdom on the side of Roman Illyria. As a pledge of the fulfilment of these conditions, Philip gave hostages, among whom the Romans required his young son, Demetrius.

While Macedon was accepting these disastrous conditions, Antiochus, king of Syria, at the instigation of Hannibal, was making ready his forces. "In thus placing a peace between two wars," says Plutarch, "concluding one before the other began, Flaminius destroyed at one blow the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus."

The commissioners associated by the senate with Flaminius were desirous that Roman garrisons should replace Philip's at Corinth, at Chalcis, and at Demetrias; but this would have been to throw off the mask too quickly. The Greeks would have understood that with "the chains of Greece" given into the hands of Rome, all liberty must be henceforth illusory. Public opinion, so fickle in such a country, would have been a danger. Already the Ætolians, the most audacious of all, were arousing it by ballads and speeches. They maintained that their cavalry had gained the battle of Cynoscephalæ, accused the Romans of undervaluing their services, and mocked at the Greeks who believed themselves free because the fetters they had worn on their feet had now been put around their necks. Flaminius perceived that the best means of destroying these accusations and of conquering in advance Antiochus, who now threatened to cross over into Europe, would be to employ against him the weapon which had succeeded so well against Philip, namely, the liberty of the Greeks.

la Malle makes a lower estimate, 5216·66 francs, Philip had already paid 400 talents to obtain a truce.

## II.—PROCLAMATION OF THE LIBERTY OF GREECE.

During the celebration of the Isthmian games, to which all Greece had gathered, a herald suddenly ordered silence and made known this decree: "The Roman senate and T. Quinctius, conqueror of king Philip, restore to the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Locrians, to the island of Eubœa and to the tribes of Thessaly, their franchises, laws, and immunity from garrisons and tribute. All Greeks in Europe and Asia are free." There was a burst of delight at this announcement. Twice over the assembly would have the decree repeated, and Flamininus was nearly smothered under wreaths and flowers.<sup>1</sup> "There is, then," they cried, "a nation on earth who fights, at her own risk and peril, for the liberty of races, who crosses the seas to destroy all tyranny and to establish in all places the empire of right, of justice, and of law!" Temples were erected to the liberator of Greece as to a demi-god, and three centuries later Plutarch found these edifices yet in existence, with their priests, their sacrifices, and their sacred chants, "Sing, maidens, the great Jupiter and Rome, and Titus, our deliverer!"

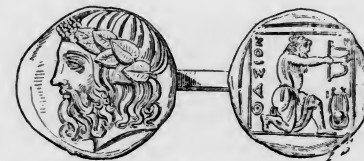
Thus this people, who had no longer the ability to do great deeds for liberty, were still capable of loving it, and rewarded its deceitful semblance with the honours of an apotheosis. When Flamininus embarked for Rome, the Achæans brought to him 1,200 Roman prisoners taken captive in the wars of Hannibal, and sold into Greece, whom they now redeemed at their own expense. Only the Greeks knew how to express gratitude in such a way (194).

Rome took nothing from the spoils of Macedon. Locris and Phocis went back to the Ætolian league; Corinth to the Achæan. To the king of Illyria, Pleuratus, was given Lychnidus and the country of the Parthenii adjacent to Macedonia and leading into it; to the chief of the Athamanes, Amynder, all the places that he had taken during the war; to Eumenes, son of Attalus of

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Flam.*, 10.

Pergamus, the island of Ægina; to Athens, Paros, Delos, and Imbros; to Rhodes, the cities of Caria;<sup>1</sup> Thasos was declared free. If the legions remained in Greece it was because Antiochus was approaching, and the Romans were solicitous, they said, after having set Greece free, to defend her liberties.

Flamininus had, however, ulterior designs. Although they had got Corinth, the Achæans were not strong enough to resist Nabis, who held control of Gythion, Sparta, and Argos. This Nabis was a detestable tyrant, whose cruelty is matter of history. Rome, however, had received him



Coin of Thasos.<sup>2</sup>

into her alliance, expelling him from it when she believed herself to have no further need of him. In an assembly gathered at Corinth, the pro-consul represented to the allies the antiquity and renown of Argos: Ought a Grecian capital to be left in the hands of a tyrant? Whether it were so or not was a matter of small importance to Romans. Their glory in having liberated Greece would be a little tarnished, no doubt, but if the allies did not fear for themselves the contagion of slavery, the Romans would not interfere and would agree to the decision of the majority. The Achæans applauded these hypocritical counsels and armed 11,000 men.<sup>3</sup> This zeal alarmed Flamininus; it was his wish to humble Nabis, but not destroy him. His purposed delays, his demands for money and supplies, fatigued the allies; they soon suffered him to negotiate with the tyrant, who abandoned to him Argolis, Gythion, and the maritime cities (195).

Nabis therefore remained in the Peloponnesus, an enemy to the Achæans, as Philip in the north, an enemy to the Ætolian league. Rome was now able to call home her legions, for with the deceitful phrase, "the liberty of States," she had rendered union still more impossible and augmented hatreds, weakness, and

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Bacchus, crowned with ivy. The reverse, ΘΑΣΙΟΝ. Hercules kneeling and drawing the bow; before him a lyre. Tetradrachm of Thasos. (15.32 gr.)

<sup>3</sup> Flamininus had 50,000 before Sparta (Livy, xxxiv. 38), and Sparta was walled only around the lower part of the town.



factions. Each city already had its partisans of Rome,<sup>1</sup> like Thebes, where the *bœotarch* Brachyllas had lately been assassinated; and these men in their blindness drove Greece into slavery. It therefore was no longer necessary to hold the country in chains; Flamininus unhesitatingly withdrew his garrisons from Chaleis, Demetrias, and the Acrocorinthus.

Before leaving Hellas he offered a golden crown to the god at Delphi, and consecrated in his temple silver bucklers, upon which were engraved Greek verses celebrating, not the victory at Cynoscephalæ, but the restoration of liberty to the Hellenic people. This was the pass word; the Romans desired to figure as liberators, and the Greeks willingly lent themselves to the illusion. In reality, when Flamininus returned to enjoy a triumph at Rome, he brought with him that useful protectorate of Greece for which all the successors of Alexander had striven in vain (194 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is said certain individuals were in the pay of Rome, for instance, Charops, in Epirus; Dicearchus and Antiphilus, in Boeotia; Aristæus and Diophanes, in Achaia; Dinocrates, in Messene. Polybius, however, praises the virtue and patriotism of Aristæus, and Rome was not fond of buying consciences with ready money. She practised a corruption less ignoble and more efficacious. In all these republics there were, as we have seen, two parties; one of these she took under her protection and raised to power by her influence. This had been her policy in Italy and became her policy everywhere.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 28. Flamininus, however, did not forget that the senate and the people required of their generals to bring back gold. He poured into the treasury 3,713 pounds of gold in ingots, 43,270 pounds of silver, and 14,514 gold "Philips." (Plut., *Flam.*, 14.)

<sup>3</sup> Hero on horseback, striking with his lance. Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1850.



Hero on Horseback,<sup>3</sup>

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### WAR AGAINST THE KING OF SYRIA AND THE GALATIANS (192-188).

#### I.—PRELIMINARIES OF THE WAR AGAINST ANTIOCHUS.

THE ostentatious disinterestedness that Rome had just exhibited in Greece—a disinterestedness which no one could as yet understand—was a politic reply to the efforts of Hannibal towards forming a coalition. Brought back to Carthage by a defeat, Hannibal found himself able to seize the authority and commence reforms with a view to regenerate the country. He caused himself to be chosen *suffete*, and with the support of his veterans and the people, he overthrew the oligarchical tyranny which had been established during the war.<sup>1</sup> The centumvirs had held office for life; he rendered their term of service annual. The finances were shamefully in disorder; he instituted a severe reform, compelling restitutions so that the public treasury was able, without oppressing the people, to pay the tribute pledged to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

The troops, regularly paid, were augmented in numbers, and until more important services should be required of them, they were employed in useful labours in the surrounding country. Meanwhile, to avoid a premature rupture, Hannibal banished his emissary, Hamilear, who was keeping up the war in Cisalpine Gaul, he submitted to the Roman decision unfavourable to himself in a difficulty with Masinissa, and he despatched to the Romans for the war in Macedonia 300,000 bushels of corn.<sup>3</sup> But secret

<sup>1</sup> Carthage had no army whatever in the city, and Hannibal had brought back with him 6,500 of his veterans, (App., *Libya*, 55.) possibly with more. [One cannot help suspecting that the battle of Zama was intentionally lost by Hannibal in such a way as to compel peace, while saving his veterans to aid his future plan—the political overthrow of the aristocracy, which had ruined his hopes by its faint and disloyal support.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 46. In the year 191 the Carthaginians offered to pay off at once the remainder of the tribute due, and to send to Rome an enormous amount of grain.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxi. 19.

messengers urged Antiochus to attack, while Philip still resisted, while the Greeks hesitated and the Cisalpine Gauls and the Spaniards were in arms.

Cynosephale overthrew his hopes, and soon three ambassadors appeared at Carthage to demand the surrender of this indefatigable enemy of Rome. Scipio had nobly opposed this resolution; his proud courage was ready to meet Hannibal in a fair field and vanquish him, but not to deal him a murderer's blow. The gallant outlaw, however, had long expected this attack, and a galley secretly kept in readiness bore him to Syria (145).

Antiochus III., emboldened by the successes of the first years of his reign, laid claim to no less than the entire heritage of Seleucus Nicator; in Asia, Coele-Syria, and Phœnicia, which he had wrested from the king of Egypt, the senate's ward, and the Greek cities, whose independence Rome had just now proclaimed; in Europe, the Thracian Chersonesus, where he had fortified Lysimachia with the view of making it



Coin of Lysimachia.<sup>1</sup>

the bulwark of his kingdom; and finally he went so far as to include no less than Thrace and Macedon itself in his audacious claims. He gained over Byzantium by making concessions to her commercial in-

terests; the Galatians, by presents and threats; Ariarathus, the Cappadocian, by giving him one of his daughters in marriage; and he sought to purchase the neutrality of Egypt by offering to the young king his other daughter, with the Syrian sea-coast for her dowry.

Vainly the senate multiplied embassies, counsels, and threats. Antiochus replied haughtily, "I do not concern myself at all with what you do in Italy; do not interfere in what I may do in Asia." The arrival of Hannibal decided the king for war. This great man offered to re-commence with 11,000 men and 100 vessels his second Punic war. On the way he would arouse Carthage, and while he should occupy the Romans in Italy, the king should cross over into Greece, gathering all the Greek nations, and

<sup>1</sup> Head believed to be that of Alexander III. On the reverse, ΑΥΤΟΜΑΧΕΩΝ, and a monogram; lion courant. Bronze coin of Lysimachia.

at the first news of the Roman disasters would descend upon Italy and give the last blow to the tottering power of Rome. In this way Hannibal desired to attempt with the rich and civilized East that which with the poor and barbarous West he had been unable to achieve. If we had not lost the *Annales* of Ennius we should be perhaps obliged to doubt the reports of these counsels of Hannibal; some fragments from the poet-soldier show the Carthaginian hero less hopeful, and Aulus-Gellius relates a reply of his which would seem to confirm these doubts: "Do you think this is enough for the Romans?" Antiochus asked, exhibiting his gilded troops. "Yes, certainly," replied Hannibal, "however greedy they may be." But this suspiciousness only appeared later when he saw that the king was not willing to be guided by his counsels.

The clear-sightedness of envy had made the Syrian courtiers understand that a man like this could not work in the interests of others, and they murmured in the ears of Antiochus that the Carthaginian, if he should remain faithful, must have all the glory in the event of success. Already the visits which Hannibal had received from one of the Roman ambassadors, who repeated them with perfidious intent, had rendered the Carthaginian an object of suspicion.

Among the deputies of the senate, legend places Scipio Africanus, for the sake of bringing together the conqueror and the conquered of Zama, in a conference which was said to have taken place at Ephesus. "Who is, in your opinion, the greatest general that ever lived?" Scipio asks. "Alexander of Macedon, who, with a handful of men, defeated innumerable armies and traversed victoriously immense territories."—"And the second?" "Pyrrhus, who knew better than any other man how to select positions, to arrange his troops for battle, and to manœuvre them upon the field."—"And the third?" "Myself," rejoined Hannibal, unhesitatingly. "What would you say, then, if you had conquered me?" asked Scipio, laughing. "In that case I should have ranked myself first of all." We relate the story because it has been so often repeated, but it is probably not true. It is one of those dialogues which originated in the schools of the rhetoricians. Hannibal and Scipio meeting again after ten years, on the eve of a great war, would have had other things to say than this foolish

questioning on the one hand, and the too ingenious compliment on the other. One only of the ambassadors, P. Villius, came to Ephesus, and had several interviews with Hannibal in the design of detaching him from the service of Antiochus.<sup>1</sup> The attempt was unsuccessful, but the king conceived suspicions of the Carthaginian's fidelity, and, rejecting the latter's counsels, lent his ear to the extravagant and vain promises of the Ætolian Thoas.

The Ætolians had long boasted of having opened Greece to the Romans and guided them throughout the campaign. If their own account was to be believed they had saved both the honour and the life of Flaminius at Cynoscephalæ. "Whilst we were fighting," they used to narrate, "and making for him a rampart with our bodies, he, all day long, was occupied with auspices, with vows and sacrifices, as if he had been a priest."<sup>2</sup> It had been their expectation to inherit all that Philip had lost, but the Romans had not even restored to them their cities of Thessaly, or Acarnania, or Leucadia, or the places they had themselves conquered, which, by the terms of the first treaty, ought to have been theirs. Their interests were sacrificed, their pride was hurt by the disdainful indifference of Flaminius, who had only harsh words for them, and they dared to compare themselves with Rome, meditating war against her, and threatening her with "their camp on the banks of the Tiber."<sup>3</sup> Upon the same day, and without declaration of war, three Ætolian corps appeared before Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta. They hoped to carry these places, and, once established in them, to bid defiance to the Romans. Chalcis repulsed them, Demetrias was taken, and at Sparta, where they appeared in the guise of friends, they murdered Nabis, but, giving themselves up to pillage, left time for Philip to arrive and surround them.

The Achaean general restored Sparta, thus set free, to the league, and this exploit of brigands served only to attach Greece yet more strongly to the party of Rome. At the same time, to keep Macedon neutral, the senate let it be understood that it was their intention to send back Philip's hostages, and to remit the tribute he had agreed to pay. In Africa, they incited Masinissa

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxv. 13, 14, and 19.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxv. 48.

<sup>3</sup> xxxv. 33.

to harass Carthage, in order to keep the city from yielding to Hannibal's solicitations,<sup>1</sup> and seeing the Carthaginian feebleness against Numidia, and the servile eagerness of her nobles to efface or prevent Roman suspicions, the senate soon ceased to consider Carthage in any degree formidable. In Spain, Cato had lately taken and dismantled all strongholds as far as Bætis.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in upper Italy the Gauls, crushed by numerous defeats, left the Ligurians to protest alone against the subjugation of Cisalpine.<sup>3</sup>

## II.—ANTIOCHUS IN GREECE; BATTLE AT THERMOPYLÆ (192—1).

The moment was ill-chosen for attacking Rome when everything was yielding to her arms and she was showing increased prudence and activity, sending the adroit Flaminius into Greece, posting an army at Apollonia, and covering with fleets and soldiers the coasts of Italy and Sicily, as if to repulse some formidable threatened invasion. The Ætolians, it is true, had promised Antiochus to incite all Greece and Philip to resistance. On the other hand, the messengers of Antiochus represented him as already crossing the sea with all the armies of Asia, and with gold enough to buy Rome itself—an interchange of lies, where all concerned were losers. When Antiochus disembarked at Demetrias (September, 192), instead of an army like that of Xerxes, he brought with him 10,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, whom he could pay only by borrowing at heavy interest, and whom he required the Ætolians to provision.<sup>4</sup> The Ætolians, on their side, had not furnished him with a single ally. It was important to gain over Philip, and Antiochus exasperated him by recalling the rights that he derived from Seleucus, and by maintaining the ridiculous claims to the throne of Macedon asserted by the son of Amynder. In his hurried flight from Cynoscephalæ, Philip had

<sup>1</sup> Hannibal had secretly despatched to Carthage the Tyrian Aristo, who was denounced to the senate. (Livy, xxxiv. 56, and App., *Syr.*, 8.) According to Cornelius Nepos (*Hannibal*, 7), this general landed himself at Cyrene and called his brother Mago [?] to him. But the Carthaginian senate in alarm proscribed them both.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xix.

<sup>3</sup> The real blow against the Cisalpines had been struck in 193 at the battle of Modena, more than a year before the arrival of Antiochus.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxxv. 44. He had, moreover, six elephants.



not been able to pay the last honours to the soldiers who had perished upon the battle-field. Antiochus gathered up their bones into a tomb which he caused to be built by his army. This pious solicitude was a bitter reproach to the Macedonian, and he made reply by sending to Rome for permission to fight against the invader of Greece.<sup>1</sup>

The king of Syria, meanwhile, endeavoured to persuade the Achæans to declare for him, and in a Federal meeting held at Corinth his ambassador, with oriental pomp, made lengthy enumeration of the races which from the Ægean Sea to the Indus were arming in his cause. "All this," rejoined Flaminius, "is much like the entertainment of my host at Chalcis." In the middle of summer his table was covered with the most varied dishes, with game of every kind, but it was only the same viands disguised by

Eubœan Coin.<sup>2</sup>

a skilful cook. Look closely, and under the formidable names of Medes, Cadusians, and the rest, you will find only Syrians." The activity of Flaminius baffled a conspiracy at Athens, but Chalcis, which he had not time to succour, and the entire island of Eubœa, revolted. Bœotia, agitated by certain ruined debtors, Elis and the Athamanians, always faithful to the Ætolians, followed this example. Many Thessalian cities also, notably the strong place Lamia, opened their gates to Antiochus.

Hannibal, meantime, reiterated his earlier advice. "It is not a crowd of puny states," he said, "that you need to gain, but Philip of Macedon. Should he refuse, crush him between your army and that which Seleucus commands at Lysimachia. Summon, also, from Asia your troops and your ships; let half of your fleet take up a position before Coreyra,

Coin of Lamia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxv. 47. Philip, however, asserted (xxxix. 26) that Antiochus had offered him 3,000 talents, fifty decked vessels, and the cession of all the Greek cities which had before belonged to him. These offers undoubtedly were made either too soon or too late, for Philip certainly saw the advantage that Rome was deriving from all these wars, as appears from his discourse to Nicander in Polybius, xx. fr. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Ceres. The reverse, ox head. Drachme (Æginetan) of Eubœa, the island "rich in cattle."

<sup>3</sup> Head of Bacchus crowned with ivy. On the reverse, AAMIEQN, a vase with two handles; above it an ivy leaf; a small vase at the side. Lamian triobol.

the other half in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and then march upon Italy."<sup>1</sup> But in this vast plan the Ætolians and their small interests were ignored; they wasted the campaign in retaking, one after another, the cities of Thessaly, and during the winter, Antiochus, despite his eight and forty years, forgot, in the delights of a new marriage, that he was playing for his crown against the Romans.

The senate had time to complete their preparations. To them any war was a serious matter, and especially one in which Hannibal might once more be an opponent, and Italy once more a battleground. They did not, as yet, understand what weakness lay hid under these great names, Greece and Asia, and the successor of Alexander, this prince, ruling from the Indus to the Ægean Sea, guided by the famed soldier, who had destroyed so many legions, appeared to them a very formidable adversary. As soon as hostilities began the senate issued a decree forbidding the magistrates to be absent from Rome, and forbidding senators to leave the city in greater number than five at once. Without oppressing either the Roman people or the allies, very large armies had been collected. One, sent along the banks of the Po, kept the Cisalpines quiet, and closed against Antiochus the passes of the Alps if he should endeavour to come through Illyria; another near Brundisium guarded the Ionian Sea and protected the coasts against a landing; a third, in reserve at Rome, was ready to be despatched towards whatever quarter might be threatened. The fleet was numerous and was daily increased. Carthage and Masinissa had offered vessels, twenty elephants, 500 Numidians, and immense supplies of corn; Ptolemy and Philip had sent troops and provisions. The subsidies furnished by the king of Egypt were not less than 1,000 pounds of gold and 20,000 pounds of silver, and the two princes had engaged, upon the order of the senate, at once to invade Greece. Eumenes, whose little kingdom was threatened with destruction by the encroachment of Antiochus' vast empire,

Eumenes IV.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxvi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Laurelled head of Eumenes IV., from a tetradrachm.

and Rhodes, the ally of Egypt, had put all their forces at the disposal of the Romans.

When it became known that Antiochus had landed in Greece with an escort rather than an army, and that consequently an invasion of Italy was not to be expected, the senate ordered the legions at Brundisium to send a strong detachment to Apollonia and into Epirus. A force of 2,000 men, united with a Macedonian corps, sufficed to drive the Syrians from Larissa, which town they were besieging.

These preparations, these levies of men, these marchings of armies, this beginning of war, had all been made without consulting the people. The consuls of the year 191, assuming office in the Ides of March, which date at that time fell in January, owing to errors of the calendar, presented in the comitia a declaration of war against the king of Syria. No one complained that an act of such importance should be for this assembly a mere formality and nothing more. The people had become habituated during the second Punic war to leaving to the Conscrip Fathers the absolute direction of foreign affairs, which had in reality become too numerous and too important for determination in a popular assembly. This was their first abdication of power, and it is plain that it arose rather from the necessity of the case than from ambition on the part of the senate. The stress of events led to this preponderance of the great council of Rome, as it was to lead, a century and a half later, to the preponderance of a single man. The ambition of the individual or of the few is not enough in human affairs to cause permanent results. These become justified only when social forces establish and maintain them. What declamations history will be spared, when it is recognized that politics are the science of the relative, not of the absolute, and that the best government is that which answers best to the present needs of the people living under it.

The consul Acilius Glabrio, who was sent to take command in Greece, was directed by the senate before his departure to negotiate with Jupiter. In no other way can we characterize the scene related by Livy, which was, moreover, a repetition of what we have already seen:<sup>1</sup> "Following the dictation of the chief pontiff,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 598-602.

the consul pronounced the following words: If the war decreed against king Antiochus ends according to the desire of the senate and the Roman people, then, O Jupiter! the Roman people will celebrate in thy honour great games during ten days, and gifts shall be offered upon all thy altars."<sup>1</sup> So the Romans made alliance with Jupiter, and the god seemed to have so well kept like agreements in earlier time that the senators had reason to believe he would accept this conditional promise of honours in the event of victory.

On the Ides of May the army of Brundisium completed the passage of the Adriatic, and effected a junction with that of Apollonia, which had re-conquered many Thessalian cities. Acilius Glabrio was in command, a man of obscure origin, but a vigorous soldier, who among his legionary tribunes could count two ex-consuls, Cato, and Valerius Flaccus. These brave men were again willing to serve the State in the position assigned them.



Coin of Acilius Glabrio.<sup>2</sup>

The consul completed the conquest of Thessaly, and advanced as far as Thermopylæ, where Antiochus, who had just failed in Acarnania in an attempt against the feeblest of the Greek nations, now hoped to defend the pass with 10,000 men.<sup>3</sup> But Cato surprised 2,000 Ætolians posted upon the Callidromus to defend the path by which Ephialtes had conducted the Persians of Xerxes, to turn Leonidas' position. At sight of the Roman cohorts coming down from Æta, Antiochus, who had barred the defile before Acilius, fled across Locris to Elatea, and thence to Chalcis, where he arrived with 500 soldiers; and from Chalcis he made all haste to Ephesus. The battle at Thermopylæ cost the Romans 200 men (July, 191). "Let Athens now boast her glory!" cried the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxvi. 2. It will be remembered that the public games had a religious character. In 178 an earthquake had been felt at Rome; certain individuals believed that they had seen the gods, being invited to a *lectisternium*, turn away their heads, and rats had eaten the olives served as a sacred repast. "To neutralize all these omens of ill, it was decided that the curule ædiles should give a repetition of the Roman games." (Id., xl. 59.)

<sup>2</sup> M. ACILIUS GLABRIO COS. Heads facing each other of Caius Cæsar, and of Julia. Reverse of a bronze medal of Augustus, struck probably in Africa by some descendant of the conqueror of Antiochus. The work is very poor, and we give it merely to show by contrast the excellence of the Roman coins.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxvi. 19, after Polybius.

Romans. "In Antiochus we have conquered another Xerxes!" During the engagement the Roman fleet had captured near Andros a great number of transports laden with provisions. Antiochus had not even been able to secure his communications across the Ægean Sea.

To stimulate the zeal of Philip, the senate had conceded to him in advance all the cities which he should be able to capture. Whilst Acilius, directing his measures against the Ætolians, persisted obstinately in the siege of Heraclea and Naupactus, Philip advanced rapidly, and had already made himself master of four provinces. But Flamininus was keeping watch upon him. He hastened to Naupactus, warned the consul of his danger, and persuaded him to grant the Ætolians a truce which disarmed the king of Macedon. Some time before this he had also arrested an expedition of the Achæans against Messene, and in allowing that city to enter the league, he had decreed that in all cases of disagreement it should refer the case to the Roman senate or to his own tribunal, an authority always ready to listen to complaints against the Achæans. By this time, in fact, he had ceased to show any consideration whatever for the league. He had taken away the island of Cephallenia from the Athamanians. "Like the tortoise in its shell, you will be invulnerable," he told them, "so long as you do not extend yourselves outside of the Peloponnesus," and with this he took possession of Cephallenia.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—BATTLE OF MAGNESIA (190); DEFEAT OF THE GALATIANS (189).

On reaching Ephesus, Antiochus felt himself again secure; Hannibal was only surprised that the Romans were not there in pursuit. For the first time, yielding to the Carthaginian's advice, the king went across to the Chersonesus, and there strengthened the fortifications of Sestus and Lysimachia. In Asia he purchased the alliance of the Galatians, sought that of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and gathered a considerable force, hoping to subjugate

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 32.



Thermopylae.



Romans. "In Antiochus we have conquered another Xerxes!" During the engagement the Roman fleet had captured near Andros a great number of transports laden with provisions. Antiochus had not even been able to secure his communications across the Ægean Sea.

To stimulate the zeal of Philip, the senate had conceded to him in advance all the cities which he should be able to capture. Whilst Acilius, directing his measures against the Ætolians, persisted obstinately in the siege of Heraclea and Naupactus, Philip advanced rapidly, and had already made himself master of four provinces. But Flamininus was keeping watch upon him. He hastened to Naupactus, warned the consul of his danger, and persuaded him to grant the Ætolians a truce which disarmed the king of Macedon. Some time before this he had also arrested an expedition of the Achæans against Messene, and in allowing that city to enter the league, he had decreed that in all cases of disagreement it should refer the case to the Roman senate or to his own tribunal, an authority always ready to listen to complaints against the Achæans. By this time, in fact, he had ceased to show any consideration whatever for the league. He had taken away the island of Cephallenia from the Athamanians. "Like the tortoise in its shell, you will be invulnerable," he told them, "so long as you do not extend yourselves outside of the Peloponnesus," and with this he took possession of Cephallenia.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—BATTLE OF MAGNESIA (190); DEFEAT OF THE GALATIANS (189).

On reaching Ephesus, Antiochus felt himself again secure; Hannibal was only surprised that the Romans were not there in pursuit. For the first time, yielding to the Carthaginian's advice, the king went across to the Chersonesus, and there strengthened the fortifications of Sestus and Lysimachia. In Asia he purchased the alliance of the Galatians, sought that of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and gathered a considerable force, hoping to subjugate

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 32.



Thermopylae.

before the Romans should arrive, the kingdom of Pergamus and the Greek free cities. But 1,100 Achæans, under Philopœmen, resolutely defended Pergamus;<sup>1</sup> and Livius, by a victory between Chios and Ephesus over the Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, seized with one blow the supremacy in the Ægean Sea. And, although the Rhodians were conquered at Samos, and Livius failed in his attempts upon Ephesus and Patara, the former retrieved their fortunes in a naval battle, when Hannibal himself was defeated; and the successor of Livius destroyed near Myonnesus the Syrian fleet, notwithstanding all that the Tyrian and Sidonian pilots could do to save it.



Coin of Ephesus.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Chios.<sup>3</sup>

In narrating these naval battles, Livy has given us some interesting details concerning the history of maritime wars among the ancients.

In the Ægean Sea the prætor Livius commanded eighty-one beaked and decked galleys, which were the ships of the line, and a certain number of vessels beaked also, but not decked, and hence lighter and adapted for rapid evolutions, which then, as now, formed a special object of naval tactics. These consisted in three manœuvres: avoiding the enemy's shock, to break his oars, as we now seek to break the rudder or the screw in order to render the vessel unmanageable, to sink him with the galley's beak, or finally to board him. In the two epochs the means of action differ, but the art which employs them is the same. Then, as now, rapid vessels reconnoitred.<sup>5</sup>



Beaked Galley.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Myonnesus took place, according to the ancient calendar, on the 23rd December, according to the reformed calendar, about the end of August, 190.

<sup>2</sup> A bee between E and Φ. On the reverse, ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ, half a stag lying under a palm-tree. Tetradrachm of Ephesus. The bee is a frequent emblem on Greek coins; it was the symbol of a well-ordered city, or of a colony which had *swarmed* from the mother-town.

<sup>3</sup> A sphinx seated before a bunch of grapes and an amphora. On the reverse, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, in a decorated hollow square. Silver coin of Chios (13·65 gr.).

<sup>4</sup> From an intaglio in the museum at Berlin. (Bernhard Graser, *die Gemmen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*.)

<sup>5</sup> The ancients had also something analogous to our fire-ships. Some months after the

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Livius was waiting at Delos for a favourable wind to gain the Asiatic shore. The Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, warned by his scouting vessels, which were posted from point to point across the Ægean, begged the king to call a war council at Ephesus. He then represented that the Roman vessels, rudely constructed, heavily laden with provisions, and sailing among shoals that their pilots knew but poorly, were clumsy objects easily to be destroyed. He obtained permission to attack them, although the Roman fleet, having incorporated that of the king of Pergamus, counted 200 galleys, of which three-fourths were decked vessels.

Upon the approach of the Syrians, Livius reefed his sails, cleared the decks, and lowered the masts. The battle began between two Carthaginian galleys placed in the van and three Syrian. Two of the latter attacked one of the Carthaginian vessels, which, becoming disabled, fell into their power. The crew were slain and cast overboard. It was an evil omen for the Romans. Livius at once advanced with his flag-ship, giving orders to his rowers when they came up with the enemy to dip their oars deeply into the water in order to steady the vessel as much as possible, and to his soldiers to throw out their grappling irons. The two Syrian galleys were taken, and the action soon became general. The clumsy Roman vessels, well handled by Greek pilots, avoided the shocks of the Syrian galleys, but gave them in return. In a short time thirteen Syrian vessels were taken, ten were sunk, and the remainder made their escape. The action took place off Corycus, not far from Phocæa, and the Romans met with no other loss than that of the two Carthaginian galleys taken at the opening of the battle. The beak of the ancient galleys produced effects comparable, it is evident, to those of the modern ram. In another action, a small Rhodian vessel was able to sink a seven-banked Syrian galley,<sup>1</sup> as at the battle of Lissa, a wooden ship sunk an Italian ironclad by direct shock. To immortalize the memory of the sea-fight of Myonnesus, an inscription cut in the wall of the temple of the sea-gods at Rome, related that the Romans in

battle of Corycus, the Rhodian fleet, surprised by Polyxenidas, was destroyed with the exception of seven galleys, which made a way for themselves through the *mêlée*, by means of the terror inspired by fire carried on long poles in front of the prow. (Livy, xxxvii. 11 and 30.)

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxvii. 24.

destroying, before the eyes of Antiochus, the Syrian fleet, "had ended a great strife, and triumphed over kings."

The Romans had good reason to keep alive the memory of these naval victories, for they had settled in advance the question between Rome and Antiochus. The victory at Myonnesus opened to the Romans the road into Asia; what general should lead thither the legions? The consuls of the year 190 were Lælius and Lucius Scipio. The latter was reckoned but a second-rate general. His colleague, who desired to undertake the responsibility, asked that the senate, on which he counted, should abandon the ancient custom of assigning the provinces by lot, and should assign them by vote. The other consul agreed to this, and much debate was anticipated, when Scipio Africanus declared that if his brother were sent against Antiochus, he himself would serve him as second in command; and this promise secured nearly all suffrages in favour of Lucius Scipio.

The two brothers set off for Greece, with reinforcements to increase the army of Acilius, of which Lucius Scipio took the nominal command; 5,000 veterans of Zama volunteered to follow their distinguished general. The Scipios freed themselves from the Ætolians, granting them a truce of six months,<sup>1</sup> then traversed Thessaly and Macedon.

Philip, won over by the return of his son Demetrius and by the remission of the tribute,<sup>2</sup> had made ready supplies, had opened roads and bridged rivers. Lysimachia might have stopped the advance of the army, but Antiochus withdrew from it, and the Romans without conflict occupied the Thracian Chersonesus just at the time when the victory at Myonnesus was driving the Syrian fleets from the Ægean. The passage of the Hellespont, therefore, which should have been so sharply disputed, was made without opposition. The king, at last taking alarm, sought for peace, and tried to gain over Scipio by sending back his son who had been made prisoner. The Roman made reply: "It is too late; the horses are bridled, and their riders are in the saddle. And yet, if the king will pay the expenses of the war, and will abandon Asia as far as the Taurus, peace may even now be

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxvi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xx. 10.

made."<sup>1</sup> A battle could deprive him of nothing more, and Antiochus determined to risk one. Lucius made haste to fight while his brother was detained by illness at Elea. The engagement took place on the 5th of October, 190, near Magnesia (ad Sipylum) on the Hermus. Thirty thousand Romans<sup>2</sup> encountered 82,000 Asiatics, fifty-four elephants, chariots armed with scythes, a phalanx of 16,000 spears, camels ridden by Arab archers, cavalry, both man and horse clad in mail, and the like. But this army had everything save courage. It is said that 52,000 Syrians were killed or taken prisoners, while the consul lost but 350 men. The Galatians only fought with courage.<sup>3</sup>

There was nothing to do but negotiate; the conditions were severe.<sup>4</sup> The senate forbade Antiochus to make any war in Asia Minor; they deprived him of his elephants, giving them to Eumenes, and of his vessels, which they burned, as they had burned the fleets of Carthage and of Philip. They forbade him to levy any troops in Greece, that is, to have an army, and, as formerly Athens had forbidden Artaxerxes, to sail beyond the promontory Sarpedon; finally, driving him from Asia Minor, fixed the limit of his kingdom at the Taurus. A war indemnity was to be paid to Rome, of 15,000 talents (£3,500,000); to Eumenes, 400 talents (£93,000).<sup>5</sup> It was further demanded, in order to dishonour the king, that he should give up Hannibal, Thoas, some of his best councillors, and twenty hostages, to be changed every three years; among the latter was specified his second son. And yet Antiochus expressed his gratitude that the senate had not asked more. For the destruction of Macedon and of Carthage, the legions were obliged to return to the attack a second and a third time. Syria fell at the first blow, and, as if the sword of Rome made incurable wounds, never more did she recover.

<sup>1</sup> He gave him, however, the equivocal advice not to fight so long as he (Scipio) was absent from the army. (Livy, xxxvii. 37.) Polybius makes no mention of this, but his Book xxx. is extremely mutilated.

<sup>2</sup> They had with them 5,000 volunteers, Macedonian, Thracian, Pergamean, and others.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxvii. 39, 40; xxxviii. 48; App., *Syriaca*, 31 seq.

<sup>4</sup> This treaty was not signed until the proconsulate of Manlius in the year 188. Livy, xxxviii. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Antiochus was to pay 500 talents down, 2,500 after the Roman people had confirmed the peace, and the remainder in twelve years, at the rate of 1,000 talents a year. The treaty is given by Polybius, xxi. 14.

When Manlius Vulso came to receive the army from the hands of L. Scipio, he found the conditions of peace nearly determined and the war at an end (189). But his ambition and his cupidity were inflamed by that rich Asia where triumphs were so facile. Moreover, it appeared to be politic to exhibit the forces of Rome in those countries whence the king of Syria had just been driven out, and where his satraps and his allies were very ready to regard his defeat as their liberation from all control. The Galatians had furnished a contingent to Antiochus; and Manlius proposed to punish them for this. He had neither decree of the senate, nor authorization from the people for this war, but he did without them; and in order to render the expedition more productive for himself, as well as more useful to the Republic, he avoided the direct road, choosing circuitous ways, that as large a number of nations as possible might feel the hand of Rome upon their heads. From Ephesus he made his way to the valley of the Mæander, followed the river up towards the Taurus, and then marched along the slopes of the mountain as far as Termessus, a stronghold closing the defile into Pamphylia. Having exhibited his standards on the frontier of this province, securing the respect of the inhabitants for the Roman name, he traversed Pisidia and Phrygia, and went as far as the banks of the Sangarius. Along the road he extorted money<sup>1</sup> from the cities, the provinces and all the petty princes, who at that time, as they had long been, were independent in their inaccessible retreats, and recognized a master only as they paid tribute to him. As far as the Sangarius, there were only the fatigues of the march to encounter; beyond that river, the war began.



Coin of Termessus.<sup>2</sup>

The Gauls had been for ninety years in Asia. Their fiery courage and love of remote adventure were gone. For all that, and though their strength has been overstated, as was the case in respect to all the adversaries of Rome at this epoch, though,

<sup>1</sup> *Consul mercenarius . . . vagari eas cum belli terrore per nationes, quibus bellum indictum non sit, pacem pretio vendentes* (Livy). Aspendus, Sagalassus, Termessus, were each required to pay fifty talents, and other cities in proportion. The tyrant of Cibyra offered twenty-five; Manlius required 500 at first, but finally contented himself with 100, with the addition of 15,000 bushels of corn.

<sup>2</sup> A thunderbolt behind a half horse galloping, and the three first letters of the name Termessus.

moreover, the rivalry of the Greeks and the low price of Cretan and Ætolian mercenaries had reduced the Gauls in the armies of Syria and Egypt, and the time had gone by when the Gauls might

Coin of Termessus.<sup>1</sup>

dispose of the crowns of these two kingdoms, they still remained the bravest people in the East, and the Asiatic races, trembling before them, saw with delight the Romans now undertake to free Asia from their preponderance. Throughout

Phrygia the people welcomed the advancing legions, and at Pessinus the priests of Cybele, speaking in the name of the goddess,

Coin of the Trocmi.<sup>2</sup>

promised them an easy journey and an assured victory. Two kings only, Ariarathus of Cappadocia, son-in-law to Antiochus, and Murzes of Paphlagonia, understood that the Gauls were the last defence of Asiatic independence, and came with 4,000 picked men to join the Galatian forces.<sup>3</sup>

The Galatians were entrenched upon Mounts Olympus and Magaba. These two camps were easily stormed by the consul, as the Gauls used no missiles; what remained of the nation sued for peace. Satisfied with having crushed their power and spread afar, by this expedition against a formidable people, the terror of the Roman name, Manlius imposed upon them neither tribute nor humiliation of any kind. It was a stroke of policy to attach to the Roman interest this nation on bad terms with all the Asiatic peoples. The Galatians were required only to give back the lands

Coin of Ariarathus IV.<sup>4</sup>

they had taken from allies of Rome, to engage not to go outside of their own boundaries, and to make an alliance with Eumenes.

Whether from flattery or with real rejoicing at being delivered from these pirates, all the cities of Asia offered golden wreaths to Manlius. A contribution of 300 talents levied on Ariarathus augmented the immense

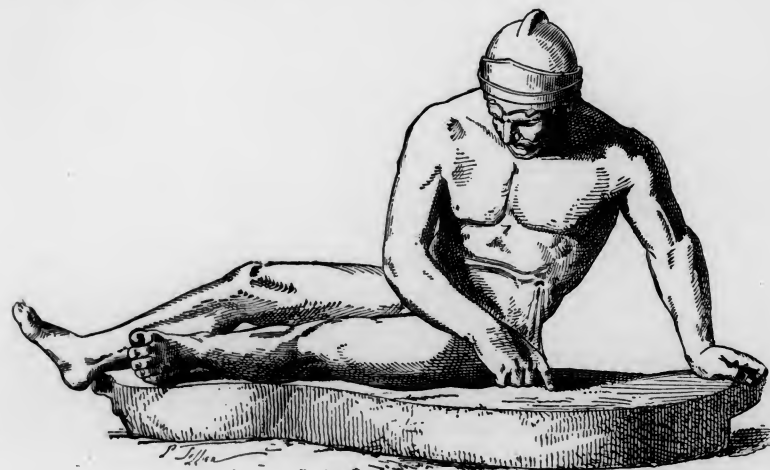
<sup>1</sup> Head of Jupiter; behind, a sceptre. On the reverse, the name of the city and a winged thunderbolt. Copper coin of Termessus.

<sup>2</sup> Gallic trumpet or *carnyx* and the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΟΝ ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ (*the venerated or honoured Trocmi*) and a monogram. Copper coin of the Trocmi.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Ariarathus IV., from a coin.

spoils which Manlius brought home to Rome. But his army in gaining booty had lost its discipline. The general, who upon his own private judgment made war or peace, could not demand from his legions the obedience that he himself refused to the senate.<sup>1</sup> In spite of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him, he returned into Pamphylia, endeavouring to allure Antiochus to a conference in the design of seizing him, and seeking a pretext to cross the Taurus, the limit fatal to Rome, beyond which the sibyl had foretold disaster to Roman arms. However, this

Dying Galatian.<sup>2</sup>

expedition had carried the Roman eagles among the peoples of Asia Minor, and had brought into alliance, or placed under the influence of the senate, all the kingdoms as far as the Euphrates. Returning to Ephesus, Manlius, with the aid of the commissioners, determined the fortunes of the allies.

<sup>1</sup> *Disciplinam militarem . . . omni genere licentie corrupisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Earlier, the soldiers of Æmilius had pillaged Phocæa notwithstanding the treaty and the severe prohibitions of the prætor. (Livy, xxxvii. 32.)

<sup>2</sup> This fine statue is probably one of those to which Pausanias refers (i. 25, 7), when he says that Attalus of Pergamus presented to Athens many statues of giants, Amazons, Medes and Gauls, which were placed upon the Acropolis. It is believed that some of these statues were carried to Rome, and three are now in Venice. One of these recalls the *Dying Gladiator*, which we have given in vol. i., page 270. The *Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.*, for 1870, describes them, pages 292-323, and they are reproduced in the *Atlas of the Bulletin*, vol. ix., plates 18-21.



In the distribution of the spoils, Eumenes had the largest share,<sup>1</sup> the richest provinces of Asia Minor, and the possessions of Antiochus in Europe; Prusias, king of Bithynia, gave back to him

Coin of Cyme.<sup>2</sup>

the parts of Mysia which he had taken. The fortune of this king of Pergamus was indeed brilliant; from Thrace to Cilicia all now belonged to him. The senate, however, spared Prusias and the king of Cappadocia, Ari-

Coin of Colophon.<sup>3</sup>

arathus, but obliged the latter to pay 200 talents as a penalty for some succours furnished to Antiochus. Upon the Galatians easy terms were imposed, and Eumenes was refused the Greek colonies which alone were worth more than all these semi-barbarous provinces. Thus the new kingdom of Asia, formed of twenty different nations, without unity, without military strength, without frontiers, and surrounded by powerful

Coin of Clazomenae.<sup>4</sup>

rivals, had none of the conditions requisite for a durable State. The alliance with Rome was only a disguised dependence, for already had begun "the custom of having kings for instruments of servitude." No one was deceived on this point, and in the open senate, Eumenes being present, it was said: "The authority of Rome now extends to the Taurus."

The Rhodian fleets had been more useful than the vessels and the 3,000 auxiliaries

of Eumenes; Rhodes obtained less, however, because she seemed to be already too powerful. She was forced to content herself

<sup>1</sup> Sulpicius had already sold Ægina to Attalus for thirty talents. (Polybius, xxiii. 8.)

<sup>2</sup> Woman's head. On the reverse, ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ, the city name, and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate. Horse *passant*, and a vase peculiar to Cyme. The whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachm of Cyme.

<sup>3</sup> ΚΟΑ, the first letters of the city's name, behind the laurelled head of Apollo, whose worship was very general along this Asiatic coast. On the reverse, in a hollow square, a lyre, with its key. Silver coin of Colophon.

<sup>4</sup> Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΚΑΑ, first letters of the city's name, and ΑΕΥΚΑΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate, followed by a monogram, the whole surrounding a bird. Gold coin of Clazomenae.

with some territory in Caria and Lycia, where many of the cities remained free. Along the coast, in the Troad, Æolis and Ionia, Cyme, Colophon, and nearly all the original Greek colonies obtained immunity with new lands and honours. Miletus obtained the Sacred Field; Clazomenae, the island Drymusa, which commands the Gulf of Smyrna; Troy, as cradle of the Roman race, was aggrandized by the territory of two adjacent cities; Dardanus by the same title received her freedom. Chios, which during the war had served the Romans as a depot for their supplies from Italy, Erythræ and Smyrna, which had resisted both threats and promises from Antiochus, were held by the senate in high honour. Phocæa, notwithstanding her defection, recovered her territory and received her early laws again; Adramyttium, Alexandria Troas, Lampsacus, Elæus, Magnesia ad Sipylum, and others, were enfranchised. But Ephesus, which had been the centre of the military operations of Antiochus, and Sardis, the usual rendezvous of his armies, remained under the king of Pergamus. Finally, the Pamphylians, for whom Eumenes and Antiochus disputed, obtained their liberty and title of allies of Rome.

Coin of Erythræ.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the Galatians, Rome deprived them neither

Coin of Alexandria Troas.<sup>2</sup>

of their liberty nor their territory, but she had destroyed their military strength, the prestige of their power, and now forbade them to go outside their frontiers. Further east the two satraps of Armenia who had governed that province under Antiochus, were authorized to take the title of king (188).

<sup>1</sup> Horse and dismounted rider. On the reverse, a rosette or opened flower in a square, at whose four corners are the letters E, P, Y, and Θ. Silver coin.

<sup>2</sup> On the obverse, Apollo laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, name of the inhabitants of the city; ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ, a magistrate's name; ΑΠΟΛΛΑΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ, name of the god with one of his numerous surnames; finally the date ΣΑΓ (233). Apollo Smintheus, holding a bow and arrow. Behind the god, a monogram. Tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas. The era to which the date belongs is that which commenced in the year when Lysimachus changed the name Antigonía for Alexandria, and this year was 454 A.U.C., equivalent to 300 B.C. The coin was, therefore, struck in the year 67 B.C. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

While Manlius was concluding the Asiatic war, his colleague, Fulvius, attacked Ambracia, without formal declaration of war, in order to strike a final blow at the Ætolian league. In fact, the Ætolians had, since the battle of Thermopylæ, been making overtures for peace. The senate, in ambiguous language, required that they should surrender unconditionally. The Ætolian magistrates accepted the terms, but when the consul Acilius explained that these words meant that those who had fomented the war should be given up to Rome, they cried out against it; this was contrary, they said, to the custom of the Greeks. Upon this Acilius, exclaimed: "It well becomes you, insignificant Greeks, to talk to me about your customs, and to instruct me in what it is proper for me to do, after you have unconditionally surrendered to my faith. Do you know that it is in my power to load you with chains?" But upon the entreaty of Valerius Flaccus, the legate, and some of the tribunes, the consul allowed himself to be appeased (191).

The affair, however, was not finally settled, either that year or the next. Not to waste his consulate in the siege of a few unimportant towns, L. Scipio granted to the Ætolians a truce of six months, at the end of which period the senate left them still further time that they might recapture the places Philip had taken. When they had finally driven him back into Macedon, the king of Syria having been in the mean time overthrown, Fulvius arrived with two legions, and obtained possession of Ambracia after a heroic resistance on the part of the town. This city, once the capital of Pyrrhus, was rich in works of art of all kinds. Fulvius required these to be given up to him. Among the spoil were



Hercules  
Musagetes.<sup>1</sup>

statues of the Muses; these he carried off, and, like a true Roman, in the temple which he built for them, he gave the nine goddesses for a master, not the god of harmony, but the god of strength, Hercules Musagetes. It was in truth as spoils of war that the arts of Greece came to Rome.

The Ætolians, left to themselves, obtained peace at the cost of 500 talents, and acknowledged "the sovereignty and

<sup>1</sup> Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1772 of the catalogue.

majesty of the Roman people.<sup>1</sup> They must not admit through their territory any army marching against the Romans, their allies or their friends (*socios et amicos*); they must hold for enemies the enemies of the Roman people, and take arms against them; they must give up fugitives, renegade slaves and escaped prisoners; they must give forty hostages, not under twelve years of age and not over forty, to be chosen by the consul, and also their strategus, the commander of their cavalry, and their public scribe.<sup>2</sup> This little nation had at least ennobled its defeat by its courage, braving for three years the power of Rome. The cities which had formerly made part of the league were separated from it that they might be restored to what the senate called their liberty, but Cephallenia received a Roman garrison. This island, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth,<sup>3</sup> and looking across to Elis, twenty-three miles away, was to become one of the stations of the Roman fleets sailing from Brundisium to Greece. By occupying Coreyra, Zante, and Cephallenia, three excellent harbours and easy of defence, the senate was master of the Adriatic. Their choice was a good one; the English made the same selection when they wished that nothing should pass through this sea without their leave.

During the expeditions of the two consuls, the commandant of the fleet, without decree of the senate, threatened a descent upon the island of Crete, unless the inhabitants should set free whatever Roman prisoners had been brought or sold thither, and no less than 4,000 were given up to him. Fulvius also had directed active search to be made for all such captives. This was a rule of Roman policy, a condition in all treaties; and this solicitude which did honour to the generals was calculated to secure to them the confidence and devotion of their soldiers.

Manlius, meanwhile, was returning from Asia with his legions hardly sufficient in number to furnish safe escort for his booty. Lying in ambush along the road, the Thracians deprived him of

<sup>1</sup> *Imperium majestatemque populi Romani*. (Livy, xxxviii. 11.) Ætolia was so rich a country, that Polybius (xxi. 3) speaks of an Ætolian who was possessor of 200 talents; he says also that they made a condition of the treaty that they should be allowed to pay in gold rather than in silver; to this the Romans agreed, on the condition that each piece of gold should represent ten of silver, thus telling us the relative value of the two metals at that epoch.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> [Zacynthus (Zante) really holds this position, and though smaller, is strategically the more important island.—Ed.]

half of his baggage, and twice put the army in peril. But Philip was in no condition to take advantage of this opportunity. He once more opened Macedon to the Romans, and Manlius re-crossed the Adriatic, leaving not a single legionary in Greece or in Asia. The senate kept its promise everywhere upon both continents and all islands; the Greeks were free, and after so many conquests, Rome retained not an inch of territory. The comedy, commenced with so much success by Flamininus at the Isthmian games, had been performed. But in withdrawing after having crushed out every spark of energy in Macedon, the Ætolians, Syria and the Galatians, the legions left behind them in every city and State a party devoted to Rome, ready to serve her as police in Greece and Asia. And over against this crowd of little princes and little States rises the colossal power of Rome, with its strong military and political organization, its able senate, its brave legions.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [On the policy of the Romans towards the Greek world, and its successive changes, see the instructive remarks of Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenland unter den Römern*, i. pp. 91, seq. 131, seq. He shows that there were two parties in the senate, the advanced and enlightened Liberals, consisting of the Scipionic circle, represented in Greece by Flamininus, and the old party whom we may call Conservatives. The former, from a genuine love of Greek culture, desired to keep up as much of Greek political liberty as was consistent with Roman interests, and strove to set up such federations in republics through Greece as a make-weight against the interests of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. But this policy failed, partly through the prevalence of the more thorough and even brutal theory, of making subject provinces beyond Italy, and plundering them for the good of Rome. This was the theory carried out by Mummius, himself an amiable and worthy man, but the agent of a terrible policy.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1863 of the catalogue.



Horseman with Macedonian Hat.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### SECOND CONQUEST OF SPAIN; SUBMISSION OF CISALPINE GAUL.

#### I.—OPERATIONS IN SPAIN (197—178).<sup>1</sup>

DURING the period occupied by these easy and brilliant expeditions, other legions were carrying on in the extreme west, and also in Italy, a murderous struggle against nations whose courage was sustained by the hope of a better life, promised to heroes falling by the sword of the enemy. After Zama, the senate had believed themselves masters of Spain; the revolt of Mandonius and Indibilis, those fickle allies of the Scipios,<sup>2</sup> and the insurrection of the Sedetani, appeared to be the last effort of Iberian independence. But when, in 197, the arrival of two prætors and an attempt to organize Spain into Roman provinces had rendered it evident that the senate proposed to retain what they had conquered, the people of the country who had aided Rome only for the sake of freeing themselves from the Carthaginians, made reply by a general insurrection against the foreigner. The prætor, Sempronius Tuditanus was killed, and this outbreak became the signal of a war destined to last for a century.<sup>3</sup>

The Lusitanians, who had been victorious over the great Hamilcar, and whom Hannibal had not ventured to attack, the Vaccæi, the Vettones, and especially the Celtiberians played the first part in this heroic struggle. Established in the central mountains of the peninsula, upon the high plateau whence the Guadiana,

<sup>1</sup> See map of Spain, vol. i. p. 674.

<sup>2</sup> They had revolted after the departure of Scipio, and had been conquered in a battle where Indibilis was killed. After this defeat they surrendered their arms and gave hostages—corn for six months, togas for the army, and a double tribute for the treasury; at last they surrendered Mandonius and the other chiefs, and the Romans put the leaders to death. (Livy, xxix. 1-3.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 25.



the Tagus, and the Douro come down through wild defiles, the Celtiberians were able to cut the Roman communications, while themselves having easy access to the valleys and being able constantly to lend help to the people of the plain. As they had no great cities by means of which the country could be held and overawed, their villages and countless strongholds multiplied the war and made it endless, the taking of each place gaining for the Romans nothing but arid rocks. In the east, on the contrary, and in the south, all along the Mediterranean, there were rich cities—Emporiae, Tarragona, Carthagera, Malaga, and Gades, whose submission brought with it in each case that of a large extent of country. The people of this region also were cowardly, like the Tudetani, or scarcely true Spaniards by race, and enervated by long commerce with Tyre and Carthage, like the inhabitants of Bætica.

Sober and active, with the patience and will of mountaineers and hunters, at the same time brave even to rashness, the Spaniards even at this early period carried on in their mountains that guerilla warfare which triumphed over Napoleon and the best soldiers the world has ever seen. When they made a close attack they formed a wedge, and this order of battle was irresistible. They used a heavy, two-edged sword, which the legionaries adopted, a sword which made such wounds that Philip's Macedonians were terrified at them.<sup>1</sup> Generally they fought on foot; they, however, possessed horses as swift as those of the Parthians, says Strabo, trained to go down on their knees,<sup>2</sup> and climb mountains rapidly. If they were defeated, but few were taken prisoners, and still fewer could be retained, for the poison they always had with them set them free quickly from servitude, or else, if sent by sea to Italy or Sicily, they made a hole in the vessel's hull and sank her. The women fought along with their husbands, and after a defeat cut their children's throats and slew themselves;<sup>3</sup> the "devoted one" would not survive his friend or his leader, and the old who could not fight were relieved of a useless

<sup>1</sup> *Gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, brachiis cum humero abscisis . . . patientiaque viscera . . . pavidi cernebant. Ipsum quoque regem terror cepit.* (Livy, xxxi. 34.)

<sup>2</sup> [This was very useful, when men did not use stirrups, in mounting.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> App., *Iberica*, 74 (72); Strabo, iii. p. 154, *seq.*



Gorge of the Tagus (see p. 65).

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life. Severe to their captives as to themselves, the Lusitanians cut off the right hand of the prisoner and offered it to the gods. "They delighted in sacrifices," says Strabo, "and the victims they offered were their prisoners of war." Here were enemies more formidable than the countless phalanxes of Antiochus. Fortunately for Rome, the Spaniards were even more divided among themselves than the Italians and Greeks, and they were never capable of uniting in any great enterprise or any joint resistance. "Had it not been for this," says Strabo, "they would have been invincible."

A prætor avenged Sempronius. But the war seemed important enough to deserve a consular army. Cato was in command. Many contractors had come from Rome to supply the army. "The war shall support the war," Cato said, and sent them back. The Romans had been driven back as far as the Massiliote colony of Emporiæ, a singular city, composed of two distinct towns separated by a solid wall, one side Spanish, the other Greek, the latter always jealous of its neighbour.<sup>1</sup> A great army was in the neighbourhood; Cato set himself free by a skilfully prepared victory (195); then, having bought the assistance of the Celtiberians at a price of 200 talents, which the conquered were obliged to pay, he caused 400 cities and villages between the Ebro and the Pyrenees to be dismantled in a single day,<sup>2</sup> and he also levied a considerable tax upon the gold and silver mining of the province.

After the time of Cato, and during the struggle with Antiochus, the war languished. But the Celtiberians, feeling themselves menaced by the consolidation of the Roman power in the valley of the Ebro, united with the Lusitanians, the Vaccæi, and the Carpetani; it cost them 35,000 men, slain in the great battle near Toledo (185). The Romans spent many years in blockading their mountains, the centre of resistance, and victories gained in the north and south finally opened to them an entrance. When at last the Vaccæi and the Lusitanians, worn out with the strife, had laid down their arms, Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the

<sup>1</sup> [Such cases are not rare when two races occupy a site, Pekin is an instance, and so was Kilkenny in former days.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 8-22; Polybius, xix. In quoting this passage Plutarch writes *Betis* instead of *Iberus*, which is the name in Livy (xxxiv. 17), and is easier to be understood.



Gracchi, penetrated to the very heart of Celtiberia and made himself master of 300 villages.<sup>1</sup>

To secure the good will of these tribes he made easy terms with them; he declared them allies of Rome, and placed them under her protectorate upon condition merely that in time of war they should furnish her with men and money.<sup>2</sup> Knowing that civilization alone could render the peace durable, he made it his endeavour to found cities and collect therein great numbers of Celtiberians, giving them wise laws. The good faith and gentleness of Gracchus became renowned in the peninsula; the treaties which he concluded were afterwards appealed to against the cruelty and avarice of his successors (178).<sup>3</sup>

## II.—CONQUEST OF CISALPINE GAUL; ITALY CLOSED AGAINST THE BARBARIANS (200—163).

Spain appeared to be conquered for the second time; the Cisalpine really was so.<sup>4</sup> The Carthaginian, Hamilcar, who had remained there, notwithstanding Zama, with the secret connivance of Hannibal, threw 40,000 Gauls and Ligurians upon Placentia and Cremona, the two great Roman colonies on the banks of the Po (200). A few years earlier this diversion would have been helpful to Carthage; it was now only an annoyance to Rome, though for a moment it caused an alarm by the recollection of the Gallic wars.

Placentia was taken and burned, but the resistance of Cremona gave the Romans time to come up, and 35,000 Gauls, if we may believe Livy, were slain by Furius, the prætor, who received a triumph at Rome in consequence. This sanguinary lesson was wasted. Hamilcar, who made his escape from the battle-field, continued his intrigues, and all the barbarians in the valley of the Po, even the Cenomani, rose in revolt. The Boii especially showed a heroic determination. The senate was obliged to send

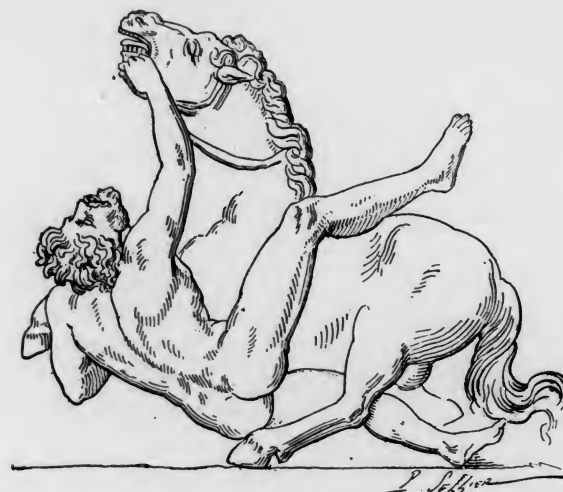
<sup>1</sup> Livy, xli. 4, on the authority of Polybius.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iii. 4, 13.

<sup>3</sup> App., *Iber.*, 43-44; Livy, xl. 45-50. He gave the name of Gracchuris to the city of Illurcis. (xli.)

<sup>4</sup> These wars are related in Livy from xxxi. 2, to xl. 53.

against these tribes three armies at once and Scipio Africanus. In the year 193 the senate had recourse to the formula of great public dangers; it was declared that a *tumultus* existed. Repeated defeats at last forced the Boii to treat (192), with the condition of relinquishing half their territory.<sup>2</sup> But when it became time to fulfil the treaty they could not submit to live under the hated rule of Rome, and what remained of the nation sought on the other side



Wounded Gaul falling from his Horse.<sup>1</sup>

of the Alps, on the banks of the Danube, a land sheltered from Roman ambition.<sup>3</sup> During ten years they had successfully resisted fifteen consuls, had killed two prætors and more legionaries than all the wars in Greece and Asia had cost in three-quarters of a century.

Placentia and Cremona were promptly re-peopled; colonists were sent to Bologna and Parma, and M. Æmilius Lepidus<sup>4</sup> completed the military road from Ariminum to Placentia.

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Capitol, published in the *Mon. inéd.* of the *Inst. archéol.* of Rome. Cf. the whole Sarcophagus on p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxvi. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, v. 212. They amalgamated with the Taurisci in Noricum.

<sup>4</sup> This Lepidus, who was twice consul, pontiff, and censor, died in 152. At the age of fifteen he had killed an enemy and saved the life of a citizen. This is indicated by the legend on his coin: *ANIS XV. PRÆTEXTATUS HOSTEM OCCIDIT CIVEM SERVAVIT*. On p. 7 the reader has seen his coin as tutor to the king of Egypt, Ptolemy Eupator.

Coin of Lepidus.<sup>1</sup>

The Insubres (Milan) had submitted; the Cenomani (Verona and Mantua) had often obeyed the Roman power; the Veneti silently accepted it; only the Ligurians still held out. Too feeble to cause fear, they were, however, brave enough to test the valour of the legions. In 189 they killed a prætor; later they defeated a consul, and even Paulus Æmilius himself was in danger from them. It became necessary to renew the devastations

Gallic Prisoner.<sup>2</sup>

of the Samnite war,<sup>3</sup> to cut down vines, to bring the inhabitants down from the hills into the plains<sup>4</sup>—finally, to transport 47,000 Ligurians into the deserted country of Samnium, while Roman colonists were established at Pisa, Lucca, and Modena, to guard the Ligurian Apennines. In spite of all efforts of policy and of arms, these poor mountaineers, abandoned by the Cisalpines, struggled twenty years longer (until 163) against the mistress of the world. A fortress was built at Luna to keep watch over them, and the Aurelian road was built along the coast to bring the legions to the entrance of the mountains.

Long before this epoch the senate had carried to the Alps the frontiers of the Republic, declaring Italy closed against the

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a coin of the Æmilian gens. See preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> From a sarcophagus of the *Vigna Ammendola*. (*Atlas de l'Inst. arch. of Rome*, vol. i.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxix. 32; xl. 33, 41.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xl. 53; xli. 18.

barbarians, and some bands of Gauls coming to seek homes in the valley of the Po had been haughtily ordered to return in all haste across the mountains.<sup>1</sup>

The founding of Aquileia, to which the Æmilian road led (181), and a new conquest of Istria (177), served to defend on the east the approach to the Cisalpine.<sup>2</sup>

The king of the Istrians, Epulo, had withdrawn into his strongest city, Nesactium, with the bravest of his army. When they saw that the Romans had diverted the course of a river which supplied the city with water, they led their wives and children to the ramparts and slew them there, then killed themselves, their chief setting the example of this fierce courage. If they had fallen living into the enemy's hands, those who survived the first massacre would have been sold into slavery. They therefore took the shortest way to escape the insupportable miseries to which ancient war condemned the vanquished.

About this time (181) the people of Corsica and Sardinia rose in insurrection. After vain efforts, the Corsicans resigned themselves to a tribute of 10,000 pounds of wax.<sup>3</sup> In the other island, Gracchus, the pacificator of Spain, killed 27,000 Sardinians, and sold into slavery so great a number, that, to designate a cheap article, they said at Rome "Sardinians to sell" (175).

Gallic Prisoners and Trophy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 54-55; xl. 53. In 118 Marcius Rex conquered the Euganei, who refused to survive their defeat; and Scaurus, the Carni, 115.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, v. 214; Livy, xli. 11.

<sup>3</sup> From Caristies, *Arc et théâtre d'Orange*.

<sup>4</sup> We find them again in revolt in 163.

We pass rapidly over these wars, notwithstanding the heroism shown by the attacked nations, for history, classing events according to their importance, chooses between facts apparently similar, leaving some and placing others in strong light. What place in the memory of the world is held by Morgarten and Morat compared with Marathon and Salamis? Of these victories, the former only saved the liberties of a small nation; the others saved the world's future. Civilization is interested in the results of the Roman wars in Greece and in Asia, while those in Spain and Cisalpine Gaul concerned only the savage independence of a few unknown and useless tribes.<sup>1</sup>

When we sum up the achievements of the legions in the West during these twenty years it appears that the senate was striving to complete the work begun in the interval between the two Punic wars; to conquer the Cisalpines; to secure the firm possession of the islands of the western Mediterranean, and for fear of a new peril from beyond the Pyrenees, to occupy Spain.

These wars contrast in the vigour of their prosecution with those waged on the other coast of the Asiatic and the Ægean Sea in the design of keeping open the gates of the East. The senate, knowing well, as the Greeks said to Flamininus, how to play at once both fox and lion, had hitherto only cared to dazzle and fascinate the people of that other world. But for them also the time of conciliatory measures was soon to end, and that of servitude to begin.

<sup>1</sup> Livy himself says: *Lacessebant magis quam exercebant Romana arma Ligures et Galli* and Polybius: "There was never war more despicable."

<sup>2</sup> Rome holding a globe, upon which is the statue of Victory Stephanophoros, or crown bearer. Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, 61 millimeters by 43, No. 2071 of the catalogue.



Rome Personified.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XXX.

### THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171-168).

#### I.—LAST YEARS OF PHILIP; DEATH OF PHILOPOMEN AND OF HANNIBAL.

"ALREADY the Roman people had carried throughout the world their victorious arms. Amidst so much good fortune they had not forgotten moderation, and ruled the nations less by force and intimidation than by the greatness of their renown and the wisdom of their counsels. Humane toward vanquished kings and peoples, liberal with their allies, they asked for themselves only glory and victory. They left to kings their majesty, to nations their laws and their independence."

With these words Livy commences the story of the war against Perseus. The facts had corresponded hitherto and were still to correspond to this magnificent eulogy.

The defeat of Antiochus and the ruin of the Ætolians had appeased the humiliated pride of Philip, but had taken from him the only auxiliaries who might have been able to save him. He now remained alone against Rome, and by the outrages which the senate heaped upon him, he could see that his ruin was determined. As the price of his alliance in the war with Antiochus, the senate had allowed him to retain whatever conquests he might make. Scarcely had the victory at Thermopylæ been gained when his advance was arrested. He was about to take Lamia in Thessaly; Acilius ordered him to abandon the siege. He had conquered Athamania; the Ætolians were allowed time to expel him from the country. Too carefully watched in Greece, he turned upon Thrace and there quietly made some conquests of importance. The seaports, Ænos and Maroneia, received garrisons. But on



this side<sup>1</sup> Eumenes kept watch upon him, and denounced him at Rome. As soon as it was known that the complaints of exiles from these two cities were well received, a crowd of Thessalians,

Coin of Maroneia.<sup>2</sup>

Magneti, Athamani, and others rushed to the banks of the Tiber,<sup>2</sup> and the senate sent three commissioners, who, in order to show the Greeks the humiliation and weakness of this king before whom they had so long trembled, obliged Philip to appear like an ordinary culprit before their

T. Q. Flaminius.<sup>6</sup>

tribunal.<sup>4</sup> He had taken from them, the Thessalians complained, 500 young men of the noblest families, he had ruined the port of Thebes in Phthiotis for the advantage of Demetrias, and had waylaid all the deputies whom they had sent to Flaminius. "Like slaves suddenly let free," the king rejoined, "these men knew not how to use their liberty save in insulting their master; besides," he added, haughtily, "the last sun has not yet set!"<sup>5</sup> Of course the commissioners decided against him.

Livy and Polybius accuse him of cruelty, which was, however, habitual to all these kings, and the former relates in proof of this a story showing how merciless

<sup>1</sup> The Roman commissioner, Fabius Labeo, had made it a rule in determining the boundary between Macedon and Thrace, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, to follow the old royal road, which never came near the sea. (Livy, xxxix. 27.)

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxiv. 4. There were so many nations represented that it took three days to hear the complaints.

<sup>3</sup> A free horse and a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants (MAPQNITEQN) surrounding a vine tree in a hollow square.

<sup>4</sup> *Tanquam reus.* (Livy, xxxix. 25.)

<sup>5</sup> *Nondum omnium dierum solem occidisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 26.)

<sup>6</sup> Marble bust in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3293 of the catalogue. It resembles the coin represented on p. 31. Cf. *Revue numismatique*, vol. i. p. 59, pl. 4, No. 2, 1852; see p. 200, a paper by M. François Lenormant on this subject. A bronze statue had been erected to Flaminius at Rome, opposite the circus. (Plut., *Flam.*, 1.) It is possible therefore that the bust and the coin really show us the features of the conqueror of Macedon.

people were in those times.<sup>1</sup> Philip had put to death an eminent Thessalian and his two sons-in-law. The widows had each an infant son; one of them refused to re-marry; the other married Poris, the most influential citizen of Æneia in Chalcidice, and died after having borne him several children. Her sister, Theoxena, in order to watch over her nephews, united her destiny to that of Poris, and became a real mother to all his children. An order from Philip was presently issued prescribing that the sons of the persons whom he had put to death should be sent to him. Death or infamy awaited them. Theoxena declared that she would kill them sooner than give them up, and Poris attempted to make his escape. He embarked by night with his family to go to Athens, but the wind was contrary. When day dawned they were still in sight of the harbour, and a vessel was sent in pursuit of them. Theoxena, foreseeing this possibility, had provided herself with weapons and with poison. "Death," she said, "is our sole refuge; here are two ways to reach it." Some preferred poison, others the sword; she threw them dying into the sea, and with her husband leaped after them.<sup>3</sup>

Coin of Æneia.<sup>2</sup>

Accustomed though men were to like misfortunes, this tragic end of an entire family excited public horror, and the pious historian asserts that from that day the gods marked Philip for destruction. Rome was ready to become the minister of divine vengeance.

Aces, King of Thrace.<sup>4</sup>

The intervention of the gods was not, however, necessary—policy sufficed, and the king put himself in the wrong towards Rome by imprudent measures which the senate regarded as provocations. It was

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xxiv. 6. Livy, as might be expected, is very prolix on the subject of the cruelty and debauchery of Philip.

<sup>2</sup> Helmeted head, thought to be that of Æneas. On the reverse, ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ, around a hollow square. Tetradrachm of Æneia.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xl. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Horned head of Alexander, in memory of the god Ammon, whose son the Macedonian conqueror declared himself to be. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΚΟΥ (Aces, king). Minerva Nicephoros seated; under her feet a trident. Gold stater of the unknown king, Aces; unique in the *Cabinet de France*.

wise to open mines, to establish new taxes, to favour commerce; it was not so to endeavour to increase the population of his



Coin of Philippopolis.<sup>1</sup>

kingdom by Asiatic measures, which excited against him bitter animosity without bringing him much advantage. The maritime towns were not very friendly towards him, and he removed their inhabitants into Pæonia, replacing them with barbarians. Under pretext of bringing aid to the Byzantines, he made an incursion into the interior of Thrace, defeated many petty kings, and brought back a numerous colony, with which he hoped



Altar of Jupiter.<sup>2</sup>

to recruit his army. Prusias was at war with the king of Pergamus, and Philip sent auxiliaries to the former. Remembering the plans of Hannibal, he sent secret emissaries to the barbarians of the Danube to league them with himself for an attack upon Italy. Their chief promised his daughter in marriage to the king's son. For the purpose of strengthening these negotiations, and confirming his influence in Thrace, Philip founded the city of Philippopolis on the banks of the Hebrus, not far from Mount Hæmus. It was said that from the top of this mountain the view embraced the Euxine Sea, the

<sup>1</sup> The legend reads, ΗΓΕΜΟΝΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ Μάρκου ΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΣΑΒΕΙΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ, which means, "Under the hegemony of M. Pontius Sabinus at Philippopolis." The nymph Rhodope, mother of the river Hebrus, is represented seated upon a rock. Reverse of a copper coin of the city built by Philip V. on a hill side near the river.

<sup>2</sup> Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 40.

Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps. Philip determined to ascend this mountain in order hence to discern the shortest road into Italy, for despairing of Greece, which he knew too well, he dreamed of repeating the expedition of Hannibal. He employed three days in reaching the summit, which was wrapped in clouds, and built there two altars, one to Jupiter and one to the Sun; but he saw nothing save the fertile plains of Mæsia and Thrace.<sup>1</sup> When he came down, the news of this strange expedition, this fruitless menace, was already on the way to Rome. Some time before this, Philip, in order to lull the vigilance of the senate, had sent to Rome his son, Demetrius, whom a long residence in Rome as a hostage, and also prudent regard for his own interests, had rendered entirely devoted to the Roman cause. With their murderous ingenuity, the senate, sowing discord and hatred in the king's house, made reply that they would pardon the father through consideration for the son. Demetrius soon paid with his life for this perfidious expression of respect.<sup>2</sup>

The senate, in their turn, commenced preparations, using peace to enervate the already feeble nations of Hellas, and working uninterruptedly but quietly for the dissolution of leagues and the reducing of States. Their commissioners were never absent from Greece,<sup>4</sup> Flamininus ever at their head, his influence aggrandized by the dignity of censor, which he



The Sun Personified.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xl. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxiv. 1 and 5. Demetrius was given to understand that the Romans would soon place him on the throne of Macedon. See p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Bust in the Louvre. "The young god, with a Phrygian cap, his head raised towards heaven, his eyebrows contracted, his lips parted, the hair thrown back from his forehead." (Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*, vol. i. p. 384.)

<sup>4</sup> They went as far as Crete. (Polybius, xxiii. 9.)

had lately enjoyed. Two men in the East hampered the policy of the senate—Philopœmen in Greece, Hannibal in Asia. Flamininus accepted the shameful task of freeing them from these two old men. Philopœmen was now seventy years of age. He did not deceive himself in respect to his country's future; he saw her liberty perishing without even having for its tomb a field of battle. "Are you, then, so eager," said the old general, with sad and bitter resignation, to one of the most zealous partisans of Rome, "are you, then, so eager, Aristæus, to see the last day of Greece!" However, he struggled valiantly. Diophanes having imprudently united the troops of the league with those of Flamininus for the purpose of attacking Sparta, Philopœmen threw himself into the city and defended it against them.<sup>1</sup> On another occasion, when the Spartans attempted to seize a seaport [Gythium] for the purpose of opening a secret communication with Rome, he constrained them to remain in the alliance, and caused their walls to be pulled down, to take from them the desire and the means of defection. Rome required that the Achæans should compel Sparta to receive again her banished citizens; Philopœmen opposed this, not through vindictiveness against the banished, but that they should not come under this obligation to the Romans.

The union of the Peloponnesus into a single State made progress, and the reputation of the league and of its general spread far and wide. Seleucus, Eumenes, and Ptolemy sent them rich gifts by ambassadors.<sup>2</sup> The senate made haste to humble the pride of this confederation, which assumed to manage its affairs in its own way without allowing the Romans to interfere in them.<sup>3</sup> Messages were sent to permit Sparta to separate from the league, but Philopœmen refused the envoys an assembly for this business. They returned



Coin of  
Megalopolis.<sup>4</sup>

with orders from Rome that they should be heard at all times, and they presented themselves in the assembly, accompanied by the exiles from Sparta, whom the day before the

<sup>1</sup> He refused the title of king at Sparta. (Polybius, xx. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxiii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxiv. 10.

<sup>4</sup> MEFAA. Pan seated on a rock, holding the *pedum* (see vol. i. p. 142). In the field, an eagle. Reverse of a copper coin (Æginetan triobol) of Megalopolis, the obverse bearing a head of Jupiter.

Achæans had condemned to death. When Flamininus went to demand of Prusias the head of Hannibal, he passed through Messene. Scarcely had he left the city when a sedition broke out against the Achæans, and at the same time a decree of the



Funeral Scene.

senate was issued giving permission to Corinth, Argos, and Sparta to separate themselves from the league. Philopœmen at this time

<sup>1</sup> *Cantharus* in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3331 of the catalogue. This one-handled *cantharus* represents a funeral scene, the body of the dead wrapped in a shroud, with the bearded head alone visible, is extended on a car drawn by two mules. Below are seated two women, who appear to be plucking out their hair. The head of a third almost touches that of the corpse. Two others, with signs of grief, walk beside the car. Behind are seen a man, his hand raised to his hair in sign of affliction, a flute player, and five *hoplites* (warriors), armed and lowering their spears in token of mourning; a funereal column completes the scene.



was at Megalopolis. Notwithstanding his age and a recent illness, he went thirty miles in a day to stifle the insurrection; but in an action with the Messenians he fell from his horse, was taken, and condemned to drink hemlock (183). Lycortas, his friend, avenged his death upon the Messenians, and all Greece united to do him funeral honours; Polybius carried the urn containing his ashes. "As they say a mother loves her latest children most, Greece, having brought forth Philopœmen as one born out of due time, loved him with singular affection, and called him the last of her children."<sup>1</sup>

At the hand of Rome Hannibal also perished. Abandoned by Antiochus after Magnesia, he withdrew into Crete and thence into Armenia, whence Prusias called him, to have the aid of his talents against Eumenes. Hannibal defeated the king of Pergamus, but the echo of his victories reached Rome, and he soon saw Flaminius arrive at the court of Prusias. He had caused seven secret ways of exit to be prepared in his house, but when he sought to escape they were all guarded. "Let us relieve the Romans from their terrors," he said, and took poison, which he had always with him (183).<sup>2</sup> Thus perished the man whom Montesquieu has called "the colossus of antiquity."

These two old men being removed, it appeared that Rome would find henceforth only impotent hatreds. In Syria, Antiochus had perished, stoned to death by his own people, whose temples he had pillaged to pay his debt to the senate (187), and Seleucus, his successor, occupied the eleven years of his reign in gathering the money for the tribute. At one time he proposed to draw the sword in defence of Pharnaces, king of Pontus, against Eumenes and Ariarathus of Cappadocia, but Rome commanded peace to the four kings. Egypt, under the tyranny of Epiphanes and during the minority of Philometor, grew weaker every day.

Pharnaces I.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rollin, after Plutarch. (Philopœmen, l.) [The details of Philopœmen's policy, which are given in the text very briefly and without criticism, should be studied either in Freeman's *Federal Government*, or in Hertzberg's *Greece under the Romans*, vol. i.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxix. 51; Plut., *Flam.*, 28. The same year, it is said, Scipio died in his voluntary exile at Liternum.

<sup>3</sup> Diademed head of Pharnaces I., from a tetradrachm.

Alexandria, moreover, seemed a world so vast and troublous that neither kings nor peoples had any occasion to look beyond it; Carthage was striving to have herself forgotten; Masinissa had just taken from her a third province; she had dared only to complain and to solicit from the senate a vague promise of protection against further encroachments. In Spain the war was about to cease; in Italy almost all the Cisalpine Gauls were submissive; Macedon only remained erect and strong.

Every day, to nourish his resentment, Philip had his treaty with the Romans read over to him. His emissaries had returned from the banks of the Danube. A numerous tribe, famous for their courage, the Bastarnæ, had accepted his offers. To these barbarians he promised a safe way through Thrace, where the terror of his arms had produced a great impression; he assured them provisions, pay, and the fruitful lands in the country of the Dardanians. This people being destroyed, he proposed to let loose the Bastarnæ upon Italy, while himself should rouse Greece and call all the kings to liberty.

But the malicious prudence of the senate was to bear its fruit. Demetrius on his return into Macedon had found there a powerful faction, who desired peace at any price, and at once placed him at their head as the friend of Rome. The partisans of war had for leader an elder brother of Demetrius, Perseus, who being the son of a woman of low birth feared lest Philip might leave the crown to Demetrius. To ruin this rival, Perseus represented him to the king as a traitor, urged on by Flaminius and by his own ambition, to snatch the power from his father. The unfortunate Philip hesitated between his two sons. And the young prince having attempted to flee to Rome, the king resolved upon his death. He was invited to attend a sacrificial feast at Heraclea, where poisoned food was given him (182). It is said that later Philip became aware of his son's innocence, and that in consequence he died of grief (179).

Philip V. of Macedon.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Head of Philip V., father of Perseus, from a coin. (Mionnet, *Supp.*, vol. iii.; Cf. *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. iii. p. 108.)

## II.—PERSEUS.

After having conquered Perseus, the Romans have striven to dishonour him. Their historians have made use of the rights of war, *vae victis*, and those of later times have done the same. But does not Livy accuse Hannibal of incapacity, while in the case of Perseus he extols the purity of manners, the truly royal majesty of demeanour, the skill in manly exercises and in all labours in peace and war of the Macedonian king?<sup>1</sup> He vaguely accuses him of having killed his wife, and reproaches him distinctly with the murder of Demetrius. But by Livy's own account it is evident

Cotys.<sup>2</sup>

that Perseus had reason to believe himself in danger. He represents him as avaricious and caring more for his treasures than for his crown; yet when the cities of Macedon offered him subsidies of their own free will, he refused them;<sup>3</sup> when Cotys had served in the Macedonian army six months with 2,000 auxiliaries, he gave him for his cavalry 100 talents more than had been agreed upon.<sup>4</sup> We shall see by-and-by, whether there was not some excuse for his conduct towards Gentius and the Bastarnæ. Within his kingdom Perseus was able to gain the affection and the devoted obedience of his subjects; without, he so raised the respect felt for Macedon that during ten years he kept the eyes of the world fixed upon her.<sup>5</sup> As to the murders attributed to him either proof is lacking, as in the charge of Rammius of Brundisium, or they made part of that policy of perfidy and assassination common to all kings at that time, and to Rome herself. They who had caused the death of Hannibal, of Philopœmen, and of Brachyllas were not in a position to reproach Perseus with the murder of Eumenes.

<sup>1</sup> Livy: *Nihil paternæ lascivie*, etc. He follows Polybius here, as in almost all that concerns Greece and the East. Perseus was at this time thirty-one.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Cotys III., from a bronze coin.

<sup>3</sup> *Legationes civitatum venerant ad pecunias . . . et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum.* (Livy.) Upon this accession he remitted to his subjects all that they owed as taxes, and restored to those recalled from banishment their confiscated property and even the revenues during their absence. (Polybius, xxvi. 3.)

<sup>4</sup> Two hundred talents, that is, for 1,000 horsemen. (Livy, xlii. 67.)

<sup>5</sup> *Ipsius Persei . . . celebrari nomen.* (Livy.)

Doubt has been cast even upon his courage. But he was present in all his battles; he led all expeditions—in Thrace, in Illyria, in Epirus, against the Dardanians, and in Ætolia. At Pydna, having been wounded the preceding day, he flung himself without cuirass into the midst of his broken phalanx. Perseus, therefore, was neither better nor worse than the principal men of his time.

It was said that Philip had desired to leave his crown to the nephew of his former guardian Antigonos, and Perseus hastened to rid himself of a dangerous rival. But he was careful not to come to an open rupture with the senate; he laid his crown at their feet; he renewed the treaty his father had made with them; and for six years he seemed to have no other object than to turn away from himself the attention of Rome. He felt, however, that a menace hung for ever over his head, and that the causes which brought about the second Macedonian war were preparing a third. The completion of the work Flamininus had begun in Greece demanded the destruction of the kingdom of Macedon. The senators of Rome were not the men to ask themselves whether this would be an honourable thing. It sufficed that it would be useful, and they had the art, often practised since their time, of making the victim appear the aggressor. Perseus had never conceived the mad design of playing the part of Hannibal, or of attempting that of Antiochus. He had not even at his command the resources possessed by his father at the time of Philip's earlier struggles against Rome. He could therefore have no other thought than that of organizing in silence and in secret the defence of his own territories. But this he did with energy.

Perseus.<sup>1</sup>

Philip had left him a well-filled treasury; he improved its condition still further, and amassed means to pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years. He had no fleet; to create one would have been equivalent to a declaration of war. This he did not venture, but he destroyed all his seaports, which were not in a condition to defend themselves. He gathered in his arsenals weapons to equip three

<sup>1</sup> Diademed head of Perseus, from a tetradrachm.

armies and also a store of provisions sufficient for ten years.<sup>1</sup> By his Thracian expeditions Philip had inured his army to war, and Perseus now kept them in training by a successful campaign against the Dolopians, who had proposed to place themselves under the protection of Rome. The Macedonian army at this time amounted to 45,000 able-bodied men. Finally, to gather all his people around him, Perseus opened the prisons, remitted unpaid taxes, and recalled all those who had been sent into exile. Edicts posted at Delphi, Delos, and in the temple of the Ithonian Athene, promised them safety and the restitution of their possessions.

Philip had never been able to make the Greeks forget his cruelty. Perseus sent ambassadors to all their cities asking for oblivion of the past, and an honest alliance in the future. To secure the friendship of the Athenians and the Achæans, he sent back to them those of their slaves to whom his father had given asylum in former years. Thessaly was incapable of self-government, and Perseus took advantage of her divisions, supporting the weak against the strong, the debtor against his creditor, and Macedonian garrisons were soon replaced in nearly

Seleucus IV.<sup>2</sup>Prusias II.<sup>3</sup>

all the cities whence the Romans had expelled them. Epirus had turned against Philip with reluctance, and Perseus secretly restored the old alliance. The Bœotians had rejected the friendship of his father; they publicly accepted his in a treaty which was posted at Thebes, Delos, and Delphi. Had it not been for certain well-advised and judicious persons, Achæa would have done the same, and to Perseus the Ætolians addressed themselves in a case of disturbance. Gentius, a petty king of Illyria, alarmed by the neighbourhood and the threats of the Romans,<sup>4</sup> promised auxiliaries in exchange for money, and Cotys, king of the Thracian Odrysæ, engaged to share all his perils.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlii. 12; Plutarch, *Æmilius*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Diademed head of Seleucus IV., Philopator, from a tetradrachm.

<sup>3</sup> Diademed head of Prusias II., from a tetradrachm.

<sup>4</sup> See in Livy, xl. 42, the accusations of the prætor Dronius.

The king of Syria, Seleucus IV., had given Perseus his daughter in marriage, and a Rhodian fleet brought the bride to Macedon,<sup>1</sup> and Prusias, the son of Seleucus, was only waiting the opportunity to attack in Asia Eumenes, the favourite of the senate. Meanwhile the latter had not failed to discover that the friendship of Rome was sometimes a very heavy burden,<sup>2</sup> and he was seeking to secure that of Antiochus IV. Rhodes, ill-recompensed for her services, and detecting the agency of the senate in the insurrection of the Lycians against her authority, was making overtures to Perseus; and even deputies from the Asiatic cities<sup>4</sup> had secret interviews with him for several days in the island Samothrace. At Carthage his ambassadors were received by the senate at night in the temple of Æsculapius.<sup>5</sup> And, finally, 30,000 Bastarnæ were on the march, and the rumour of their advance struck terror in Italy.<sup>6</sup>

Antiochus IV.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, the work that Hannibal had not been able to do, Perseus seemed likely to accomplish. Encouraged by the universal hatred aroused against Rome in consequence of her ambition, he advanced more boldly. That the Greeks might again behold the Macedonian ensigns which they had not seen in twenty years, he came with an army, under pretext of offering sacrifices to Apollo, as far as the temple of Delphi. In Thrace and Illyria the senate had allies, and Perseus plundered Abrupolis and caused the Illyrian chief Arthetiauros to be slain.<sup>7</sup> Two Thebans strove to retain

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xxvi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Livy says of him and of Attalus: *Jam enim suspectos habebat Romanos*. He assured to Antiochus the throne which Heliodorus, the assassin of Seleucus, was endeavouring to usurp. The gains made by Philip and Perseus in Thrace had only the effect of attaching him to the Roman cause. However, he offered to sell Perseus his neutrality at the price of 500 talents, or his co-operation at 1,500. After a noble conflict of avarice, says Polybius (xxix. 2, 5, and 9), they separated, like two brave athletes, with equal advantage on both sides. But I am not disposed to believe this story of Polybius, who repeats common rumour, but gives no authentic fact.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, from a tetradrachm.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xlii. 25. However, they had not the courage to declare themselves; in 170, deputies from a large number of them came to Rome. As to the Rhodians, the senate informed them that the Lycians had not been given them as subjects, but as allies and friends. (Polybius, xxvi. 5.)

<sup>5</sup> Livy, xli. 27.

<sup>6</sup> A deputation of Dardanians came to ask assistance against them.

<sup>7</sup> Livy, xlii. 13; and Polybius, xxvii.

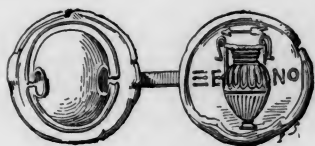


Beotia in the Roman alliance, and they fell by assassination.

Eumenes, alarmed at this resurrection of Macedonian power, hastened to denounce it at Rome. He made known in the senate the preparations of Perseus, his intrigues to gain everywhere the popular party, to the detriment of the friends of Rome, and his crimes, real or supposed. "Seeing," he said, "that you leave the field open in Greece, and that nothing has exhausted your patience, he believes that he shall be able to come into Italy without meeting a single soldier upon his way." Eumenes terminated this spiteful appeal by the habitual invocation of the gods.

Perseus on his part had sent ambassadors into Italy; they asked permission to reply to Eumenes, and did so with hauteur, almost with menace. "The king," they said, "is anxious to justify himself. He hopes that nothing in his acts or words will be regarded as hostile; at the same time, if a pretext of war is sought persistently, he will defend himself bravely. The favours of Mars are indiscriminate, and the issue of war is uncertain."

Eumenes, loaded with presents, among which were the consular insignia, the curule chair, and the ivory wand, returned home by way of Greece, and Perseus, certain that he would go up to Delphi for the purpose of offering sacrifice to Apollo, posted assassins upon the road. To give access to this famous temple, the Romans had built a fine road; the Greeks had never taken this trouble.<sup>2</sup> Above Cirrha the ascent is rapid, and at a certain spot near a ruin was a mere foot-path, rendered even more narrow by a landslip. Four brigands concealed themselves behind the ruin, and awaited the king who arrived, followed by his friends and his guards. As the party ascended they became more scattered, until, as he approached the ruin, Eumenes was alone with Pantaleon, the Ætolian chief. At this moment the concealed assassins



Coin of Beotia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beotian buckler. On the reverse, a vase (*diota*); above it, an arrow, and on each side of the vase *ΞΕΝΟ*, a magistrate's name. Didrachme of the Beotians.

<sup>2</sup> [The Greek system of roads, though not to be compared to the Roman, was very good, and travelling was quite easy. *Ed.*]

rolled down great stones, one of which struck the king on the head, another on the shoulder; he fell fainting, and was believed dead; all fled, even the assassins, who did not suppose they needed to dispatch their victim. They climbed up the mountain with all possible speed, and one of their number being unable to keep pace with the rest, they slew him, that he should not fall living into the hands of the guards, who, discovering their small number, had followed in pursuit.

The Ætolian, meanwhile, had remained near the king, covering him with his body until the party came up. Eumenes, still insensible, was carried on board his vessel, which

sailed at once for Corinth, and thence to Ægina, being carried across the isthmus. The party stopped in Ægina, and profound silence was maintained in respect to what had occurred. The Pergameans, well aware from whose hand this blow had come, were too near neighbours to Macedon not to find it advisable to keep secret the results of the injury or the prospects of recovery. News of the king's death soon reached Pergamus, and Attalus, his brother, hastened to claim the kingdom and the hand of the queen, his sister-in-law.

A Roman commissioner, Valerius, was at this time in Greece.



Altar of Apollo.<sup>1</sup>

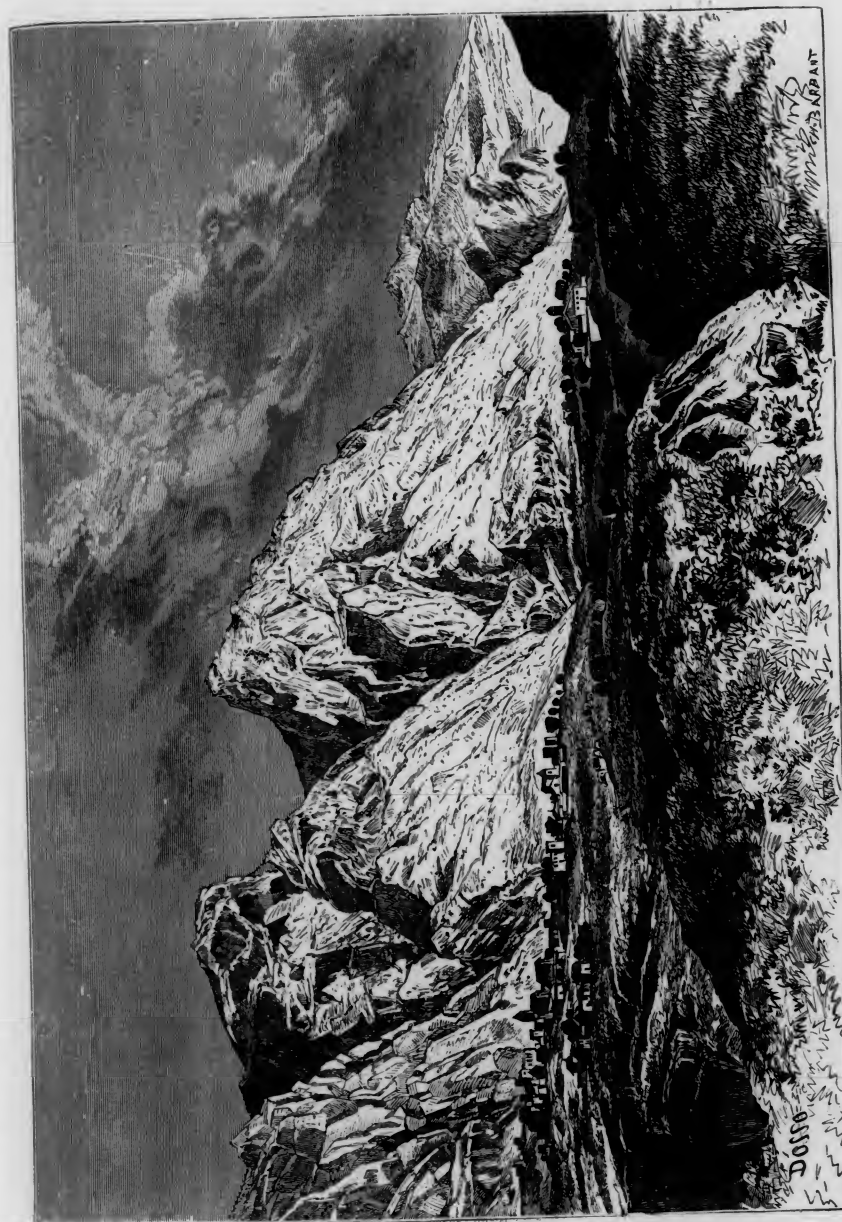
<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the *Villa Albani*, published by P. Piranesi (vol. ii., p. 235, pl. 98). The god holds his lyre, and at his side is the *corymbos*, or box containing his arrows and bows, one of which appears to end in a raven's head, and the other in a griffin's. Another bas-relief, in the Museo Pio Clementino (vol. iv. pl. 43), represents the *corymbos* carried on the shoulder like a quiver.

He returned to Rome to report the event to the senate, bringing with him two witnesses against the king of Macedon. The first of these was the woman who usually lodged Perseus when he came to Delphi, and who, upon a receipt of a letter from him, had put at the disposal of his agents the house near which the crime had been committed. The second, Rammius of Brundisium, at whose house were usually entertained Romans of distinction on their way from Italy into Greece, and envoys from foreign nations, testified that Perseus had sent for him, and had made him the most liberal offers if he would agree to poison such Romans lodged in his house as should be designated to him by the king.

Perseus, roughly handled by Livy, has naturally had apologists to the uttermost. I cannot admit that the assassination of Eumenes was a Roman fiction, or that it was a venture of obscure bandits. To suppress the king of Pergamus was a most useful measure, and one, besides, affording Perseus the sweets of revenge; two motives, in those times, amply sufficient. In my judgment we should accept against him the unsuccessful attempt at Delphi, while conceding that Rammius, who happened to be in Greece, returning from a journey into Macedon, invented a falsehood to account for his presence at Pella, to curry favour with Rome, and to advance his own interests. For, in accordance with Roman usage, this *delatio* would bring him large recompense.<sup>1</sup>

Hostilities were to commence in the year 172. An incident, curious in the constitutional history of Rome, suspended them. The consul, M. Popillius had, in the preceding year, and without declaration of war, attacked the Statielli [in the Maritime Alps]; 10,000 were slain, and as many more sold into slavery. As at this time many military chiefs believed themselves at liberty to do whatever they pleased in their provinces, the senate found it opportune to give one of them a lesson. The condition of affairs, moreover, was such that it was imprudent to provoke all the mountaineers of Liguria. They ordered Popillius, therefore, to restore to the surviving Statielli their liberty, and also the possessions of which they had been deprived. This was an affront to the consul, and one which the senate had no right to inflict, for if

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlii. 15-17. Perseus caused a declaration to be made to the senate that the charge was calumnious.



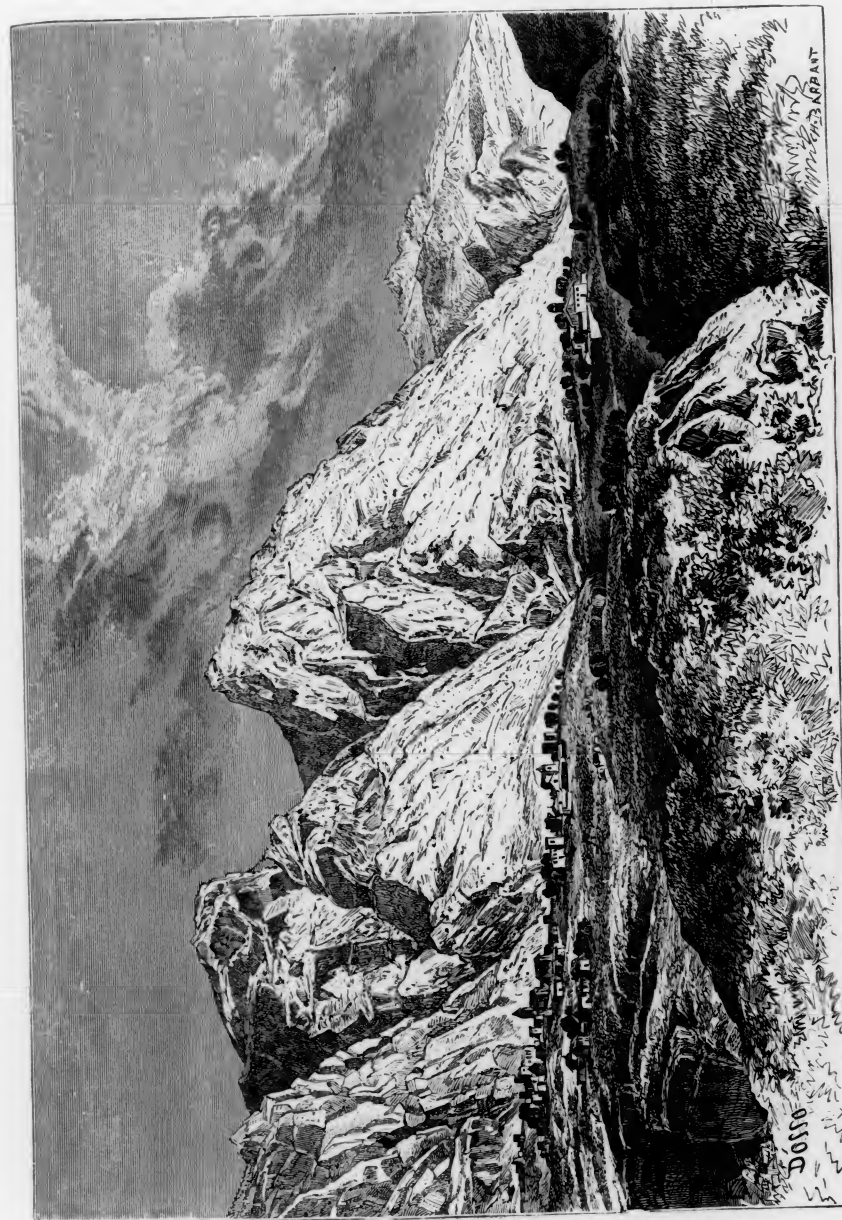
Plateau of Castri (Delphi) and Mt. Parnassus.

He returned to Rome to report the event to the senate, bringing with him two witnesses against the king of Macedon. The first of these was the woman who usually lodged Persens when he came to Delphi, and who, upon a receipt of a letter from him, had put at the disposal of his agents the house near which the crime had been committed. The second, Rammius of Brundisium, at whose house were usually entertained Romans of distinction on their way from Italy into Greece, and envoys from foreign nations, testified that Persens had sent for him, and had made him the most liberal offers if he would agree to poison such Romans lodged in his house as should be designated to him by the king.

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Plateau of Castri (Delphi) and Mt. Parnassus.



he had been cruel, he had at least acted within the limits of his *imperium*. To the tribunes alone belonged the right to summon him on the expiration of his term of office before the people, who might then punish him with a fine or with banishment. The *senatus-consultum*, therefore, was a new encroachment made by the Conscript Fathers upon the consular authority. Popillius reproached them with it in an assembly which he called together in the temple of Bellona; he condemned the prætor who had made the proposal of the fine, demanded the suppression of the decree, and, instead of a vote of censure, a formal thanksgiving to the gods for his victory. The year passed without the settlement of this difficulty. A year later, the new consuls, of whom one was the brother of Popillius, renewed the discussion, and the irritated senate decreed that for the year 172, the consular province should be the poor Liguria, and not the wealthy Macedon. This delay gave time to complete the preparations planned on a large scale, and the negotiations which were to isolate Macedon. The world remained, therefore, a year longer, anxiously awaiting that struggle which should again raise the problem apparently settled by the victory of Zama.

Would Perseus take the offensive, and in the hope of rousing Greece, come forth from those Macedonian mountains which seemed impregnable ramparts? No doubt the audacity of this course would have made it for a time successful, and his army would have been augmented by some few volunteers.<sup>1</sup> But the kings and the nations who, in secret, so ardently desired his success, would not have dared to furnish him with a single soldier. Antiochus forgot his brother, retained a hostage on the banks of the Tiber, to dispute with Philometor the possession of Coele-syria, and sent to Rome an embassy with sumptuous presents for the temples, and servile language for the senate. Masinissa, who had just deprived Carthage of a fourth province containing seventy cities, was securing the complaisant silence of Rome at the price of important assistance; but not to expose themselves to the risk of kindling a war in Africa just as the one in Macedon was about

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlii. 25. *Omnes reges civitatesque . . . converterant animos in curam . . . belli* (*ibid*, 29). *In liberis gentibus plebs ubique omnis . . . erat ad regem Macedonasque inclinata* (*ibid*, 30). But the aristocratic party, everywhere sustained by Rome, was also everywhere the stronger.

to begin, the Numidian was forbidden to drive the Carthaginians to extremities. Eumenes had persuaded Ariarathus to enter into alliance with Rome;<sup>1</sup> Rhodes dared not refuse vessels to the senate; Ptolemy offered them. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ, was favourable to Perseus, but other Thracian chiefs sided with Rome; Gentius, a cruel and profligate prince, demanded immense pay for a sham assistance,<sup>2</sup> and the Bastarnæ demanded for foot-soldiers, five pieces of gold per man, for cavalry, ten, and 1,000 for the officer in command. These extortionate demands justly gave rise to distrust in the king's mind, and he permitted the departure of auxiliaries whose fidelity, as well as their courage, was entirely venal.<sup>3</sup> And so, when the time for the struggle came, Perseus was alone.

Early in the year 171, the senate at last issued the following decree: "For the safety and the welfare of the Republic, the consuls, at the first meeting of the comitia centuriata, will make the following proposition: Inasmuch as Perseus, contrary to the treaty made with his father and renewed by himself, has taken arms against our allies, has devastated their territory, and seized upon their cities, and inasmuch as he has collected arms, soldiers, and ships to commence war against the Roman people, may it please the people, if this king does not give satisfaction, that war be made upon him." The assembly, according to custom, accepted without debate the proposition of the senate. Two legions were at once levied, their effective force being raised from 5,200 men to 6,000 infantry and 300 cavalry. The contingent of the allies was also raised, and fixed at 16,000 infantry and 1,400 horse; the two legions, therefore, consisted of 28,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The disproportion between the two services was excessive, but the war was to be carried on in a mountainous country where cavalry would not be needed. Quite a number of foreign auxiliaries,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 39; xlii. 19. Ariarathus of Cappadocia sent of his own accord his second son as hostage to Rome. We may observe, as a trait of diplomatic manners at this time, that the senate made a present to the ambassador of 100,000 *ases*, that a house was provided for him, and the entire expenses of his establishment were defrayed during his stay in Italy. This was an obligation resulting from the *hospitium publicum*; Roman envoys would have been similarly received in Cappadocia.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxix. 7. This petty king, whose importance has been strangely exaggerated, did not even fight one battle in defence of his territory, which Anicius captured in a few days. The auxiliaries furnished by Cotys were 1,000 horsemen and the same number of infantry.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Æmil.*, 12, *seq*; Livy, xlv. 26. [The adverse view of Perseus attributes this declining of aid to mere personal stinginess.—*Ed.*]

Ligurians, Cretans, and Numidians, were formed into a corps of light troops, whose service might be very useful. Masinissa even sent elephants. A *senatus-consultum*, ratified by a *plebiscitum*, decreed that for the war in Macedon all the legionary tribunes should be appointed by the consul.

Recruiting was easy. Since the armies in Greece and Asia<sup>1</sup> had been seen to return with great booty, wars in the East had become popular. Only one difficulty arose. With the desire of organizing this army most thoroughly, a *senatus-consultum* had directed the enrolment of former centurions not over fifty years of age. Many of these officers, not having obtained the rank to which they believed themselves entitled,<sup>2</sup> complained to the tribunes of the people; the affair coming before an assembly over which the consul presided, one of them asked permission to speak. His address will show what had been for half a century the life of a plebeian. Elsewhere<sup>3</sup> we will show what inferences must be drawn concerning the condition of the people resulting from these long wars. "Romans," he said, "I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustumian tribe, and sprung from the Sabine country. My father left me one acre of land and a small cottage, where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought me nothing but her virtue; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon, I served as a common soldier against Philip for two years; and in the third year Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me command of the tenth company of *hastati*. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. This commander judged me deserving of being set to command the *principes*. A third time I

<sup>1</sup> *Quia locupletes videbant qui . . . stipendia fecerant.* (Livy, xlii. 32.)

<sup>2</sup> Among the sixty centurions of a legion, there was an order in which each had his exact place; for example, the *primipilares* were regarded as having a post of eminent distinction.

<sup>3</sup> In chap. xxxvi.

entered as a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Ætolians and king Antiochus; I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain. . . . Four times . . . was first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times was honoured by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and am upwards of fifty years of age. Moreover, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a statement of my case; as to offering anything as an excuse from service, that is what I shall never do, so long as any officer, enlisting troops, shall believe me fit for it. And now, fellow soldiers, you too ought to be amenable to the authority of the senate and consuls, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

These patriotic words, whose authenticity, at least in substance, is unquestionable, had doubtless been prepared by the consul; the plan succeeded; the centurions withdrew their complaint, and the generals had experienced men to take command of their cohorts.

Religious precautions were joined to military preparations. One of the consuls received from the senate the order to make a new treaty with heaven, vowing "to Jupiter, the good and great, ten days of games, and to all the gods offerings, if the Republic should remain for ten years in the same condition as now."

The senate had at first sent across the Adriatic only a prætor and 5,000 men. But seven commissioners preceded the army; they traversed Greece, where their mere presence sufficed to destroy the effect of six years of prudence and of concessions—a clear proof that Perseus could not, as has been suggested, have trusted to this anchor for his fortunes. In Thessaly, all the cities not occupied by the Macedonians gave hostages, who were shut up in Larissa. In Ætolia, where sanguinary dissensions<sup>1</sup> deprived the people of what little strength remained to them, the Roman envoy obtained the appointment of a partisan as *strategus*, and sent away into Italy all who were known as enemies of Rome;

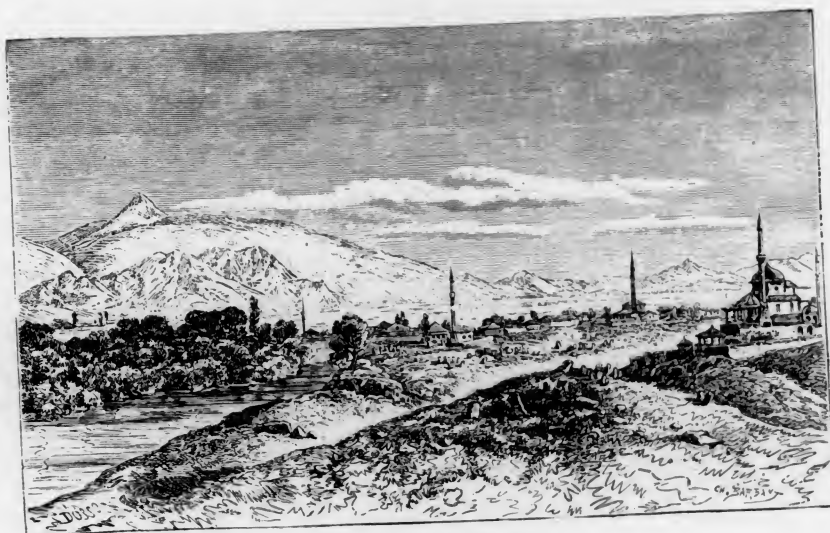
<sup>1</sup> See in Livy (xli. 25) the massacre of the eighty chief men. *Idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat.*

in Bœotia they broke up the league, and recovered all the cities to the Roman alliance; in the Peloponnesus the Achæans, for a time undecided, promised at last to send 1,000 men to the defence of Chalcis. Acarnania and even Epirus showed a promising eagerness. From the recesses of his mountains, Perseus watched these negotiations of the Roman envoys, and he permitted Greece to be filched from him without risking a battle, as if she were not worth the honour of a struggle. Instead of acting, he negotiated, and after having exasperated his implacable foe, he threw away the one chance that he had, not of conquering, but of falling gloriously, after having perhaps for a while shaken the world.

While the prætor with his small force was taking up a position in Dassaretia, Perseus solicited a truce which Marcius, the head of the Roman deputation, hastened to grant him, congratulating himself on being able to deceive the king by this allurements of negotiating, for the truce was barren of advantage to Perseus, while it gave the Romans time to finish their preparations. "This is Punic craft," old senators said. "Not so," replied the younger, "but only good statesmanship." Whatever Livy's legend may say, this people had never been so chivalrous that Marcius should seem to them too crafty. At Rome the same conduct prevailed. The deputies of the king were kept waiting five months for an answer. When, finally, they were admitted into the presence of the senate, in the temple of Bellona, they inquired, in the name of Perseus, why these armies were on their way towards Macedon, and promised on the king's part satisfaction if they should be withdrawn. Reply was made them that the consul Licinius would soon be in Macedon with an army, that to him the king must address himself if he wished to offer satisfaction, and that, in respect to themselves, they had no reason to remain any longer in Rome, and must before the end of eleven days have quitted Italy. An order was at the same time issued to expel all Macedonians resident in the peninsula, allowing them thirty days to depart. Following them closely, the consul Licinius landed near Apollonia; without opposition he traversed Epirus, Athamania, and the defiles of Gomphi; Perseus was awaiting him at the foot of Mount Ossa, at the entrance of the vale of



Tempe, the only road from Thessaly into Macedon. This long, narrow gorge through which the Peneus with difficulty makes its way between the lower spurs of Ossa on one side and Olympus on the other, was in ancient times extremely famous for its picturesque beauty and savage grandeur. At Sycurium, near the entrance into this romantic gorge, the soldiers of Perseus and those of Rome met for the first time. The advantage was not with the Romans. Licinius got the worst in a skirmish, which would have become a general engagement if Perseus had advanced



Larissa (present condition).<sup>1</sup>

his phalanx. Re-crossing the Peneus during the night, the Roman general left on the other bank, dead or prisoners, more than 2,400 of his troops.

Greece, applauded this first success. But Perseus stood still and asked for peace, offering tribute and the relinquishment of his conquests. The defeated consul demanded that Perseus should place himself and his kingdom at the disposal of the senate. He was not able, however, to justify this arrogant tone,

<sup>1</sup> Baron von Stackelberg, *Picturesque Views in Greece*. Larissa is at the present day decimated by fever, arising from the marshes of the Salambria; and notwithstanding its 30,000 inhabitants, it is a dead, or at least a dying city.

being a second time repulsed near Phalana, and he withdrew into winter quarters in Bœotia, after the capture of a few Thessalian cities. A naval victory and successes in Thrace terminated this campaign favourably for Perseus. The odious conduct of the consul and of Lucretius the prætor, who pillaged the allies shamelessly, increased the discontent; many districts of Epirus declared openly for the king of Macedon,<sup>2</sup> and Ætolia and Acarnania were in revolt.



Coin of Phalana.<sup>1</sup>

A new consul, A. Hostilius, as incapable as his predecessor, now arrived. In traversing Epirus, he narrowly escaped capture. The campaign corresponded to this beginning; Hostilius began with



Coin of Abdera.<sup>3</sup>

a defeat, and wasted the year in seeking an entrance into Macedon. Everywhere Perseus, impregably entrenched, opposed him. The two lieutenants who attacked by sea and from the Illyrian side, were not more successful. One signaled himself only by the sack of Abdera; Claudius, the other, posted at Lychnidus, lost 6,000 men in an ill-conducted attempt upon Uscana. As soon as he was aware of the premature retreat of the Romans into their winter quarters, Perseus hastened to chastise the Dardanians, of whom he destroyed 10,000 men, and he employed the winter in capturing several places in Illyria, making 6,000 Romans prisoners.<sup>4</sup> It was his intention to close the approaches to Macedon on this side, and perhaps secure the alliance of Gentius. The latter, above all things, required money, and this Perseus refused to give. Epirus appeared to be in revolt; he hoped to involve Ætolia also, and he advanced as

<sup>1</sup> Man's head. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants of the city, and a free horse. Didrachme of Phalana.

<sup>2</sup> It has been said that the whole of Epirus declared for Perseus, but the Molossi arrested his advance on the banks of the Aûs in 170, and Claudius was able to levy 6,000 Thesprotian and Athamanian auxiliaries. (Livy, xliii. 21.) Marcius bought from the Epirotes, in 169, the provisions necessary for the army in Macedon. (Livy, xlv. 16.)

<sup>3</sup> Laurelled head of Apollo and the peoples' name, ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΕΩΝ. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΩ, magistrate's name, a griffin couchant. Tetradrachm of Abdera.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xliii. 20.

far as Stratus with 10,000 men. But the Romans were already in possession of the city.

This activity and these successes were an invitation to the undecided to make common cause with Perseus; but it was at this very moment that embassies to Rome were abundant. Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, Crete, all renewed their offers of service and their gifts. Lampsacus solicited the title of ally. The Carthaginians had offered 1,500,000 bushels of corn; Masinissa promised an equal quantity, and moreover, 1,200 Numidians and twelve elephants, having before this sent twenty-two elephants and 2,000 auxiliaries.<sup>2</sup> Perseus was still isolated.

However, thanks to the incapacity of the generals, this war was becoming serious; anxiety was increasing at Rome; senators were forbidden to go more than a mile away from the city. Sixty thousand men were levied in Italy, and the new consul Marcius brought with him considerable reinforcements to fill the gaps made in the army by the furloughs which the consuls and pretors had sold. To neutralize the effect of the exactions of which the Greeks had been victims, he caused a decree of the senate to precede him, forbidding anything to be furnished to the generals beyond what the senate had ordered.

The Cambunian mountains and Mount Olympus protect Macedonia on the south, from which direction Marcius decided to make his advance, and the barrier is a formidable one. Some of his officers advised an advance by way of Pythium, between Olympus and the Cambunian mountains; others, to turn these mountains, where Perseus had accumulated the means of defence, and enter the kingdom through the district of Elymeia, at the pass of the Forty-Fords (Sarandaporos).

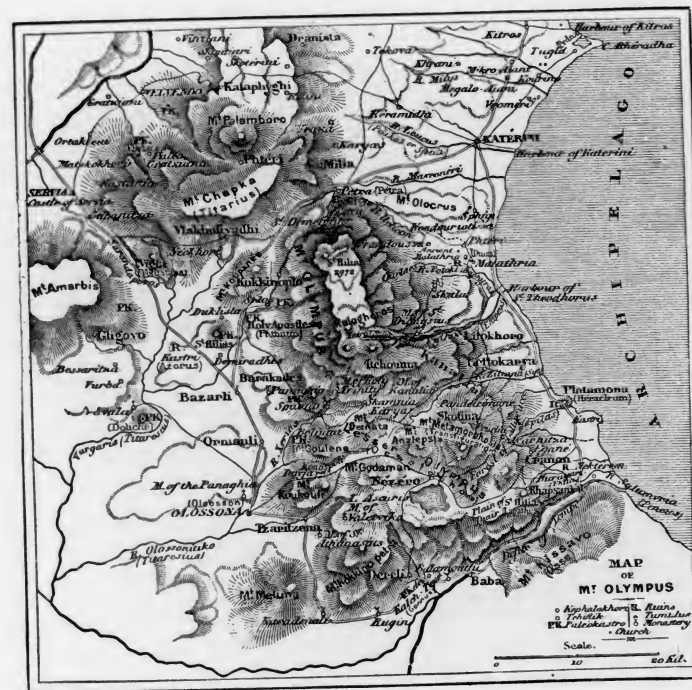
<sup>1</sup> Head of Apollo. On the reverse, AAABANAEQN, name of the people, and a magistrate's name, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ, Pegasus, and a thunderbolt. Tetradrachm of Alabanda.

<sup>2</sup> Rhodes, Samos, Chalcedon, and from the Black Sea, Heracleia Pontica, had sent vessels. (Livy, xlii. 56.)



Coin of Alabanda.<sup>1</sup>

The road from Pythium led to the defile of Petra, defended by a fort built upon a rocky peak, above which towered the summits of Olympus, 10,000 feet high. It would have been imprudent to advance with the entire army into gorges so easy of defence, and so far away from depots established in Thessaly. From Olossona, the road is shorter into Pieria by way of the



Mt. Olympus and the defile of Tempe (from M. Heuzey).

*Kanalia*, but it was a pass difficult for an army to attain, and from it the descent was still harder, for it would be necessary to follow down the course of four mountain torrents, which had formed impassable ravines upon the eastern slope; seen from below, these gorges showed the great mountain cleft, as it were, from base to summit. As regards the defile of Tempe, a traveller might indeed easily go through, but not a legion, if the smallest body of troops guarded it; and for a length of five miles a beast

of burden would scarcely find room to pass through with its load.<sup>1</sup>

These natural defences accumulated along the road by which the Romans were advancing, seemed almost to forbid them entrance into Macedon. Besides, all the foot-paths were guarded. Perseus, with a skill which has not been properly appreciated, had posted 10,000 men upon the Volustana, commanding the two defiles of Sarandaporos and Petra. He had posted 12,000 with Hippias near Lake Ascuris, probably upon Mount Sipoto, in order to intercept the passage by foot-paths over the mountain. Furthermore, he had thrown troops into the vale of Tempe, and was himself at Dium, behind these defences, to strengthen them wherever they might prove weak, and to avoid being attacked in the rear by sailors from the Roman fleet, he had covered the coast with his light cavalry.

Marcus for some time hesitated as to the point at which he should attempt to break through this formidable line; he finally decided upon an enterprise, whose very boldness would give it the most important results if it should prove successful. He resolved to march around the vast marsh Ascuris with his elephants, baggage, and a month's provisions, and to ascend the plateau Oetolophos or the Eight Summits, one of which now bears the name, "the mount of Transfiguration," is 4,900 feet in height. "Thence," says the historian, "all the country was visible from Phila to Dium, and all the coast of Pieria."<sup>2</sup> While the consul was crossing the mountains, the prætor with his fleet was to threaten the coast, and make descents upon it. Marcus had 37,000 men, he hastened with a part of this force against the division of Hippias with the purpose of crushing it, if possible, or at least of holding it in check. A body of picked men moving around Lake Ascuris opened to him on the south the road towards Rapsani, which was defended by the fortress Lapathus; another by

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv. 6. Following Polybius, who accompanied the army as deputy from the Achæans, and from whom Livy borrows his exact description of these localities.

<sup>2</sup> M. Heuzey, who has been over the road by which Marcus made this ascent, and believes that he has found the very site of the Roman camp, confirms the words of Livy. "From this height," he says, "you see below you all the sea-coast; in the distance you can discern the vast curve of the Gulf of Salonica, and the city with its walls on the further shore, then the long points of Chalcidice, and even in fine weather Mount Athos." (*Le Mont Olympe*, p. 11.) From M. Heuzey's learned work we have borrowed the plan on p. 101.

way of the west attacked the Macedonians who were posted on the heights. For two days fighting went on, while the king dared not quit the sea-coast to take advantage of the dangerous position in which the Romans were placed. The latter by sheer courage extricated themselves at last. While Hippias, under the stress of this fierce attack, was massing his forces for a desperate resistance, Marcus, concealing his movements behind a cordon of troops, threw himself along precipices and through roads upon the eastern slope of Olympus, whence with extreme danger and difficulty he made his way down to the plains of Pieria. His lines of communication had been cut, but he had forced the passage, and conquered nature.

It was, indeed, over nature that his victory had been gained. "The Romans," says the learned traveller, who step by step followed Marcus among these mountains, "came down precipices into Macedon. I have never seen anything more savage and grand than the slopes of the lower Olympus, which they passed; an immense forest envelopes in its dark shadows a region all crags and precipices. Down the ravines, which are wooded to the very bottom, rush noisy brooks. The vigour and variety of the vegetation are incredible—trees of the plain, which you are surprised to meet at this altitude, evergreen oaks, and especially enormous plane trees rise along the banks of the mountain torrents into the very midst of the chestnuts and almost of the firs. It is easy to understand how in traversing these vast forests a whole army might be concealed from the enemy, who believed them retreating. . . . These woods are what remains of the forest Callipeuce of Livy. . . . From Skotina,<sup>1</sup> at the foot of the mountain, I strove to picture to myself the great opening cut by the axe and all the disorder of this army tumbling over, as Livy tells us, rather than descending. The cavalry, the baggage, the beasts of burden, which caused the main difficulty, went forward with the elephants, the latter being made with infinite trouble to slide down upon inclined planes; the legions followed. From Skotina it took us at least four hours to reach the foot of the lowest slopes. There upon the

<sup>1</sup> M. Heuzey is of opinion that the descent was made in the direction of the present villages of Skotina and Pandeileimone. This latter, as it were, hangs amid the chestnut trees above the Turkish fortress of Platamona, the ancient Heracleion of Pieria.



edge of the plain were some hillocks covered with olive trees and the ruins of a little monastery of Panaghia. This is the region where the Roman consul, after three days spent in the descent, at last encamped, the infantry occupying the hillocks, the cavalry in front, on the edge of the plain."

A strong rear-guard left upon the heights had concealed from the troops of Hippias this bold movement. And so in ten days from the time when he had received the army from the hands of his predecessor, Marcius had made his plans, collected his provisions, fought two battles upon Olympus, and forced his way through into Macedon. It is a brilliant page in military history.

During these operations, Perseus was at Dium with half of his troops. Alarmed at sight of the legions,<sup>1</sup> he abandoned the strong position he occupied and fell back towards Pydna, committing the unpardonable mistake of calling in the troops which were guarding the defiles. Instantly Marcius seized them, and with this his safety was secured. Re-assured in regard to his communications, the consul advanced upon Dium. But a scarcity of provisions and the approach of cold weather brought him to a stand. He ceased operations, and boldly went into winter quarters in Pieria.

To secure himself from all molestation, and at the same time to keep open his communications with Thessaly, whence he expected his supplies, Marcius caused the little towns guarding the vale of Tempe—Phila, among others, where Perseus had gathered large magazines of corn—to be seized by his lieutenants. Finding himself too much exposed at Dium, where the plain of Pieria begins to widen, he concentrated his forces behind the Enipeus, thus securing a good line of defence for the winter. "This torrent," says Livy, "descends from a gorge of Mount Olympus. Though a little stream in the summer, the winter rains make it an impetuous torrent. It rushes over the rocks, forming furious eddies, and by hollowing out its channel, renders the banks on

<sup>1</sup> Livy maintains that in his alarm he sent two of his friends to Pella and Thessalonica with orders to burn his ships and throw his treasures into the sea. His situation was not desperate to this degree; and, as Livy adds, that ashamed of his terror, he made away with the two persons to whom he had given these orders, it is safe to class this narrative with the others put in circulation by the Romans in respect to his cruelty, avarice, and cowardice.

either side both high and steep." The inhabitants call it Vythos [*Βυθος*], the *Abyss*, and it well deserves that name.

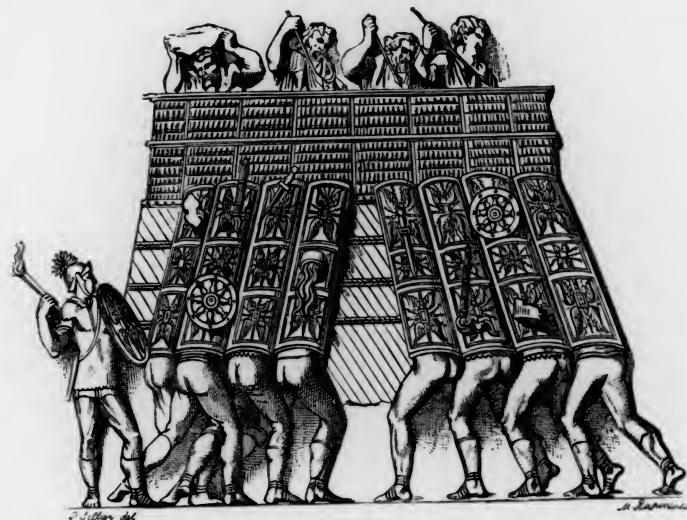
To the south of this furious torrent one place only, Heracleion, still remained in the possession of the Macedonians. To capture it the Romans employed a method of attack familiar to them, which has not hitherto been described in this history. In the games of the circus the young men occupied themselves with military exercises, one of which consisted in forming a roof of shields, borne by sixty or eighty of their number. The outside rows knelt, those in the middle stooped, and the front rank stood upright, all holding their shields over their heads and close together, the whole making an inclined plane, upon which two or three armed men leaped and fought there; this was the *testudo*. The walls of Heracleion were low; the Roman commander ordered the formation of the *testudo*. Then the soldiers mounted upon this *testudo*, cleared the ramparts of their defenders, after which the town was readily taken.

The rumour of these successes was beginning to arrive in Rome, when Rhodian deputies, presenting themselves before the senate, made declaration that, ruined by this war, they wished to see it at an end, and that if Rome or Perseus refused to bring it to a close, they should determine upon what measures might be needful in respect to whichever of the two adversaries opposed the restoration of peace.<sup>1</sup> For sole answer there was read to them a decree of the senate, setting free their subjects, the Carians and the Lycians. Eumenes also, whose pride had been wounded, had just abandoned the Roman camp, and Prusias presented himself as a mediator. It was clearly time to bring the Macedonian affair to a close. The comitia raised Paulus Æmilius to the consulate.

The new consul was a man of antique valour, a man of letters moreover, as were many of the nobles of Rome, a friend of the civilization and the arts of Greece, although a devout observer of

<sup>1</sup> [This extraordinary move of the Rhodians was induced by the Machiavellian policy of the consul Marcius, who suggested to them this mediation for the purpose of putting them in the power, and under the indignation of Rome. It also appears from Appian (*Maced.* 12-16) that this consul's position on the Enipeus was over against a strong position of Perseus, which barred all further advance of the Romans. Thus the appointment of Paulus Æmilius was on military grounds expedient.—*Ed.*]

ancient customs; strict with the soldiers and the people, indifferent to popularity gained in the Forum, and a merit becoming every day more rare, a man of principle. "No one," says an old writer, who by this very utterance makes a grave charge against his contemporaries, "no one would have dared offer him money." In war he had not always been successful; the Lusitanians had defeated him, and after his first consulate (182), the Ligurians had well-nigh destroyed his entire army. But he had avenged

A Testudo.<sup>1</sup>

himself upon the former by a victory in which he slew 18,000 men, and he had compelled the latter to swear at Rome that they would never again take arms except by order of the senate, and these two campaigns had established his military reputation. Later he had solicited a second consulship, but in vain, and from that time, retiring from public life, had devoted himself to the education of his children. He was now elected consul, without solicitation on his part, and in spite of his sixty years, he displayed the activity of a young and careful general.

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the column of Antoninus. Body of soldiers making the *testudo* advancing to assail a place or perhaps to set fire to wooden ramparts.

Gentius, deceived by a promise of 300 talents, had at last declared against Rome. Eumenes had opened secret negotiations with Perseus; the Rhodians had almost gone over publicly to his side, and the Macedonian fleet ruled the Ægean Sea and the Cyclades. But Perseus had just deprived himself of the support of 20,000 Gauls whom he had summoned from the banks of the Danube; he had refused them the promised pay, at a moment when he would have done well to double it to obtain their help, even though that assistance might have become a danger after their joint victory.

Having ascertained all these facts, Paulus Æmilius arranged his plan. With the army of Marcius he proposed to attack Macedon in front and drive the king before him; with the fleet, Octavius would form the right wing, and after sweeping the Ægean Sea, would menace the coasts with the purpose of disturbing Perseus from the rear; Amicius, with the two Illyrian legions, would form the left wing, and having crushed Gentius, would fall back through Dassaretia into Macedon. Eighty thousand men, at the least estimate,<sup>1</sup> were to be in the field, and Licinius, the other consul, held in readiness an army on the shore of the Adriatic to hasten, if necessary, to the help of his colleague.

Before leaving Rome, Paulus Æmilius had taken occasion to address certain counsels to the people, which show us in ancient Rome the same habits of thought and action which prevail in modern capitals. After promising to use every means in his power to bring the war to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people, he went on to say, "Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you or to the senate, but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumours, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. In every circle and truly at every table there are people who lead armies into Macedon, who know where the camp ought to be placed, what posts ought to be occupied by troops, when and through what pass Macedon should be entered, what magazines should be formed, how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea, when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only

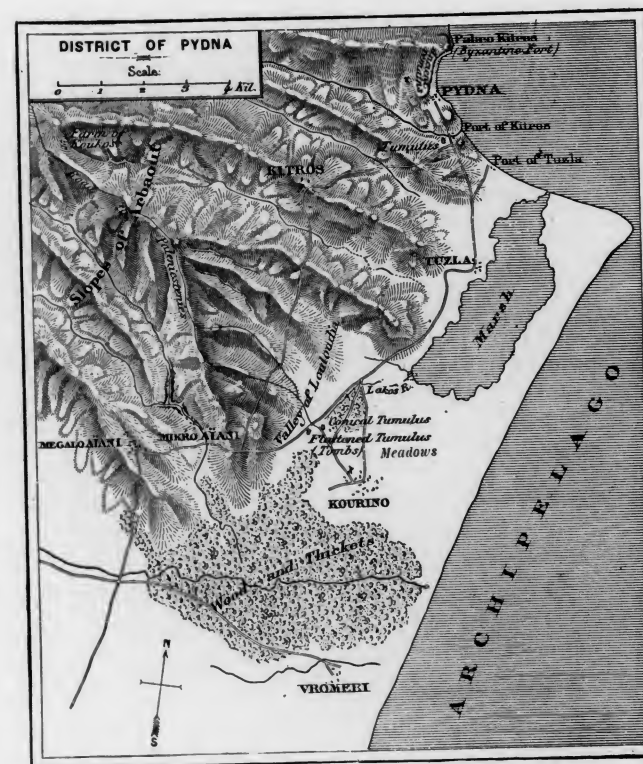
<sup>1</sup> Polybius and Plutarch (*Æmil.*, 12) say 100,000, but these included garrisons.

determine what is best to be done, but if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs, for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise who did everything on his own single judgment. . . . If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified, respecting the war which I am to conduct, to give advice which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the State, but let him come with me into Macedon; he shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent, and even with the costs of his journey. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war; let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city in itself furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it set limits to its passion for talking, and rest assured that we shall be content with such counsels as shall be framed within our camp."

In camp Paulus Æmilius first occupied himself with restoring Roman discipline to its former vigour. He filled the soldiers' idle time with useful labours, and brought military exercises again into repute; to increase the vigilance of the sentinels, he forbade them when on duty to carry their shields; the general's orders had hitherto been proclaimed aloud, so that often the enemy could overhear them; he now directed that the military tribunes should communicate to the centurions personally, and thus they should be passed through the army. The advanced guards had hitherto been kept on duty all day; he now ordered them to be relieved at noon, so that in case of attack the enemy should find at the outposts fresh and active men.

Perseus was encamped behind the Enipeus in the strong position we have described. By a feigned attack kept up for two days the consul endeavoured to keep him there, while Scipio Nasica, with a picked force of 11,000 men, returned into the vale of Tempe, and making a circuit around the foot of Mount Olympus, arrived by way of Pythium at the defile of Petra. The king had

had his suspicions awakened, and 12,000 Macedonians barred the road. They were poor troops, the better soldiers having been retained in the phalanx, confronting Paulus Æmilius; they had not even the ability to select advantageous positions, and Nasica easily got the better of them. He followed sharply upon the



Environs of Pydna.<sup>1</sup>

fugitives' track, and made a capture of the fort Petra, which they did not even attempt to defend; thence he came down into the

<sup>1</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, plan D.



plain of Katerini, and Perseus seeing himself between two fires, broke up his camp on the banks of the Enipeus and retired to Pydna, to the northward of Katerini.

A plain, most advantageous for the phalanx, stretched before the city, and Perseus, who could no longer fall back, without shame and disaster, resolved to offer battle. The night before the action an eclipse of the moon alarmed the Macedonians; by order of the consul, Sulpicius Gallus explained the phenomenon to the legions (June 22, 68).<sup>1</sup> A few days before, the army



Funeral Couch in Marble found in a Tomb at Pydna.<sup>2</sup>

had been suffering from thirst; judging from the slope of the mountains, he caused the soldiers to dig in the sand, and soon an abundant supply was obtained. The soldiers believed their leader inspired and loudly clamoured to be led against the enemy. But Paulus Æmilius, shut up between the sea and the mountains, with an army of 43,000 men before him, was unwilling to trust anything to chance. It was not until he had thoroughly fortified his camp that he felt himself ready to risk a decisive action.<sup>3</sup> The Macedonians attacked with fury, and it was with

<sup>1</sup> This eclipse was not, as is usually asserted, predicted the evening before; it was explained on the day after it occurred. (Cic., *de Rep.*, i. 15.) Hipparchus, the great astronomer, a contemporary of Paulus Æmilius, could have explained it, but not Gallus.

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> According to M. Heuzey, Nasica, descending the valley of the Mavroneri on the day before the battle, rejoined the consul, who had come by the way of Sphigi. Paulus Æmilius

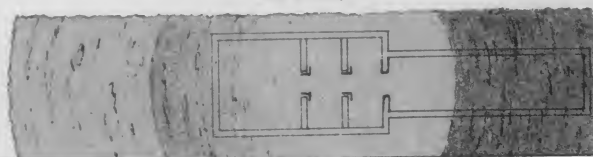


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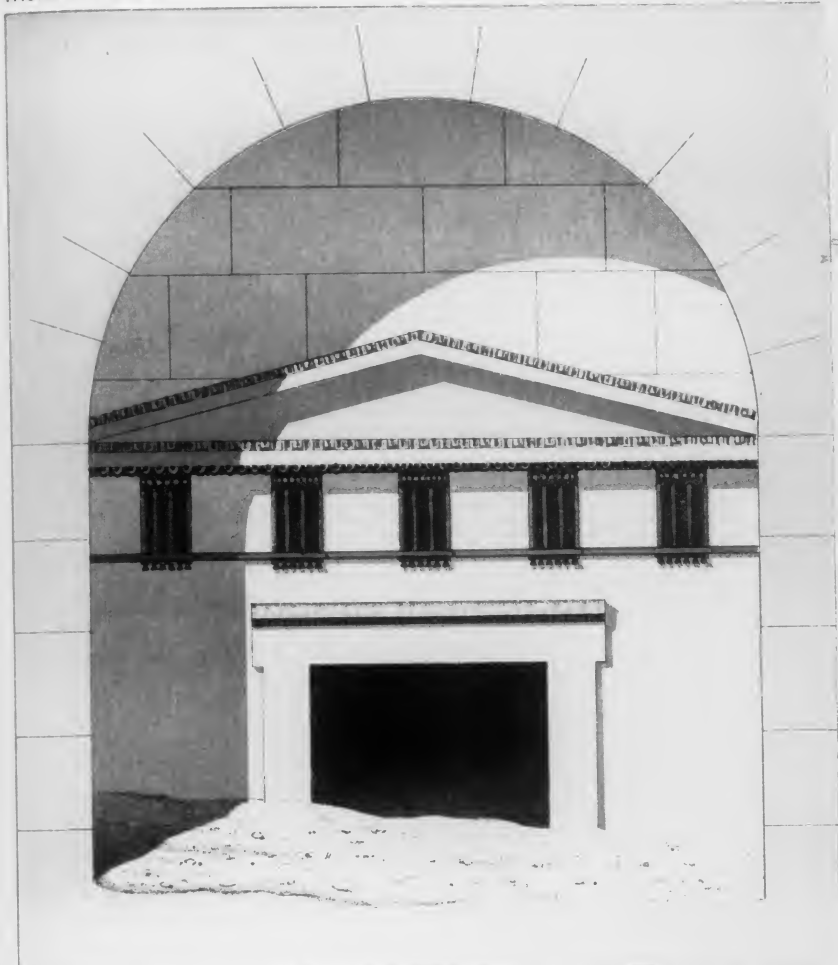
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MACEDONIAN TOMB FROM PYDNA

Alter Heuzey



Plan of the Tomb

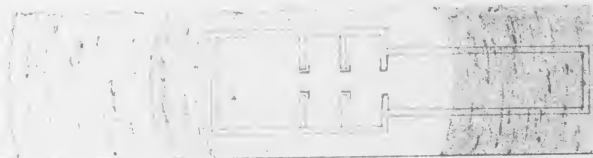


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MACEDONIAN TOMB FROM PYDNA

After Heuzey



Plan of the Tomb



surprise and a kind of terror that the consul observed the firmness of the serried ranks and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes. He however concealed his apprehension, and to inspire confidence among his troops, he moved about without wearing either helmet or cuirass.

At first the phalanx overthrew everything that opposed it, but being drawn on by success to a distance from the place which Perseus had assigned to it, the inequalities of the ground and the movement of the march created gaps in the ranks, into which Paulus Æmilius threw his men. From this time it was as it had been at Cynoscephalæ; the shaken and broken phalanx lost its strength. Instead of a united attack, there were a thousand separate conflicts; the whole phalanx, that is to say, 20,000 men, were left upon the field, and the stream traversing it ran red with blood till the next day. The Romans confessed to a loss of but 100 men, which is, however, improbable, and they made 11,000 prisoners. Pydna was given over to sack

and pillage; its very ruins have disappeared, but as is natural in such a place, tombs mark the spot where stood the flourishing city, and the memory of the day when Macedon fell lives yet con-



Coin of Pella.<sup>1</sup>

fusedly in the legend, graceful, and yet terrible, which they tell at Palæo-Kitros. In the place which was unquestionably the scene of the main action, lilies of a peculiar species carpet the soil; the people of the country call it "the valley of flowers (*Louloudia*)," and they assert that these lilies spring from the human blood shed there in a great battle.<sup>2</sup>

established his camp on the higher portion of the plain between the Mavroneri and the Pelikas. Along this river the battle began, and the fugitives from the first line fled to Mount Olocros; the action, however, swept northward, and terminated near Aiani.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΠΕΛΛΗΣ; an ass feeding. Copper coin of Pella.

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 242. Near the place where Pydna stood, at Kourino, great tumuli are still visible, one of which may have been raised to the memory of the Roman soldiers who fell here in battle, as the Athenians raised a tumulus to the heroes of Marathon. In one of them M. Heuzey saw a bas-relief in white marble representing a Roman soldier in armour. "To reach the sepulchral chamber we follow an arched passage leading underground. A door with sideposts inclined, after the Doric style, gives access to a little cell and then to a second, whose entrance has a setting of white marble. The one represented by the chromo-lithograph leads to the third chamber, which is nearly four meters in length by three in width, with a vaulted roof." It had previously been examined, and M. Heuzey found

From the field of battle Perseus fled to Pella. This capital, situated on a hill and surrounded by morasses impassable in summer as well as in winter, was easily to be defended, but the king



The Victory of Samothrace.<sup>1</sup>

had no army left, and the inhabitants gave way to the general

nothing in it. But in another tumulus he saw a funereal couch of white marble, which must have been destined to receive the body of some important personage, either before or after the Roman victory, for the city recovered itself in some degree after the sack, although never attaining again its early importance. (Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*, p. 172 *et sup.*, and *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20.)

<sup>1</sup> A magnificent colossal statue of the epoch of the successors of Alexander, much resembling in style the school of Phidias. It was discovered in 1863 behind the ruins of a Doric temple, at some distance from the ancient city of Samothrace (Palæopolis). Museum of the Louvre; Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique*, p. 434.

discouragement. He was advised to withdraw into the mountainous provinces adjacent to Thrace and undertake a guerilla warfare; he sounded the disposition of the Bisaltians, and urged the citizens of Amphipolis to defend their city in order that he might have access to the sea.<sup>1</sup> On every side he encountered only refusals and reproaches; he learned also that all the towns were opening their gates to the Romans before even they were attacked. Alone and destitute, he asked for peace, and while waiting for the consul's reply he took refuge with his family and his treasures in the inviolable sanctuary of Samothrace.

In his letter Perseus still took the title of king. Paulus Æmilius on this account refused to read it, and a second letter, in which this title was omitted, obtained for reply nothing more than an order to surrender with all his treasures. Perseus now essayed to escape and join Cotys in Thrace, but the fleet of Octavius, the prætor, guarded the island, and a Cretan who had promised to take the king on board his ship disappeared with the money which he had received in advance. Finally, a traitor gave up to the prætor the younger children of Perseus, and the king himself, with his eldest son, surrendered to Octavius. Paulus Æmilius, touched by so great misfortunes, received him kindly,<sup>2</sup> entertained him at his own table, and recommended him to have confidence in the clemency of the Roman people (168).

Even before the battle of Pydna, Anicius had besieged Gentius in Scodra, his capital, and forced that prince to surrender; thirty days had sufficed for this conquest, which had not even cost a battle.

While waiting for the arrival of the commissioners of the senate, Paulus Æmilius made a journey through Greece to visit its chief objects of interest. He went up to Delphi and caused his own statue to be erected on the pedestal destined to receive that of Perseus; he saw the cave of Trophonius, Chalcis, and the Euripus, with



Paulus Æmilius and Perseus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These facts, reported by Livy (xliv. 45), contradict the story of Perseus' cowardly despair after Pydna.

<sup>2</sup> Perseus was so little under restraint in the Roman camp that he was at one time able to go as far as a day's journey from the camp without exciting notice. (Livy, xlv. 28.)

<sup>3</sup> Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*. PAVLLVS; Paulus Æmilius receiving Paulus and his children. A trophy. Reverse of a denarius of the Æmilian family.

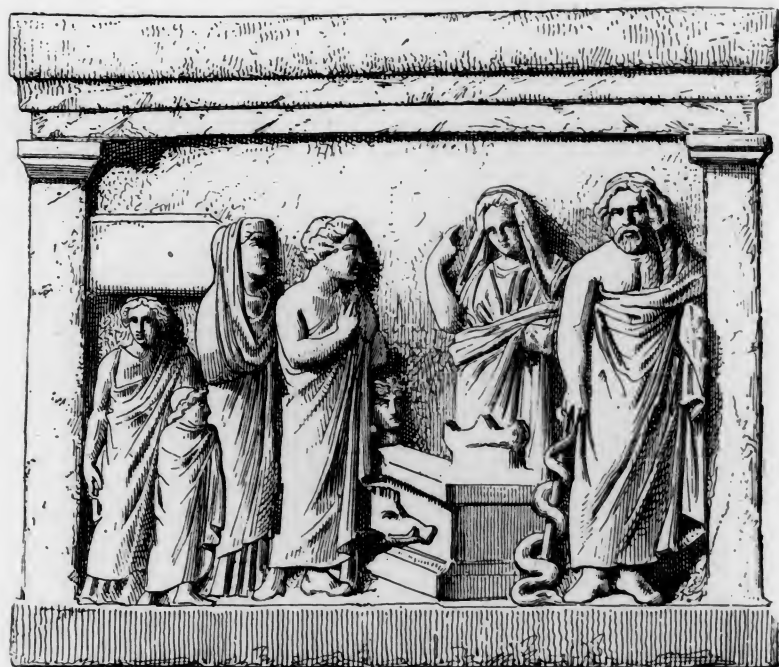
the curious phenomenon of its tide; also Aulis, the rendezvous of Agamemnon's 1,000 ships; Athens,

Coin of Epidaurus.<sup>1</sup>

where he offered sacrifices to Athene, as he had at Delphi to Apollo; Corinth, still rich with all its treasures; Sicyon,

Coin of Sicyon.<sup>2</sup>

Argos, Epidaurus, and its temple of Æsculapius; Megalopolis, the

Altar of Æsculapius.<sup>3</sup>

creation of Epaminondas; Sparta and Olympia, every where evoking

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled head of Zeus. On the reverse, a double letter, EII, as a monogram, in a wreath. Silver coin (triobol) of Epidaurus.

<sup>2</sup> A chimera and a wreath. On the reverse, an I and a dove flying, in a wreath of laurel. Coin (Æginetan tetradrachm) of Sicyon.

<sup>3</sup> Bas-relief found at Epidaurus, representing the altar of the god, his priests, and the victim about to be immolated. (Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, p. 104.)

the glorious memories of the past, and rendering homage to that Greece which was now so humiliated. At Olympia he believed that he saw Jupiter himself in beholding the statue of Phidias, and sacrificed with as much pomp as he would have done in the Capitol at Rome. It was his wish to conquer the Greeks in magnificence as well as in arms. To furnish out a feast and to conduct games, he said, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer. He directed Greek and Roman games to be celebrated at Amphipolis, giving notice of them to the States and kings of Asia,

Chalcis and Euripus.<sup>1</sup>

and specially inviting the chief leaders in Greece. The most skilled wrestlers and performers were gathered from all parts of the world, and many famous horses. Outside the enclosure were displayed the statues and pictures, the tapestry, the vases of gold, silver,

<sup>1</sup> Euripus, at its narrowest point, is about 220 feet across.



bronze and ivory, and all the curiosities and works of art found in the palace of Perseus. The Macedonian arms [excepting the shields of the phalanx], were gathered into a huge pile, and Paulus Æmilius set fire to the heap, closing the games with this ominous conflagration, a holocaust announcing to Greece and to the



Macedonian Coin.<sup>1</sup>

world the end of the Macedonian kingdom, as the burning of Persepolis, by Alexander, a century and a half earlier had announced to Asia the destruction of the empire of Cyrus.

Meanwhile the commissioners from the senate had arrived; Paulus Æmilius, in conjunction with them, determined the fate of Macedon, and having called together at Amphipolis, where his tribunal was surrounded with an immense crowd, ten chief men from each city, he made known to them the will of the Roman people. He spoke in Latin, it being suitable that the conqueror should employ his own language in addressing the conquered, but the prætor Octavius repeated his words in Greek. The Macedonians were to be left free and should possess the same cities and lands as before, governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates, and the taxes they should pay to Rome were to be but half what they had been accustomed to pay to their own kings; Macedon, however, was to be divided into four districts, and there should be no intermarriage nor liberty to purchase lands or houses outside their respective districts. The districts bordering on the barbarians might keep armed forces on their frontiers. The third district should supply the Dardanians with salt at a fixed price. The friends and courtiers of Perseus, the generals of his armies, the commanders of his fleets and garrisons, all who had held any employment whatever from him, were to accompany the consul into Italy, together with their children; these persons were all designated by name. Then Paulus Æmilius gave the Macedonians a code of laws wisely adapted [?]

<sup>1</sup> Bust of Diana upon a Macedonian shield. On the reverse, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, and a monogram; a club in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of the first district of Macedon.

to their new condition, and having completed his task, he set out for Epirus. Anicius meanwhile in Illyria made similar dispositions, separating that country into three districts.

Macedon was by far too rich and important a country to be given up to pillage; only a few places which had hesitated to open their gates after Pydna were abandoned to the soldiery. The consul had sought, moreover, to separate the royal cause in Macedon from that of the country itself; it was his plan to appear to have fought only against Perseus and to be willing to take only what belonged to the king as spoils of war, in order by this policy to shake all the other thrones which still remained. Macedon and Illyria were therefore spared, but the army complained, and Epirus was given up to them.

The measures adopted by assemblies are often cruel, because of all who concur in the act no one man is personally responsible. The Epirotes had revolted to Perseus, and the senate, to strike terror among the allies of Rome, determined to treat them as deserters who were usually executed. Cohorts despatched to their seventy cities<sup>1</sup> received orders on the same day, at the same hour, to give them up to pillage, to destroy their walls, and to carry their inhabitants away into slavery. A hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes were thus reduced in a day from liberty to slavery. The booty was so considerable that after the gold and silver had been reserved for the public treasury, each foot-soldier received 200 and each trooper 400 denarii; and still the soldiery were not content. In their avidity, stimulated by the recollection of the enormous plunder obtained by their predecessors in Sicily, in Africa, and in Asia, they could not forgive their general for having reserved the spoils of Perseus. Paulus Æmilius had plundered for the benefit of the State; they could not consent that any one should plunder except in their interest. And so when he sailed up the Tiber in the king's galley of great size, decorated with the brazen shields of the phalanx, and solicited a triumph, his own soldiers strove to prevent his obtaining the honour.

We are at an epoch when Roman manners were beginning to

<sup>1</sup> Almost all in the country of the Molossians. (Polybius, xxx. 15.) Livy, in representing the Molossians as fighting against Perseus (see p. 99, note 2), must have confused them with another Epirote tribe.

undergo that transformation which later we shall study more fully—when military chiefs plundered the provinces; when the soldiers going to war, no longer through patriotic devotion, but in the hope of gain, invoked curses upon those who forced them to undergo the discipline and practice the disinterestedness of a nobler period. The occurrence is therefore to be regarded as a symptom of an evil whose origin it is important to observe, since after increasing during a century, it was to result in those civil wars out of which emerged the empire.

The senate had decreed to Paulus Æmilius the honour of a triumph, but it was necessary that the people should, by a special order, present to the consul his *imperium* for the day, so that he should be allowed to enter the city in his war dress, and lead his army by the via Sacra to the Capitol.

"He would not give us money," the soldiers said, "and we will not give him honour;" and when the tribune of the commons proposed the order, a personal enemy of Paulus Æmilius, Servius Galba, a tribune of the second legion, who had incited the soldiers to manifest their ill-feeling against the general, demanded that the subject should be put off until the morrow, so that he might have an entire day in which to unfold his reasons for opposition. Being required to speak at once, he made an address four hours in length, occupying the time until night, when it became necessary to adjourn the assembly. On the morrow the soldiers crowded the Capitol, and the tribes first called voted in the negative. To refuse the triumph to him who had made Rome the heir of Alexander, was one of those unworthy actions to which the populace is prone when it abandons itself to its evil instincts. The principal men ran in amongst the crowd, crying out that the consul was in danger of being sacrificed to the licentiousness and avarice of his soldiery, that the soldiers were being raised into the place of masters over their generals; and a former consul and master of the horse, Marcus Servilius, implored the tribunes to begin anew, and give him first an opportunity of speaking to the assembly. Livy has composed for him an indignant harangue, suited to the occasion. At all events the thirty-five tribes returned to vote, and the triumph was decreed with unanimity. While we congratulate them on doing this tardy act of justice, we keep in

mind this two-fold symptom: the increasing cupidity of the soldier, which begins to indicate his character under the empire; and the facility with which the people support the suggestions of mean envy against one of the best public servants Rome ever had.



Details of the Borghese Vase.

The triumph, at which the people were present arrayed in white togas, was a solemnity which lasted three days. The first day was occupied by the procession of the statues and pictures,



Details of the Borghese Vase.

loaded upon 250 chariots. On the second day long trains of vehicles loaded with weapons filled the streets, glittering with steel and polished brass. Then followed 3,000 men, bearing vases, full of coined silver, silver cups of splendid work. On the third day the trumpeters led the procession. Then came 120 oxen with

gilded horns, covered with garlands and fillets, led by young men wearing embroidered scarfs. Behind these were soldiers carrying coined gold in vases. Four hundred golden wreaths, given by the



Borghese Vase.<sup>1</sup>

cities of Greece and Asia, a sacred goblet weighing ten talents encrusted with gems, which Paulus Æmilius had ordered to be

<sup>1</sup> This famous marble vase or *crater* was an ornament in the "gardens of Sallust," near the site of which it was found. It represents a bacchanalian scene, where the god of the vintage, calm in the midst of noisy rejoicings, is listening to a bacchante who plays the lyre; Silenus, overcome with intoxication, is supported by a faun; others fauns are playing the lute and cymbals, from one of whom a bacchante seems to flee. Museum of the Louvre, No. 711 of the Clarac catalogue. It is not asserted that this vase was borne in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, but it gives an idea of the kind of vases seen on such occasions.

made, and the goblets of Antigonus and Seleucus, with the cups made by the artist Thericles, and the other gold cups used by the king of Macedon, preceded the chariot of Perseus, upon which were laid his arms and diadem.

The crowd of captives followed: among them the son of Cotys, sent by his father as a hostage into Macedon, and the children of the king, two sons and a daughter who were not old enough to understand the extent of their misfortunes, and looked about them amused and smiling at the gay but cruel pageant. Next followed Perseus on foot, clad in black, walking with a be-



Car bearing Prisoners.<sup>1</sup>

wildered air, as if the greatness of his calamities had blunted his senses, and, that vengeance might be wreaked to its uttermost, the wife of Perseus was forced to follow her husband and children in this sad procession, which she might readily believe would end with their destruction. Perseus had besought the consul to avert from him this last ignominy of the triumph, but the Roman had coldly replied that the matter had always been, and still was, in the king's own power, being himself unable to conceive that any one should not prefer suicide to such disgrace. At last came the victor, followed by the crowded ranks of his cohorts, but of the two young sons who should have been at his side, one had just died, and the other was at the point of death.

<sup>1</sup> This car is not an antique, but was designed by Ginzrot (*Wagen und Fahrwerke*, pl. xx) from details furnished by the columns of Trajan and of Antoninus.



Controlling his manly grief, Paulus Æmilius consoled himself by the thought that upon him was laid the expiation of the public prosperity. A few moments later he said, in addressing the people: "I hope, that the Republic is freed from the envy of fate by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity as to have my triumph, in mockery as it were of human fortunes, intervene between the funerals of my two sons. . . . In the house of Paulus, except the old man, none remains. However, your



Another Car bearing Captives.<sup>1</sup>

happiness and the prosperous state of the commonwealth console me for this ruin of my house." Paulus Æmilius lived some years longer, was censor in the year 160, and died while holding that office. As a recompense for the capture of Perseus in Samothrace, the prætor Octavius obtained the naval triumph; Anicius, the other prætor, had the same honour, leading captive Gentius, the king of Illyria, who was afterwards retained a prisoner at Iguvium, among the mountains of Umbria.<sup>2</sup> The fate of Perseus was worse; being thrown into a foul prison, among malefactors of the lowest kind, he would have been starved if his fellow-captives had not shared their miserable food with him. But after a week, the urgency of Paulus Æmilius brought this shameful treatment to an end; Perseus was removed to the city of Alba, in the country of the Marsi, and such silence closes around the king, who was once the hope of the world, that our authorities do not agree whether he lived in his new prison two years or five, whether he died by his own hand or under the ill-treatment of his gaolers. Philip, his eldest son, survived him but a few years; the younger, to gain a livelihood, is said to have learned the trade

<sup>1</sup> From Montfaucon.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xlv. 43.

of a turner, and some years later, this heir of Alexander held a petty office connected with the courts.

Even more sad was the destiny of the famous people who had conquered Greece and Asia. Never again did Macedon rise to the rank of a nation, and up to our time, a period of twenty centuries, history has never again recognized her name.

<sup>1</sup> On the obverse, an eye. On the reverse, a hollow square. Silver coin of Lesbos, the smallest antique coin known.



Lesbian Coin.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### REDUCTION OF MACEDON TO A PROVINCE; SUBMISSION OF GREECE.

#### I.—ALARM OF THE PRINCES AND STATES AFTER PYDNA.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, the Roman people had taken nothing for themselves save the immense sum poured into the treasury by Paulus Æmilius, and the tributes imposed upon Macedon, which gave the senate opportunity to remit the former *tributum*, or war-tax. The abolition of this tax, the only one that the citizens had to pay, shows plainly that Rome proposed to live at the expense of her subjects.<sup>1</sup> This principle of government had for one of its results the *frumentationes*, or distributions of corn at a low price, as the soldiers' share in the spoils gave rise to the *donativa*—two institutions of which the empire made a bad use, which were, however, of republican origin, and cannot be properly understood if they are regarded solely as means of corruption employed towards the people and the army.

Rome had no need of increasing her dominion by the addition of new territories. Macedon seemed the last bulwark of the world's liberty. Now that this rampart had fallen, all rushed with indescribable alarm to meet the slavery which was their doom. Prusias, king of Bithynia, had remained neutral; he now hastened into Italy and presented himself before the senate wearing a freedman's cap and having his head shaved, in token that he was a freed slave of the Roman people. Upon entering the senate house he kissed the threshold of the door, crying, "Hail, tutelar deities!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The other tax, or rather the duty levied on the manumission of slaves, *vicesima manumissionum*, served to constitute a reserve fund for cases of peril. The exemption from tribute lasted—125 years—up to the time of the wars of Octavius and Antony.

<sup>2</sup> This is the story told by Polybius and by Appian (*Mithr.*, 2); that of Livy is less discreditable to Prusias, but this year Polybius was in Rome.

Masinissa himself trembled; he sent word to the senate by his son that two things had grieved him—one, that the senate had sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, for the supply of necessaries for the army; the other, that they had sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that he owed the Roman people his crown, and he contented himself with the management of it, acknowledging the sovereignty of the donors.<sup>1</sup> He also asked permission to come to Rome that he might offer a sacrifice in the Capitol. The senate, however, forbade him to leave Africa.

Other kings wished to come to Rome, but a decree forbade them to cross the sea, and when Eumenes presented himself at Brundisium, a quaestor ordered him to leave Italy at once. This incident was near costing him his crown, for as soon as his allies became aware that he was threatened with the displeasure of Rome they at once abandoned him, in the midst of a war which he was carrying on with the Galatians. Meantime his brother Attalus was received with honour. The senate offered him half of his brother's estates, but he prudently refused, not wishing to dismember his own inheritance. This means of weakening the Pergamean kingdom having failed, the senate permitted the Galatians to make war upon Eumenes, and later excited Prusias against him, and repeated towards the king of Pergamus the outrage practised upon Philip of sending commissioners to receive complaints against the king and hear his vindication.<sup>3</sup>

The king of Syria, Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), had conquered a part of Egypt, and besieged Alexandria. A Roman deputy, Popillius, ordered him to return into his own territory. Antiochus required some days to deliberate, but Popillius drew a circle on the sand around the spot where the king stood, and said, abruptly, "Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the senate."



Antiochus IV.<sup>2</sup>



Ptolemy VI.  
(Philometor).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2057 of the catalogue.

Upon this, the king, conquered by one man's firmness, agreed to withdraw his armies.

Egypt was saved, and to retain the country under the guardianship of the senate, Popilius divided the kingdom between Philometor and Physcon, and ambassadors from all these kings at once set off for Rome to protest to the senate their reverence and their humility. The contemplation of so much baseness makes us involuntarily side with Rome, in spite of her domineering and perfidious policy.

The merchants of Rhodes, molested in their commerce by the war, had undertaken to impose their mediation. They now regretted this imprudent step decreed by their popular assembly. They made haste to murder the partisans of Perseus and to send rich presents to Rome. The senate did not declare war upon them, but Lycia and Caria, which gave them annually 120 talents, were taken from them. The prohibition of their export of salt into Macedon, and of their import of timber from that



Rhodian Coin.<sup>1</sup>

country, and still further, the establishment of a free port at Delos, ruined their marine; in a few years the product of their customs duties fell off from 1,000,000 to 150,000 drachmæ. The city, lately so rich and proud, was humbled; in 164 she solicited and obtained that title of ally which so rapidly reduced those bearing it to the position of subjects. Ariarathus of Cappadocia, in ascending the throne, also asked for this dangerous alliance, and in solemn sacrifices gave thanks to the gods that he had obtained it. His servility did not prevent the senate from supporting a usurper against him, and assigning to this person half of Cappadocia (159).

In the island of Lesbos,<sup>2</sup> Antissa was razed to the ground for having furnished some few supplies to the fleet of Perseus. In Asia the cities made haste to banish or inflict punishment upon the former partisans of the king. For some months the greatest

<sup>1</sup> Head of the Sun. On the reverse, ΡΟΔΙΟΝ ΕΥ, and a rose, the device of the Rhodians. Didrachme of Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> The view of Lesbos (next page) is from a sketch by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. (*Bibliothèque nationale.*)



View of Mitylene (capital of Lesbos).



Upon this, the king, conquered by one man's firmness, agreed to withdraw his armies.

Egypt was saved, and to retain the country under the guardianship of the senate, Popilius divided the kingdom between Philometor and Physcon, and ambassadors from all these kings at once set off for Rome to protest to the senate their reverence and their humility. The contemplation of so much baseness makes us involuntarily side with Rome, in spite of her domineering and perfidious policy.

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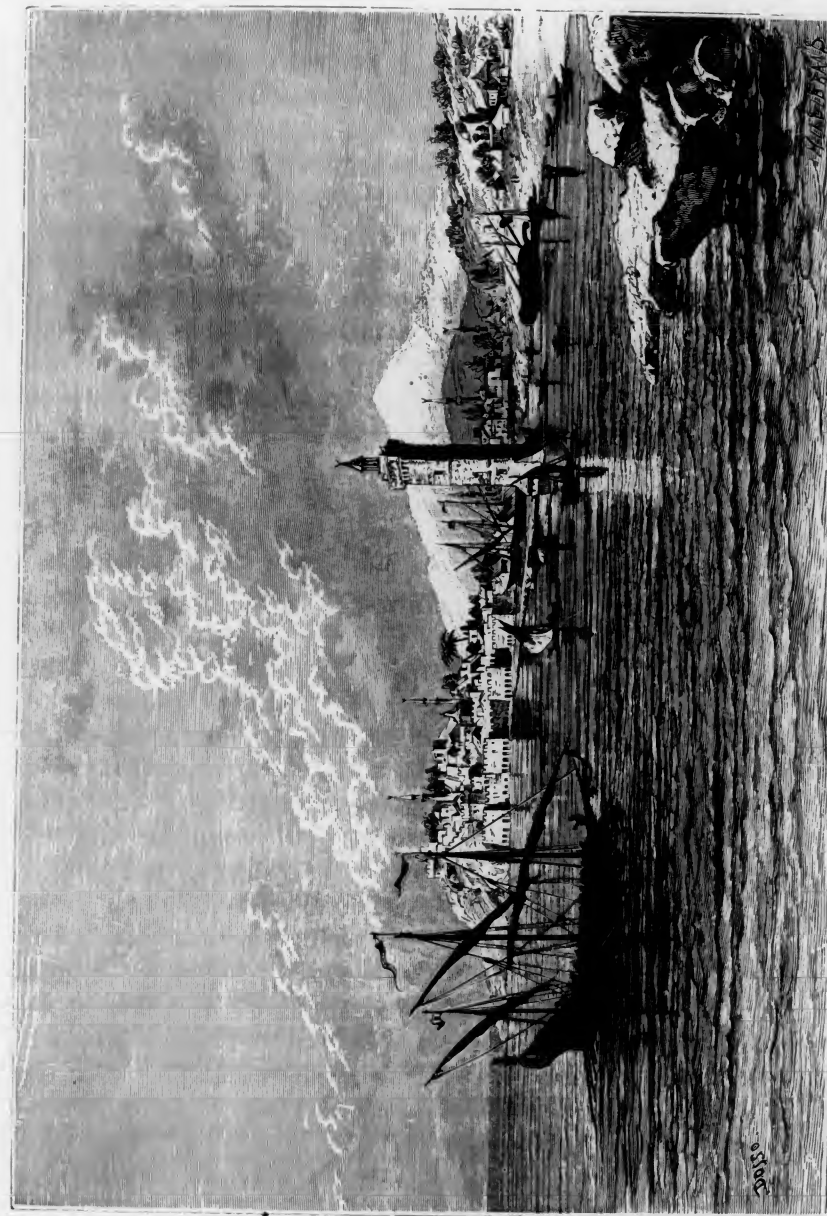
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View of Mitylene (capital of Lesbos).

alarm weighed upon Greece.<sup>1</sup> All the evil instincts fermenting in these little cities, so long without moral or legal restraints, had free scope, sheltered by the name of Rome. For revenge upon an enemy or a rival it was only needful to say that he had sold himself to the Macedonian. It was enough for a man to be suspected of silent vows in favour of Perseus to have him dragged before a pitiless tribunal. The Ætolian Lyciscos denounced 500 of his fellow-countrymen, the entire senate of Ætolia, and caused them to be led to execution, Rome lending only the sword of her soldiers for the butchery. Did these judicial massacres weary the victors? We may regard a desire to put an end to them as the motive which led to the transportation of all suspected persons into various cities of Italy. Whoever of importance yet remained in Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, and Bœotia followed Paulus Æmilius to Rome; 1,000 Achæans designated by Calliocrates were deported thither. One single prince received with astonishment a benefit at the hands of Rome; it was Cotys, a petty Thracian prince, who had valiantly supported Perseus. The senate sent back to him his son, who had chanced to be among the prisoners. But Thrace lay on the high road from Europe into Asia, and it was well to have allies there.<sup>3</sup>

Coin of the Ætolian League.<sup>2</sup>

Macedon being effaced from the list of nations, Epirus being depopulated, and Ætolia ruined, there remained in Greece nothing but the Achæan league, also destined to perish. Philopœmen himself had not had any assured belief in its durability. When the Romans, says Polybius, demanded things conformable to laws and treaties he instantly executed their orders; when their requirements were unjust he advised remonstrances and entreaties to be made; then if they still remained inflexible the gods should be called upon to witness this infraction of treaties, and, finally, the Roman will should be obeyed. "I know," he said, "that

<sup>1</sup> To appreciate this terror, see the story of the accused Rhodian, Polyaratus, who vainly sought asylum in many Asiatic cities. (Polybius, xxx. 9.)

<sup>2</sup> Head coiffed with the *petasus*, cap peculiar to the north of Greece. The young man is sometimes called Meleager; the wild boar on the reverse would in that case be the boar of Calydon. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. gr. et rom.*, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xlv. 43.

a time will come when we shall all be the subjects of Rome,<sup>1</sup> but I seek to postpone this time. Aristænus, on the contrary, invokes its coming, for he sees its inevitable necessity, and would rather it came to-day than to-morrow."



Coin of Epirus.<sup>3</sup>

This policy of Aristænus, which Polybius dares to call prudent,<sup>2</sup> Callierates followed, but solely in the interest of his own ambition and with an odious cynicism in his servility. "The fault is

yours, Conscript Fathers," he dared to say in the senate, "if the Greeks are not docile to your will. In all republics there are two parties, one who maintain that laws and treaties should be observed, the other who wish to have every other consideration give way to the desire of pleasing you; the opinion of the former is agreeable to the multitude, your partisans therefore are despised; but take to heart their interests, and soon all the chiefs of the republics, and with them the people, shall be on your side." The senate replied that it was to be desired that the magistrates of all the cities should be like Callierates, and, as if to justify his words, the Achæans elected him strategus on his return from Rome.

This occurred some years before the war with Perseus. That prince restored hope to the partisans of Hellenic independence; the Achæans, therefore, proposed at first to maintain a strict neutrality; but when Marcius had forced the defiles of Olympus, Polybius made haste to offer to him the assistance of an Achæan army;<sup>4</sup> it was too late; the Romans preferred to conquer unassisted, that

<sup>1</sup> Livy also represents Lycortas saying to Appius, "I know that we are here as slaves who are seeking to justify themselves in presence of their masters."

<sup>2</sup> Book xxv. 8. However, Polybius and his father, Lycortas, were the leaders of the anti-Roman party. During the war against Perseus they narrowly escaped being accused before the commissioners, and after the battle of Pydna, Polybius was carried off into Italy. But seeing Greece so feeble and divided, covered with blood and ruins for two centuries, and deprived of real liberty, Polybius resigned himself to see her tranquil and prosperous [?] under that Roman rule which left to the cities so much interior liberty. We must, after all, respect the good sense and impartiality of the friend of Philopœmen.

<sup>3</sup> Laurelled head of Jupiter joined to a diademed and veiled bust of Juno; behind, two monograms. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an enraged bull in a wreath of oak leaves. Silver coin of Epirus.

<sup>4</sup> Polybius, xxviii. 10, *seq.*

they might not be troubled with the necessity of recompensing their allies. Polybius himself was one of the thousand Achæans detained in Italy, and he would have been interned in some obscure town far from his books and from the great affairs he loved so well to study, had not the two sons of Paulus Æmilius become responsible for him to the prætor.

## II.—REDUCTION OF MACEDON INTO A PROVINCE (146).

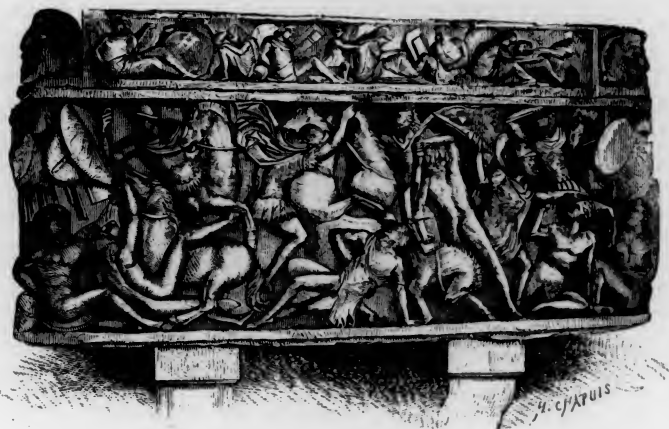
During the seventeen years that the Achæan exiles were detained in Italy, upon which subject the senate never would give any explanation, Callierates remained at the head of the government of his country. He did much better for the interests of Rome than a proconsul could have done. To leave to conquered countries, or to those submitting to the Roman influence, their national chiefs, to govern through native rulers, as the English do in India, was one of the most successful maxims of Roman policy. Content with this seeming independence, with these *municipal liberties* which accord so well with political despotism, the States dropped quietly into the condition of subjects, and the senate found them broken in when Rome desired to tighten the bridle and apply the spur. Thus Greece, without any one's being aware of it, was on the way to become, like so many Italian cities, a Roman possession, when, at the death of Callierates, Polybius, supported by Scipio Æmilianus, solicited on behalf of himself and the other exiles to be sent home to Achaia. There were now but 300 left. The senate hesitated. Cato was indignant at prolonged deliberation upon such a trifle; contempt gave him humanity. "It is only a question," he said, "whether a few decrepit Greeks shall be interred by our grave-diggers or by those of their own country." They were allowed to depart (150).<sup>1</sup> Cato was right; and Greece also, after one last struggle, was about to descend into the tomb, there to remain for twenty centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius wished to ask from the senate restoration to all the offices and honours they had enjoyed before their exile. Cato, whom he sounded on this subject, replied: "It seems to me, Polybius, that you do not follow the example of Ulysses; for you, having made your escape from the cave of the Cyclops, now propose to return thither to seek the hat and belt you left behind you. (Plutarch, *Cato*, ix.)



In the case of some of these exiles, age had neither chilled their ardour nor calmed their resentment. Diaeus, Critolaus, and Damocritus returned to their country embittered and turbulent, and by their imprudence precipitated her ruin.

Circumstances, it is true, appeared to them favourable. Andriseus, an adventurer, who gave himself out to be a natural son of Perseus, had just laid claim to the paternal inheritance (152). Repulsed by the Macedonians after his first attempt, he had taken refuge with Demetrius, king of Syria, who had given him up to the Romans. The latter, contrary to their habit, had guarded him



Sarcophagus representing a Combat.<sup>1</sup>

negligently. He escaped, recruited an army in Thrace, and now, personating Philip that son of Perseus who died in the country of the Marsians, he incited revolt in Macedon, and occupied a portion of Thessaly. Scipio Nasica expelled him from this province (149); but he returned thither, defeated and killed the prætor Juventius, and made an alliance with Carthage, at this time beginning her third war against the Romans. The affair was becoming serious. Rome was at this time fighting in Spain and in Africa; there was reason to apprehend that the movement would extend itself from point to point throughout all Greece and into Asia. A consular

<sup>1</sup> Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

army was entrusted to Metellus, who gained a second victory at Pydna, and carried Andriseus in chains to Rome (148).

A year had sufficed to terminate this war, which was in reality not very formidable, and which a second impostor vainly endeavoured to renew a few years later (142). The senate, believing the States, which it had conquered fifty years before and had enwrapped in a web of intrigues, to be now ripe for servitude, reduced Macedon to a province (146).



Coin of Dyrrachium.<sup>1</sup>

The new province extended from Thrace to the Adriatic, where the two flourishing cities, Apollonia and Dyrrachium, served it as sea-ports, and as points of connection with Italy. Its tax remained as it had been originally fixed, 100 talents, half of what Macedon had paid to her kings, and collected by her own fiscal agents; her cities preserved their municipal liberties, and, in place of the civil and foreign wars which had so long devastated her, she was now to enjoy, for four centuries, a peace and prosperity<sup>2</sup> disturbed only at remote intervals by the exactions of some republican proconsul.

### III.—BATTLE OF LEUCOPETRA; DESTRUCTION OF CORINTH (146).

The army of Metellus (*Macedonicus*) was still encamped in the scene of their conquest, when one of the Achaean exiles, Diaeus, returning to the Peloponnesus, was elected strategus. During his term of office, the eternal quarrel between Sparta and the league, which had been for some time smouldering, broke out afresh, by reason of the secret intrigues of Rome; Sparta again sought to break away from the league. Immediately the

<sup>1</sup> A club, above it the plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs, already represented on the reverse of a coin of Coreyra (vol. I., p. 507), and the first three letters of the city's name, ΔΥΡ. Reverse of a tetradrachm (Corinthian currency) of Dyrrachium; the obverse of the coin represents a cow suckling her calf.

<sup>2</sup> [This so-called prosperity was, indeed, less intolerable than the separation into isolated departments, within which all commerce and industry ceased, and where the resulting poverty was such as to cause constant and irrepressible crime. But the Roman speculators, who had, of course, laid hold of the country during its piecemeal existence, still held their sway in the new province, and so this, like all other outlying countries under Roman sway, was gradually plundered out, till the population became sparse, and most of the land not worth tilling.—Ed.]

Achæans took up arms, but the Roman commissioners arrived bringing a decree of the senate separating Sparta, Argos, and Orchomenus from the league; the two former as of Doric race, the latter as being of Trojan origin, all three, consequently, foreign by blood to the rest of the confederation. Upon the reading of this decree, Diaeus incited the people of Corinth to an outbreak,



Ruins of the Temple at Corinth.<sup>1</sup>

the Spartans who happened to be in the city were massacred, and the Roman deputies escaped only by precipitate flight. This people, who for forty years had trembled before Rome, now seemed to derive a certain courage from the very excess of the humiliation laid upon them; they involved with themselves Chalcis and the Bœotians, and when Metellus came down from Macedon with his legions, the confederates advanced to meet him as far as Scarpheia in Locris (146). In the battle which ensued, the Achæan force

<sup>1</sup> Chenavard, *Voyage en Grèce*, pl. xxix.

was cut to pieces, but, arming even to the slaves, Diaeus brought together a second army of 14,000 men, and posted at Leucopetra, at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, he awaited the new consul Mummius. Upon the neighbouring heights the women and children had gathered to see their husbands and fathers conquer or die. They perished; Corinth was taken, pillaged,<sup>1</sup> given up to the flames; Thebes and Chalcis were razed to the ground, and the territory of these three cities united to the public domain of the Roman people.



Coin of Metellus.<sup>2</sup>

The Achæan and Bœotian leagues were dissolved; all the cities which had shared in the strife were dismantled and disarmed, and were subjected to tribute and to that oligarchical government which was easier for the senate to hold in subjection than popular assemblies.<sup>3</sup> Delphi and Olympia, as sacred territory, kept their privileges; but the credit of those divinities who could no longer save their worshippers, was on the wane, and grass soon grew in their courts.



Coin of Elis.<sup>4</sup>

Yet another people struck from the list of nations! The Greeks, in fact, had reached the end of their political existence, and had not even the right to complain of their fate. It is a hard thing to say, and especially for a Frenchman to say it now, but those who are in the wrong—not that their conquerors are always in the right—are most frequently those who are conquered. If we look back at the picture hitherto drawn of Greece, before the Romans had set foot in the country, we shall see that this people had with their own hands made their grave. He who cannot govern must be governed; he who has no foresight must be exposed to all

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Strabo, viii. 381; Livy, *Epit.*, 52; of Mummius we shall hear again.

<sup>2</sup> Diademed head of Apollo, and the legend ROMA. On the reverse, M. METELLUS Q. F., around a Macedonian buckler, in the centre of which is an elephant's head, the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Denarius of the Cæcilian family. (Cohen, *Monn. cons.*)

<sup>3</sup> Paus., vii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, FA. An eagle standing; before him, a serpent; behind, a thunderbolt; below, II. Didrachme of Elis.

accidents; this is the universal law. Anarchy justly reduces to the condition of slaves those whom, in better days, patriotism and discipline have made strong and famous

In fact, this degenerate race did not merit the prudence that Rome exhibited in bringing them insensibly under her sway. As if forever mindful of the old deeds of Greece, forever dreading lest, if matters were in the least precipitated, some gallant desperation might renew the laurels of Marathon and Plataea, the senate had been a half century in assuming the tone and attitude of mastery. Upon the conclusion of the war with the Illyrians, it had scrupulously explained to the Greeks that for the purpose of delivering them from these pirates the legions had come across the Adriatic; and, in the struggle with Macedon, the independence of Greece had been put forward as a motive for the war. After the battle of Cynoscephalæ, Flamininus had quietly transformed into a protectorate this friendship of the earlier time; and it was not until every power had been broken down in Macedon, in Asia, and in Africa that Mummius converted this protectorate into a domination. Even then, Greece was not reduced to a province.<sup>1</sup> Its name was still imposing. Moreover, the most famous cities, notably Athens and Sparta, had not been concerned in this struggle brought on by the Achæans, and many of the latter had been but lukewarm in the strife. "If we had not been quickly ruined, "they said on all sides, "we could not have been saved."<sup>2</sup> And once the executions of the earlier days were completed, and the authors and accomplices of the war punished in a way to destroy all desire to renew it, the Greeks were treated as conquered enemies, whose friendship Rome was anxious to secure. They lost their independence, it is true, but they preserved the outward forms of it, their laws, their own magistrates, their elections, even their leagues, which after a few years the senate suffered them to renew. There was not a Roman garrison in any city, there was no proconsul in the land. Only, far off in Macedon, the Roman officer listened to all sounds, kept watch upon every movement, ready to descend upon Hellas with

<sup>1</sup> The province of Achaia was not formed till after the battle of Actium. Cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenl.*, i. 284, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xl. 5, 12.





P. SELLIER, del.

Imp. Frailery.

CORINTHIAN VASES FOUND AT CÆRE



his cohorts, and to revive, if need were, the terror left in all men's hearts by the destruction of Corinth. In reality, Rome took from the Greeks nothing save the right to devastate their country by a perpetual succession of intestine wars.

Metellus had carried off from Pella twenty-five bronze statues which Alexander had ordered from Lysippus in memory of his "companions" who fell at the battle of the Granicus. These the consul placed in front of the two temples which he built to Jupiter and Juno, the first marble buildings ever erected in Rome. After these architectural expenditures, there was left of the spoils, which he had brought home to Rome, enough money to build a superb portico.

Mummius was a Roman of the primitive kind; he had preserved all the early rusticity of tastes and manners, and had no appreciation of Greek elegance. In accordance with the usual custom, much more than from any love for the masterpieces of art, he carried away from Corinth the statues and vases,<sup>1</sup> pictures and carvings which had escaped the flames, or which he had not been able to sell to the king of Pergamus,<sup>2</sup> and transported them to Rome, where they were placed in temples and public squares. For himself he kept nothing, and remained poor, so that the State was obliged to furnish dowries for his daughters. Never did he suspect that he had committed a crime in destroying the most beautiful city in Greece, after an engagement without danger or glory. He always believed himself to have achieved a memorable exploit, and in his consular inscription which still exists, these words are to be read, as the chief praise of his

<sup>1</sup> The bronze of Corinth was famous, but not a piece of it now exists. We have, however, a great number of painted vases from that city, which were celebrated throughout the Greek world. It is possible some of these were carried away by Mummius, for they were greatly in demand in Italy. We give below an explanatory note, kindly furnished by M. Heuzey, in respect to the chromo-lithograph.

"These antique Greek vases, of which the Louvre possesses a remarkable series, from the Campana collection, are called Corinthian, because they bear legends in the old local alphabet of Corinth. They have been found at Corinth, but a much larger number in the tombs at Cære, in Etruria. They bear important testimony to the relations existing at an early period between Etruria and Corinth and its colonies. The larger vase is a *hydria*, the painting representing Achilles exposed upon his bier, and lamented by the Nereids. The smaller is an amphora, representing Ismene slain by Tydeus at an assignation with the handsome Periclymenos."

<sup>2</sup> This prince offered 600,000 sesterces for a single picture by Aristides of Thebes. (Strabo, viii. 381; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 8.)



consulate: *deleta Corintho*. This barbarian did well to erect, after his triumph, a temple to Hercules the conqueror, god of strength.

As for the authors of the Achæan war, one, Critolaus, had disappeared at Scarpheia; the other, Diæus, had sought from his own hand the death which eluded him on the battlefield. From Leucopetra he had fled to Megalopolis, where he had slain his wife and children, set fire to his house, and poisoned himself. In stirring up a hopeless strife, these men had called down many woes upon their country, but they perished with her and for her. Self-devotion makes imprudence pardonable, and it was better to perish as Greece did, on a battlefield, than to become extinct, like Etruria, in a lethargic sleep. For nations as well as individuals, it is a duty to die nobly. The Achæans, left standing alone among the ruined Greek nations, owed this last sacrifice to the old glory of Hellas.

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius. The Acropolis of Corinth on the summit of a rock. The letters C L I COR give the name of the new Corinth, a colony established by Cæsar, *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*. But the coin itself shows by the exuberance and disorder [absurdity] of the details how much the art of the second century A.D. had degenerated.



The Acrocorinthos.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### REDUCTION OF CARTHAGINIAN AFRICA INTO A PROVINCE.

#### I.—CARTHAGE, MASINISSA, AND ROME.

The middle of the second century B.C. brought the fatal hour to three of the greatest nations of antiquity: in the year 148 Macedon fell; in 146 Greece gave up her sword, and with it her independence; at the close of the same year Carthage became a heap of ruins. Two other nations of less importance gave way a few years later: in 132 the liberty of Spain was destroyed at Numantia, and almost immediately after the kingdom of Pergamus collapsed. Within a period of sixteen years, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthaginian Africa, and Spain became peaceful provinces of the new empire.

Since the battle of Zama, the existence of Carthage had been but a protracted death-struggle.<sup>1</sup> Hampered by the prohibition not to make war without the consent of the senate, she could not repulse the attacks of the rapacious Masinissa. "The Carthaginians are but strangers in Africa," said the Numidian, "who have ravished from our fathers the territory which they possess. What they bought was as much land as could be surrounded with a bull's hide cut into strips. All beyond this that they possess is the fruit of injustice and violence." And on every opportunity he plundered them of a province. As early as the year 199 he began; in 193 he deprived them of the rich territory of Emporiæ, which opened to them the road into the interior of Africa. Eleven



Numidian King or Prince.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the story of this war we have little more than the *Libyca* of Appian, some scattered fragments of Polybius and the abbreviators. But it is probable that Appian borrows his account from Polybius, who was an eye-witness.

<sup>2</sup> Intaglio (clouded agate) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2064 of the catalogue.

years later there were fresh encroachments. To these acts of violence Carthage opposed only complaints, which she sent to Rome. But the senate, sure of Masinissa's fidelity, left him in possession of the stolen territory. Encouraged by this favour, the king invaded in 174 the province of Tysea and took seventy towns. "If we cannot defend ourselves," the Carthaginian deputies said to the senate, "at least fix at once how much of our territory is to be taken from us." It was on the eve of the war against Perseus; the senate appeared to be indignant, promised justice and arbitration,<sup>1</sup> but suffered the affair to drag on until the victory of Pydna had rendered the iniquity safe, when they despatched Cato and some commissioners with him into Africa. Carthage refused to submit to a tribunal already decided against her, and Masinissa remained possessor of the disputed territory. But Cato had found with surprise and displeasure that Carthage was rich, populous, and flourishing. On his return home the malevolent old Roman dropped on the floor of the senate-house figs which he had brought hidden under his toga, the senators expressing surprise at the fineness of the fruit. "The land that bears them is but three days journey from Rome," said Cato. And from that time he, whenever he was called upon for his vote in the senate, though the subject in debate bore no relation to Carthage, he always said, "I vote that Carthage be destroyed, *delenda est Carthago*."

The Scipios advocated a more noble policy. It did not displease those who, after the battle of Zama, had not cared to demand the extradition of Hannibal, to suffer the greatest commercial city of the world to subsist as an ornament to the new empire.

Carthage might be useful, and she could no longer be dangerous, since all the countries whence she had been accustomed to draw her mercenaries were closed against her. It is said, further, that the Scipios feared for their country the intoxication of universal success, that they apprehended a failure in discipline and integrity amidst too great wealth and security, that they thought

<sup>1</sup> The senate sometimes manifested a certain consideration towards Carthage; in 187 Minucius Myrtilus and M. Manlius, accused of having struck the Carthaginian ambassadors, were given up by the heralds into the hands of these envoys and sent to Carthage. (Livy, xxxviii. 42.)

it well that Rome should always have a peril to fear, to keep them strong and united. This is more philosophic, but much less Roman. Cato obtained his object, and in spite of the docility of Carthage and her eagerness to vie with Masinissa in liberality towards Rome, her ruin was determined.<sup>1</sup>

This unhappy city was still torn by three factions—the partisans of Rome, those of Masinissa, and the patriotic party. The latter in 152 drove out the partisans of the king, who, alleging an attempt upon the life of his two sons, seized upon Oroscopa, an important town. This time the Carthaginians despatched 50,000 men against Masinissa. Scipio Æmilianus was at the moment in Africa; he followed the two armies, and from the top of a hill, as a disinterested spectator, saw 100,000 barbarians destroy each other. This sanguinary contest was better than a combat of gladiators; the Roman confessed that he had tasted a pleasure worthy of the gods.<sup>2</sup> Masinissa, now eighty-eight years of age, riding a fleet horse bare-back, once more fought as the bravest of soldiers. The Carthaginian army was destroyed (151).

## II.—THIRD PUNIC WAR (149—146).

The Romans promptly entered the lists, not to leave so rich a prey to the conqueror. It was, moreover, known at Rome that the Carthaginians had encouraged a revolt of the Lusitanians in Spain and the attempt of Andrius in Macedon. In vain did Carthage proscribe the author of the war and despatch embassies to Rome. "You must give satisfaction to the Roman people," was the answer of the Conscrip Fathers, and when the deputies begged to be told what satisfaction would be deemed sufficient, "You ought to know," was the only reply vouchsafed them (149).

Utica, seeing Carthage thus menaced, gave itself up to the

<sup>1</sup> [It was, of course, the commercial monopolists, and not old Cato and his figs, who destroyed Carthage. These horse-leeches of the world could not bear the modest rivalry of either Corinth or Carthage.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Lib.*, 69–75. In the *Epitome* of Livy it is said that the deputies of the senate found at Carthage a great quantity of materials collected for ship building, also that they escaped from the violence of the people only by speedy flight.

years later there were fresh encroachments. To these acts of violence Carthage opposed only complaints, which she sent to Rome. But the senate, sure of Masinissa's fidelity, left him in possession of the stolen territory. Encouraged by this favour, the king invaded in 174 the province of Tysca and took seventy towns. "If we cannot defend ourselves," the Carthaginian deputies said to the senate, "at least fix at once how much of our territory is to be taken from us." It was on the eve of the war against Perseus; the senate appeared to be indignant, promised justice and arbitration,<sup>1</sup> but suffered the affair to drag on until the victory of Pydna had rendered the iniquity safe, when they despatched Cato and some commissioners with him into Africa. Carthage refused to submit to a tribunal already decided against her, and Masinissa remained possessor of the disputed territory. But Cato had found with surprise and displeasure that Carthage was rich, populous, and flourishing. On his return home the malevolent old Roman dropped on the floor of the senate-house figs which he had brought hidden under his toga, the senators expressing surprise at the fineness of the fruit. "The land that bears them is but three days journey from Rome," said Cato. And from that time he, whenever he was called upon for his vote in the senate, though the subject in debate bore no relation to Carthage, he always said, "I vote that Carthage be destroyed, *delenda est Carthago*."

The Scipios advocated a more noble policy. It did not displease those who, after the battle of Zama, had not cared to demand the extradition of Hannibal, to suffer the greatest commercial city of the world to subsist as an ornament to the new empire.

Carthage might be useful, and she could no longer be dangerous, since all the countries whence she had been accustomed to draw her mercenaries were closed against her. It is said, further, that the Scipios feared for their country the intoxication of universal success, that they apprehended a failure in discipline and integrity amidst too great wealth and security, that they thought

<sup>1</sup> The senate sometimes manifested a certain consideration towards Carthage; in 187 Minucius Myrtilus and M. Manlius, accused of having struck the Carthaginian ambassadors, were given up by the heralds into the hands of these envoys and sent to Carthage. (Livy, xxxviii. 42.)

it well that Rome should always have a peril to fear, to keep them strong and united. This is more philosophic, but much less Roman. Cato obtained his object, and in spite of the docility of Carthage and her eagerness to vie with Masinissa in liberality towards Rome, her ruin was determined.<sup>1</sup>

This unhappy city was still torn by three factions—the partisans of Rome, those of Masinissa, and the patriotic party. The latter in 152 drove out the partisans of the king, who, alleging an attempt upon the life of his two sons, seized upon Oroscopa, an important town. This time the Carthaginians despatched 50,000 men against Masinissa. Scipio Æmilianus was at the moment in Africa; he followed the two armies, and from the top of a hill, as a disinterested spectator, saw 100,000 barbarians destroy each other. This sanguinary contest was better than a combat of gladiators; the Roman confessed that he had tasted a pleasure worthy of the gods.<sup>2</sup> Masinissa, now eighty-eight years of age, riding a fleet horse bare-back, once more fought as the bravest of soldiers. The Carthaginian army was destroyed (151).

## II.—THIRD PUNIC WAR (149—146).

The Romans promptly entered the lists, not to leave so rich a prey to the conqueror. It was, moreover, known at Rome that the Carthaginians had encouraged a revolt of the Lusitanians in Spain and the attempt of Andriscus in Macedon. In vain did Carthage proscribe the author of the war and despatch embassies to Rome. "You must give satisfaction to the Roman people," was the answer of the Conscrip Fathers, and when the deputies begged to be told what satisfaction would be deemed sufficient, "You ought to know," was the only reply vouchsafed them (149).

Utica, seeing Carthage thus menaced, gave itself up to the

<sup>1</sup> [It was, of course, the commercial monopolists, and not old Cato and his figs, who destroyed Carthage. These horse-leeches of the world could not bear the modest rivalry of either Corinth or Carthage.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Lib.*, 69–75. In the *Epitome* of Livy it is said that the deputies of the senate found at Carthage a great quantity of materials collected for ship building, also that they escaped from the violence of the people only by speedy flight.



Romans, thus furnishing them with a port and fortress but three leagues away from Carthage itself. The two consuls, Censorinus and Manilius, at once set out with a large fleet and 80,000 legionaries. Ambassadors from Carthage were again sent to Rome. "The Carthaginians," they said, "place themselves at the discretion of the Roman people." The promise was given them that their laws, their liberty, and their territory should be left intact, but they were required to send to Lilybæum 300 hostages. These hostages having been delivered up, the consuls declared that their final intentions would only be made known after they had arrived in Africa, and they crossed the sea with their formidable army, while Carthage, relying upon the promised peace, sent not a single war vessel to meet them. Upon arriving at Utica they required the Carthaginians to surrender their arms; more than 200,000 cuirasses, 3,000 catapults, and an infinity of javelins of every kind were delivered up.<sup>1</sup> "Now," said the consuls, "you will leave your city and go ten miles inland and establish yourselves there." It was an act of infamous perfidy, and the consuls added insult to injury. Censorinus extolled the advantages of an agricultural life, far from that deceitful sea, the sight of which would nourish regrets and dangerous hopes.<sup>1</sup>

The Carthaginians were still 700,000 strong, and indignation roused them. The patriotic party seized upon the authority once more; the partisans of Rome were massacred; the gates were closed; the temples were transformed into workshops, and night and day the armourers plied their trade; women cut off their long hair to make ropes; the slaves were enfranchised and enrolled, and Hasdrubal, one of the leaders of the popular party, took the field with 20,000 men, whom he had not allowed to be disarmed. When the consuls advanced to take possession of the city they found the walls manned with defenders, and were repulsed thrice. Their machines of war and part of their fleet were burned. Behind them the country was in insurrection, and Hasdrubal had collected in his camp at Nepheris as many as 70,000 men. Notwithstanding their 80,000 legionaries, the position was not without danger to the Roman generals.

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Lib.*, 74-81; Strabo, xvii. 833.

In the army served as legionary tribune a son of Paulus Æmilius, who had been adopted by the second son of Scipio Africanus, and had united the names of the two families, Scipio Æmilianus. He had already distinguished himself in Spain, where he had slain in single combat a warrior of gigantic size, and he had gained a mural crown by being the first man to scale the ramparts of a besieged city. On one occasion before Carthage an entire attacking column became involved and would have been massacred had he not brought reserves to its help. Another time, by a rapid advance upon the enemy's rear, he saved the camp of Manilius. Again the army owed to him its safety in an ill-directed expedition against Hasdrubal. Other services increased his credit with the troops and his reputation at Rome. He gained over a Carthaginian general who brought with him to the Roman camp 2,000 horse, and dispelled Masinissa's suspicions, who, at this time on his death-bed, entrusted Æmilianus with the division of the Numidian kingdom between the three sons of Masinissa, after which, returning to the camp, he brought with him Gulussa, one of the sons, with a considerable force (149).

Calpurnius Piso, who was in command during the year 148, was very negligent in respect to discipline, and met with repulses before Clypea and Hipponium; it was, in fact, another year wasted. Scipio was at Rome soliciting the ædileship; he received the consulate and the charge of the war (147). With him it at once assumed a new aspect. He restored to the soldiers their old habits of obedience and courage and industry. Carthage was situated upon an isthmus; he cut this by a canal and a wall twelve feet high. To starve out the inhabitants it was needful also to close their harbour; he threw across its entrance a dyke ninety feet wide at the base and twenty-four at the top. But the Carthaginians excavated through the solid rock a new channel to the open sea, and a fleet built with the *débris* of their houses all but surprised the Roman galleys. After a long day's struggle Scipio forced the enemy to return back into the harbour, and guarded the new entrance by machines of war that swept with missiles the whole breadth of the channel.

Leaving famine to make frightful ravages in the city, Scipio

proceeded during the winter to storm the camp at Nopheris and destroy the army, which was the sole hope of the Carthaginians. In the early spring (146) he resumed the siege with activity and carried the wall of the port Cothon. The Romans were now in Carthage, but to reach the citadel, Byrsa, in the heart of the town, long, narrow streets were to be traversed, from whose houses the inhabitants offered the most desperate resistance. For six days and nights the Roman army fought its way towards the citadel, and upon its surrender 50,000 men gave themselves up, receiving the promise of their lives. Eleven hundred deserters still held out, having taken refuge with Hasdrubal in the temple of Æsculapius. Up to this time Hasdrubal, whatever Polybius may say, had conducted the defence with skill and gallantry. A moment of weakness disgraced him; he begged for his life of Scipio, and the latter called to the deserters to witness the humiliation of their leader. His wife had not consented to follow him. She ascended the top of the temple and called aloud to Scipio, "Do not fail," she cried, "to punish this wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife and his children! O vilest of men! go, adorn the triumph of the victor, and receive in Rome the reward of your baseness!" Then slaying her two children, she threw herself down into the blazing pile which the deserters had set on fire.

Scipio, after reserving for the public treasury the gold, silver, and gifts deposited in the temples, gave over the smoking ruins to pillage. For himself he took nothing, but he gave an invitation to the Sicilians to carry home the trophies which Carthage had brought from Syracuse and Agrigentum. Then came the senate's work. Roman commissioners converted the territory of Carthage into a province. They overthrew whatever remained standing in the city, and under the most terrible imprecations devoted to eternal solitude the place where Carthage had stood. From the summit of a hill Scipio saw the work of desolation accomplished. In presence of this ruined empire, this great city, where soon not one stone would remain upon another, he was much affected, and instead of the intoxication of victory, a profound melancholy seized him. He thought on the future of Rome, and Polybius overheard him sadly repeating, "The day will come when sacred

Troy shall fall, and Priam, and the people of the warlike Priam."

Would it have been better if Rome, content with the possession of Italy, had lived in peace with her great African rival, and the two nations on either side of the channel of Malta had



Territory of Carthage. (See vol. i. p. 437.)

followed each her own special destiny without collision, Carthage developing commerce, that great factor of civilization, Rome limiting her ambition to the giving of peace to Italy and to the carrying forward into the West the light she herself had borrowed

Ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλόγη Ἴλιος ἱρή  
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

They are Hector's words in the *Iliad*, cited by Polybius (xxxix. 3).

Scipio had no reason for his anxiety. Rome was stronger and better than Carthage. Empires  
VOL. II. L

from Greece? To put the question thus is to answer it. But when was ever wisdom like this shown in human affairs?

Hostile nations contend for dominion, rival cities for existence. Between the latter every war is a war of extermination, every means towards success seems to be legitimate. In this way had disappeared before the power of Rome the cities of Alba Longa, Veii, Volsinii, Capua, Syracuse; in this way Carthage fell. But the Romans put so much duplicity into the work of destruction that history can no longer speak of Punic faith; it is Roman faith she must stigmatize.

At the same time, if the opinion of the men of those times, and the historic circumstances were such that one of the two cities must perish, we ought not to regret that Rome was victorious.

What progress does humanity owe to Carthage? In our time, when commerce is held, and justly, in great honour, men have sought to revise, in the name of political economy, the decision of the ages. Their devotion to material interests, turning backward into the past, calls upon us to deplore the destruction of that power which might, they say, have united the world in the peaceful bonds of trade, as Rome bound it together by the bloody ties of victory. But there are fruitful wars as there may be a destructive peace, and nations, like individuals, live in posterity, not by what they do for themselves, but by what they bequeath to the generations that come after. Of what consequence are the commercial houses of Carthage in comparison with the Greek colonies that we know by the names of Miletus, Ephesus, Phocæa, Rhodes, Byzantium, Alexandria, Cyrene, and Marseilles? Of what consequence, in comparison with those great Sicilian and Italian cities, which knew how to find wealth as well as ever Carthage did, but were also glowing centres of art and of

created by commerce alone rest upon a frail foundation. For their destruction a violent shock is not always necessary. Some are crushed under the weight of their own wealth, others fall by an indirect blow. The Parthians in closing the overland route to Oriental commerce, and the Ptolemies, in opening to it Egypt and the Red Sea, ruined Phœnicia; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco di Gama struck a death-blow at Venice; the Hanseatic league fell because the importance of northern commerce was destroyed as soon as direct relations by sea were established with the East. Last of all Holland, Portugal and Spain, enriched by commerce with the East and with America, have been supplanted by England by reason of the extension of her relations in the East and West Indies. A day may come when the New World, placed midway between Europe and the East, will inherit the commercial prosperity of England.

thought? Even upon that African soil which she held so long, what did she leave behind her? Her language, which 600 years later the contemporaries of St. Augustine spoke, but not a monument, not a book.<sup>1</sup> Her institutions remain a problem, of which Aristotle and Polybius give different accounts; her arts have produced only shapeless figures, worthy of the South Sea islanders, a new proof of the iconoclastic temper of the Semitic



Phœnician Car.<sup>2</sup>

racés, and to the sum of ideas already existing in the world she added nothing. If there had been left to us of Rome nothing save the inscriptions upon her tombs, we should have been able from them to reconstruct her civil and military organization, her philosophy and her religion, while the funeral columns of Carthage reveal only a sterile devotion. The heritage left to the world by Carthage is this: the memory of a brilliant commercial success,

<sup>1</sup> [Even this is not certain. The Berber dialects survived both the Phœnician and Roman occupation, and it was not till the third occupation by the Arabs that the original language may be said to have disappeared. Cf. Sismondi, *Lett. du Midi de l'Europe*, vol. i. — *Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Les Figurines antiques de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. v. The rude forms in this figurine confirm what has been said and shown (vol. i. p. 454-7) of the barbarism of Punic art.



of a cruel religion, of some bold explorations, a few fragments of voyages,<sup>1</sup> a few agricultural precepts, of which the Latins had no need: and lastly, the honour of having for a century retarded the destinies of Rome, with the generous example, at their last hour, of an entire people refusing to survive their country.

Greece and Rome have bequeathed us something very different. Let no one say that the Romans destroyed everything. Mummius and Sylla were not less terrible in Greece than Scipio in Africa, and yet Greek civilization did not remain buried under the ruins of Corinth and of Athens. Genius is like the sacred fire in the temple; it survives, even under ruins.

<sup>1</sup> Sallust (*Jug.*, 20) speaks, however, of some Carthaginian historians, but what he has borrowed from them is strange enough. The senate, instead of destroying the books found at Carthage, had one of them translated, the work of Mago on agriculture, and gave the rest to the African princes, recognizing no doubt that no advantage could be derived from them. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 22.) We have a Greek version of the voyage of Hanno and a Latin version of some fragments of the voyage of Himilco.

<sup>2</sup> Half a horse, running, and crowned by a Victory; a grain of barley and seven Punic letters, read by M. de Sauley, Karth-Khadishah, *the new city*, the Phœnician name of Carthage. On the reverse, a palm tree and four Punic letters, Maknat, *the camp*. Silver coin, minted in Sicily for Carthage.



Carthaginian Coin from Sicily.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### SUBMISSION OF SPAIN AND OF PERGAMEAN ASIA.

#### I.—SUBMISSION OF SPAIN (178—133).

CARTHAGE, Macedon, and Corinth had yielded; Spain still held out. She had no great cities where she might be subdued, nor, among the inhabitants of Central and West Spain, was there great movable wealth, which, by inciting the greed of the peasantry of Latium, would render enlistments numerous; and, especially, she lay far distant from Rome. From Lilybæum to Carthage, from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, the voyage was short and safe, and by way of Thrace and the Cyclades, Asia might readily be reached. It was not so easy to get to Spain. Instead of crossing direct from Ostia to Carthage, across the Tyrrhenian Sea, the legions marched slowly up the Etruscan coast, as far as the superb Gulf of Spezia, *Lunæ Portus*,<sup>1</sup> where the Romans had established a maritime arsenal, which has become the Toulon of the modern Italians.<sup>2</sup> Embarking here, they sailed with precaution along the Ligurian coast, sheltering their vessels behind the rocks at the least suspicion of a storm, and guarding themselves against the ambuscades of the mountaineers every time that they were obliged to land. From the Var to the Rhone they could advance more

<sup>1</sup> The gulf extends into the land for a distance of more than seven miles, and a little city which Ptolemy called the port of Venus (*Porto Venere*), still exists at its entrance.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, who also calls it Σελήνης λιμήν, regards it as the first port in the world. Livy (xxxiv. 8, and xxxix. 21, 32) represents it as the rendezvous of the Roman fleets; Ennius had celebrated it

*Lunai portum, est operæ, cognoscite, cives!*

And Persius, who lived there, admires it:

*Qua latus ingens  
Dant scopuli et multa litus se valle receptat.  
Sat., vi. 7-8.*

rapidly, past the friendly trading-ports of the Massiliotes, but from the Rhone to the Pyrenees extreme precaution was necessary in crossing that sea, which is so justly called the Lion's Gulf. The debarkation took place at Emporiæ, or more frequently at Tarragona; thence the cohorts made their way to the positions occupied by the troops whom they came to relieve, often at the very extremity of Spain. These circumstances explain why Rome had need of three quarters of a century to put an end to the insurrections of the Spaniards, while in a few campaigns she had been able elsewhere to destroy famous kingdoms.



Drachme of Emporiæ.<sup>1</sup>

From the time of the pacification of Spain by Sempronius Gracchus in 178, until the year 153, the tranquillity of the two provinces was disturbed only by an outbreak among the Celtiberians. In 170, one of those religious and patriotic fanatics, of whom Spain has produced so many, went through the villages of Celtiberia exhibiting a silver spear, which he asserted he had received from heaven, and from which, he said, the affrighted legions of Rome would flee in terror. One night this man attempted to enter the consul's tent, and was slain by guards,



Coin of Tarragona.<sup>2</sup>

upon which the revolt ended. This disturbance shows that the Roman rule was not yet accepted in Spain. The country, in fact, contained too many mines of gold and silver not to excite the cupidity of the prætors, and these officers were too rapacious to recoil from any form of extortion. While the war with Perseus was yet undecided, the senate was forced to assume an air of equity, and to interpose its authority. But the new nobility were seldom mindful of the austere virtues of the earlier days; the prætors still sought to repair in Spain their fortunes wasted in

<sup>1</sup> This head of Pegasus—a little human head, stooped and with wings, which the Duc de Luynes had noted long ago, has been interpreted by Cavedone (*Bull. arch. de Rome*, 1841), as Chrysaor, brother of Pegasus, born of the blood of Medusa, the twin of Pegasus.

<sup>2</sup> AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE, C(ivitas) V(ictrix) T(ogata) T(arraco). Temple with eight columns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Tarragona.

debauchery or in the scandalous outlays which preceded the elections.

In 153, an emissary of Carthage found the Lusitanians ripe for revolt. A prætor and 9,000 soldiers were killed, and to decide the defection of the mountaineers of the centre of the peninsula, the successful insurgents sent to them the military ensigns taken in the Roman camp. One of these Celtiberian tribes, reserved to a glorious destiny, the Arevaci of Numantia, took arms and thrice defeated the troops sent against the city. Galba, defeated by the Lusitanians, feigned a willingness to negotiate, dispersed them by the offer of fertile lands, then massacred 30,000 and gorged himself with booty.

This act of treachery appeared for the time successful, and in Celtiberia, the consul Lucullus disgraced the Roman name by a similar expedient. He had had difficulty in finding soldiers. Since rather unproductive pillage could only be attained through a murderous war, no one presented himself for enrolment. It became necessary for Scipio Æmilianus to shame the Roman youth by offering himself to take the field. Lucullus made a causeless attack upon the Vaccaei, who were on friendly terms with Rome, and besieged Cauca, one of their cities where a multitude of men had taken shelter. The inhabitants negotiated and opened their gates, upon which Lucullus destroyed 20,000 and sold the rest. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Interætia surrendered only upon the personal guarantee of Scipio (150).

From the massacre of the Lusitanians one man only had escaped, Viriathus, originally a shepherd, to whom all the mountain paths were familiar, the first, we may say, of those heroic leaders whom in all ages Spain has found ready to serve her. Ten thousand of his countrymen having imprudently placed themselves in a position where they could not fight and whence they could not fly, Viriathus led them out by paths apparently impracticable. His people would accept no other leader (147), and for five years he carried on with the Romans a war of ambushes and surprises, in which they lost their best troops. Viriathus well understood, however, that the Lusitanians alone could neither save Spain nor even maintain their own independence, and he incited the Celtiberians to revolt. This union with the tribes

who held the centre of the peninsula, rendered the war serious. The senate despatched against the Celtiberians one of their best generals, Metellus Macedonicus, who fought with them for two years (143-142), and took nearly all their towns. This powerful diversion served the designs of Viriathus by leaving the other Roman army, which was commanded by the consul Servilianus, exposed alone to his attacks.<sup>1</sup> Shut up in a defile, the army avoided complete destruction only by capitulating upon the terms that there should be peace in future between the Roman people and Viriathus, and that each party should retain that which he then possessed. The comitia ratified this treaty, which would have caused earlier Romans to die of shame (141).

A new general, Cæpio, obtained the authorization of the senate to violate this treaty. He surprised Viriathus, who was relying without suspicion upon the promised faith of the Romans, drove him back into the mountains, and caused him to be assassinated by two Lusitanians who had been won over to the Roman cause (140). For eight years Viriathus had checked the Romans in Spain. His death discouraged his army and his people.

Cæpio had not even to fight that he might cover with a little military glory the perfidy he had committed. The Lusitanians submitted; he transported them into the midst of tribes already disciplined to the yoke of Rome on the shore of the Mediterranean, where Brutus, his successor (138-137), caused them to build the city of Valencia. This latter general had still some partial resistances to overcome. Numerous bands scoured the country, and these he starved out by destroying the harvest, and penetrated into the territory of the Galkæci as far as the sea-coast, where his legions beheld the sun sinking into that mysterious western ocean, forever heaving, as they then believed, by the mighty respiration of the Earth.<sup>2</sup>

Brutus believed that the power of Rome had now reached

<sup>1</sup> This consul, passing by adoption into the Fabian *gens*, had, according to usage, taken the names of his adoptive family, Q. Fabius Maximus, and kept from his own the *gens Servilia*, the *agnomen* Servilianus. In this way the second son of Paulus Æmilius, after his adoption by the son of Scipio Africanus, took the name, P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Minor.

<sup>2</sup> Pomp. Mela, iii. 1. The phenomenon of the Atlantic tides was astonishing to the dwellers by the Mediterranean. It is true, however, that the ancients had before this time remarked the influence of the moon upon the ebb and flow. [There is a slight tide in the Euripus, and also at Venice.—*Ed.*]

the very extremity of the world. Behind him, nevertheless, the strife stirred up by the Lusitanian hero still lasted. Metellus had left unsubdued in Celtiberia only two cities, Thermantia and Numantia.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish war, terminated in the south by the death of Viriathus, and in the west by the expedition of Brutus, was now centred in the north in the mountains which, detaching themselves from the Pyrenees at the head waters of the Ebro, enclose the basin of that river, and from their south-western slopes send down the waters of the Tagus and the Douro. The inaccessible character of these regions, the indomitable courage of the mountaineers defending their liberty in its last asylum, above all, the incapacity of the Roman generals gave to this last effort of Spanish independence the aspect of a dangerous war. In 141, Pompeius made with the Numantians a treaty which he dared not avow in the senate, and his successor, Popillius Lænas, approached the city only to undergo a defeat (138). The following year, the consul Mancinus repeated the disgrace of Servilianus; shut up in an impassable gorge by the Numantians, he abandoned to them his camp and baggage, and gave his word to cease hostilities. So great was now the distrust of Roman promises, that the Numantians required the oaths of the officers of Mancinus and of his quæstor, Tiberius Gracchus, son of that Gracchus whose name was so long venerated by the people of Spain (138). The senate refused to consider itself bound by this treaty, and selecting from antiquity such precedents as suited the manners of the day, renewed the comedy which had followed the incident of the Caudine Forks; Mancinus, naked and bound, was delivered over to the Numantians, who refused to receive him.<sup>2</sup> The people would not allow Gracchus to share the consul's fate.

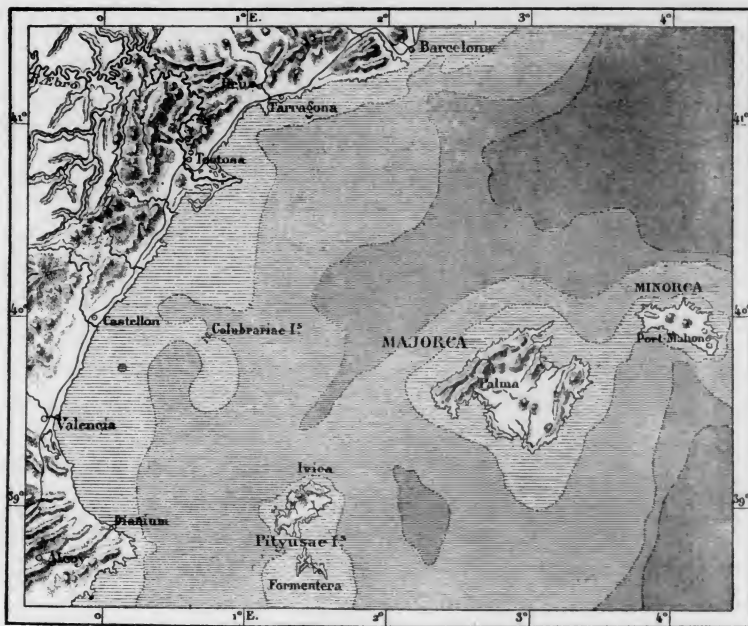
New leaders and a new army failed to wipe out this disgrace. To destroy the little Spanish town, no less a general was needed than he who had overthrown Carthage. Scipio began by banishing

<sup>1</sup> It is believed that the ruins of Numantia still exist at Puente de Don Guarray, a league from Soria, upon an eminence more than a league in circumference, and accessible only from one side.

<sup>2</sup> He returned to take his seat in the senate, but was refused place by the tribune P. Rutilius, who maintained that Mancinus, delivered to the enemy as a captive, had thus lost the *jus civitatis*. His friends appealed to the *jus postliminii* or right of secret return, in his favour; but a special law was needful before he could be reinstated. [Cicero discusses this case, *de Orat.*, i. 40.—*Ed.*]



idleness and effeminacy from the camp. He drove away 2,000 idle women, fortune-tellers, and charlatans, who had transformed it into a licentious village fair. He set the troops to labour digging ditches and building walls, and then to undo the work. "Let them be covered with mud," he said, "since they



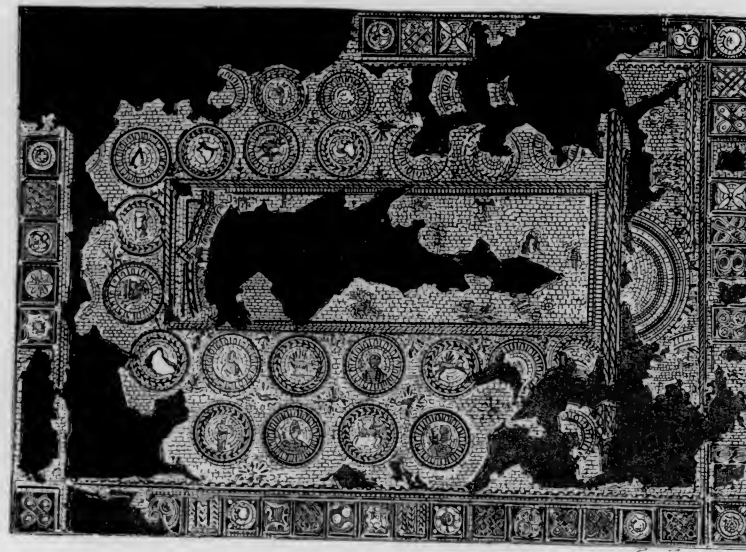
The Balearic Islands.

will not cover themselves with blood." Avoiding any general engagement, he attacked, one after another, the allies of the Numantians, by degrees drove back the latter into their city, and presently built a solid wall flanked with towers to shut them in. The Douro washed the base of the hill on which Numantia stood, and divers brought food to the besieged; Scipio threw into the river bed beams of wood with iron teeth and stretched nets across it. A Numantian leader, however, succeeded

Coin of the Balears.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cabeirus. Reverse, a bull. Silver coin of the Balears.

in passing through the Roman lines, and went to solicit aid from the people of Lucia. Scipio hastened to this city, required that 400 of the principal citizens should be given up to him, and ordered their hands to be cut off; at Carthage

Mosaic from Italica.<sup>1</sup>

he had thrown to the lions all the deserters whom he had taken.<sup>2</sup> The Numantians hard pressed by famine, sought a battle, in which they might at least die gloriously, but Scipio would not come out from his impregnable entrenchments, and they were reduced to die by their own hands (133). But fifty Numantians were alive to follow his triumphal chariot at Rome.

Coin of Italica.<sup>3</sup>

Exhausted with conflicts, Spain at last became tranquil. But the mountaineers of the north, the Astures, the Cantabrii, and the Vascones were not subdued. The Celtiberians and the Vaccaei

<sup>1</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max., ii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> GEN. POP. ROM. The genius of the Roman people; before him, a globe. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Italica.

again revolted in the time of the second Servile war and the invasion of the Cimbri. The pacification of Spain was not to be completed until the reign of Augustus.<sup>1</sup>

The Balearic Islands were a nest of pirates. Metellus took



Bay of Gibraltar.

possession of them, after almost exterminating the inhabitants (123).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Our principal authority upon these wars is still Appian. See also Florus and Vell. Paternulus.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, 60. Metellus founded Palma and Pollentia in these islands, and peopled them with colonists from Spain. (Strabo. iii. 5.)

These victories and these massacres do not explain how Spain came to be so completely Roman, in language,<sup>1</sup> in customs and institutions. Few colonies were sent thither. Only the military establishment of Italica dates<sup>2</sup> from this period, a colony founded by Scipio's veterans, and later very flourishing, as we know by the fact that Trajan, Hadrian and Theodosius came from it; there was another founded in 171 at Carteia. The senate as yet had not become willing to exile its citizens or even its allies to any point outside of Italy. But that which was not done with intention came about by the force of circumstances. If we seek to count the contingents arriving from Rome in the Spanish peninsula, we find that in a period of twenty-seven years only, from 196 to 169, more than 140,000 Italians crossed the Pyrenees; nor is the list complete.<sup>3</sup> We cannot doubt that many of these soldiers remained in Spain and married women of the country. The colony of Carteia, at the head of the bay of Gibraltar,<sup>4</sup> is a proof of this, for it was formed of families of mixed race. Hence they enjoyed only the *jus Latii*,<sup>5</sup> the senate might refuse to offer to the poor of Rome lands in a distant country, but her generals were certainly not slow in following the example of the first Scipio, and frequently granted estates to their veterans; so that, when the conquest by violence had been completed, a moral conquest by individual colonization at once began. These imperceptible but continuous infiltrations of Italian blood quickly Latinized the

<sup>1</sup> [In enumerating the causes of the Latinization of Spain, we must add, as perhaps the most important, that the old Celtic languages of both Gaul and Iberia were closely allied to Latin, so much so that ancient Gaul certainly, and an ancient Iberian probably, could learn it without difficulty. On the contrary, the most educated Greeks learned Latin with great difficulty.—*Ed.*]

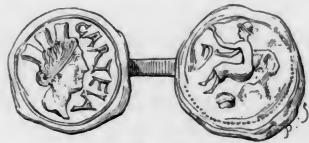
<sup>2</sup> Italica received the name of old Seville (Sevilla la Vieja); it is six miles distant from modern Seville, whither its inhabitants emigrated in consequence of a change in the bed of the river. The ruins have almost completely disappeared; the mosaic, represented above, was discovered in 1799; it has since been destroyed, but was copied by M. Delaborde in his *Voyage en Espagne*.

<sup>3</sup> These figures do not contradict the statement given on page 151. The enrolments were numerous at first, while Bætica yet had the wealth accumulated there by Carthage and the Phoenicians in centuries of commerce. Later they became few and reluctant when there were only poor and warlike tribes to fight with.

<sup>4</sup> In the place called El Rocadillo, where the remains of an amphitheatre are yet visible.

<sup>5</sup> The son of a Roman father and foreign mother, *peregrina*, followed the condition of the mother, unless she belonged to a nation which had the *jus connubii* with Rome. On this account there was a *diminutio capitis* for the Roman colonists of Carteia, and the new city was not a Roman, but a Latin colony. See vol. i., p. 393, and n. 6.

Transalpine provinces.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, beyond the Adriatic, where the wars were short, and where the legions never sojourned, the Greek language was never displaced. Also we shall observe that in the west the civilizing element was the Roman spirit, while in the east it was Hellenism. Each absorbed into itself the inferior elements upon which it acted; Hellenism had long done this in Asia; Rome now begins to do it in Spain, and presently in Gaul. The West is on its way to become Latin, the East will remain Greek.<sup>3</sup>

Coin of Carteia.<sup>2</sup>

#### II.—REDUCTION OF PERGAMEAN ASIA INTO A PROVINCE (133—129).

From Spain we turn again to Asia that we may follow the destructive work which the senate was doing all round the Mediterranean, of which it intended to make a Roman lake.

From 188 to 133, not a Roman soldier appeared in Asia, but the commissioners of the senate were always there, keeping

Demetrius I., Soter.<sup>4</sup>

watch upon the words and acts of the Asiatic princes; intervening with authority in all affairs, with the design of degrading the native rulers in the eyes of their subjects; exacting rich gifts<sup>5</sup> in order to keep them always burdened; taking

Ariarathus V.<sup>6</sup>

their sons as hostages,<sup>7</sup> to send them back like Demetrius [of

<sup>1</sup> Later, Julius Caesar and Augustus sent many colonies thither.

<sup>2</sup> CARTEIA. Turreted head of the city. On the reverse, a fisherman on a height; beside him a basket. Bronze coin of Carteia.

<sup>3</sup> Later we shall see Rome and the western provinces also undergo the influence of Hellenism, but under the form of philosophy and religion.

<sup>4</sup> Gold coin of 2½ staters (21.5 gr.).

<sup>5</sup> Antiochus gave at one time 500 pounds of gold, at another fifty talents. Livy, xxxvi. 4; xlii. 6.) Prusias offered a golden crown of 150 talents, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Head of Ariarathus V., from a tetradrachm.

<sup>7</sup> And with the king's sons, the sons also of the chief men in the kingdom. Antiochus gave twenty of these hostages, with the condition of changing them every three years.

Macedon] gained over to the interests of Rome; above all forbidding them war, that the noise of arms might not awaken these people from their lethargy.

An impostor had risen up against Ariarathus V., and the Romans gave him possession of half of Cappadocia (147);<sup>1</sup> Prusias of Bithynia had conquered the king of Pergamus and pillaged his capital; they condemned him to pay a fine of

Coin of Methymna.<sup>2</sup>

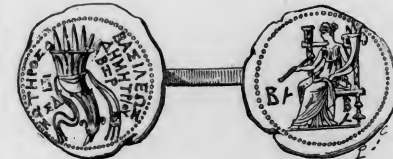
600 talents, 500 for Attalus II., and the remainder for Methymna and three other cities whose territory he had ravaged (155).<sup>3</sup> Upon



Antiochus V., Eupator.

the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the legitimate heir of the throne of the Seleucidæ, Demetrius Soter, was at Rome. The senate caused a child, Antiochus Eupator, to be proclaimed, and despatched Octavius into Syria with orders to burn the Syrian fleet, to kill their

elephants, and disband their army.<sup>4</sup> But Demetrius, aided by Polybius, who equipped a Carthaginian vessel for the purpose, made his escape; the senate hastened to form an

Coin of Demetrius I., Soter.<sup>5</sup>

alliance with the Jews, at this time in revolt against the Seleucidæ, under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus, and recognized their independence (158). In Egypt, being called in as arbiter between Physeon and Philometor, they dismembered the kingdom, concealing the perfidy of the act under the show of impartiality, the heritage of the Ptolemies being thus divided into three separate States, Egypt, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Syr.*, 47.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Pallas, very ancient, in a hollow square. On the reverse, MEGYMNAI . . . in early Greek, and a wild boar. Silver coin of Methymna of very early date.

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxxiii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Aureus*, from the *Cabinet de France*, a unique specimen. Both obverse and reverse bear the horn of plenty; the letters BΞP, under the name of Demetrius, mark its date, the 162nd year of the Seleucidæ, that is, 150 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 26. [Cf. also I. Maccabees on the treaty of Rome with Judas.—*Ed.*]



Ptolemy VI. (Philometor).<sup>1</sup>

The kings of Pergamus had rendered too many services in the wars against Philip, Antiochus and Perseus, for the senate to be able to show themselves openly hostile. But, among States, gratitude has very little permanence, and the Romans soon perceived that it was for their interest that the Attalids should not become the chiefs of a great Asiatic monarchy. Manlius contented himself, therefore, with humbling the pride of the Galatians, without taking away their liberty, that he might leave

Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

them to be forever adversaries to the Pergameans, and stumbling-blocks in the ambitious path of the latter. In the same intention the senate never interposed effectively to hinder the disputes of Eumenes and Attalus with the Bithynians. It continued to be the policy of Rome to suffer these petty kings to exhaust their strength in vain quarrels, which her commissioners were sent to

<sup>1</sup> From a unique coin in the *Cabinet de France* (14.1 gr.).

<sup>2</sup> From the village of Cata Dicono at the base of the Cerina hills. Albert Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, fig. 72, pl. 28 (extract from *Mémoires de la Société de géologie de France*, 2nd series, vol. iii.).

arrest only when they seemed likely to end too favourably for one side or the other.<sup>1</sup>

Of the two kings following Eumenes, who died in 159, the second, Attalus III., seems to have been a monster of cruelty. By turns sculptor, worker in metal, and physician, he murdered those who did not applaud his erratic acts, and he tried upon his relatives and friends, and upon his guards, the noxious plants which he cultivated with his own hands. Upon his death, in 133, the senate declared that in his will he had made the Roman people his legatee, and the inheritance was no less than the kingdom of Pergamus. A natural son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, raised an insurrection among the people, defeated the consul Licinius Crassus, and would have made him prisoner, but the latter, not willing to be taken alive, struck one of the barbarian soldiers

Vase from the Cyrenaica.<sup>2</sup>

in the face and was instantly slain in retaliation for the injury. The consul Perperna easily made amends for this defeat (130), and Aristonicus, being sent to Rome, was put to death;

<sup>1</sup> In 1859 there were discovered a number of letters [on marble] from Eumenes and Attalus II., who died in 138, to the high priest of Pessinus, in which it is plainly manifest, notwithstanding much reticence, how miserable was the condition of these times. [Cf. Munich, *Sitz. Ver.* 1860.]

<sup>2</sup> Black vase from the Cyrenaica. It is fluted and bears four similar medallions in relief, representing a winged genius holding a cornucopia. The two handles are twisted like rope; around the neck of the vase are wreathed sprays of ivy; where the handles are set on are masks of Medusa in relief. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3333 of the catalogue.

peace being established, the kingdom of Pergamus was made into a province under the name of Asia (129).

The king of Cappadocia, Ariarathus V., who had aided the Romans in this war, perished in it, and the senate rewarded his fidelity by restoring to his family the territory of Lycaonia and Cilicia. The gift was not one of which Rome was likely to repent. Ariarathus had six children; his widow murdered five of them, sparing the youngest that she might reign in his name.<sup>1</sup> But the people revolted, and she in turn perished. A kingdom like this was not a dangerous neighbour for the new province.

Thus, in the space of a few years, Rome had subjected to her sway the greater part of the countries lying upon the Mediterranean, at an expense of much less heroism than duplicity. Since the great struggle of the second Punic war, there had been no serious danger for her, and she could have afforded to be generous. Such moderation, however, is not in human nature. A certain current of events sets in, and all give way before it, even those who recognize its peril. If, upon the conquest of Hannibal, the Romans had shut themselves up in Italy, with a resolution never to overpass its boundaries, they would have been a people of sages such as history cannot parallel.

<sup>1</sup> ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΡΕΝ. ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ (Alexander the *Asiarch* has consecrated . . .), perhaps the city, perhaps a temple, or the statue represented upon the coin, which M. Cohen takes to be Cadmus stepping into a ship. Reverse of a bronze coin minted at Otrus in Phrygia.



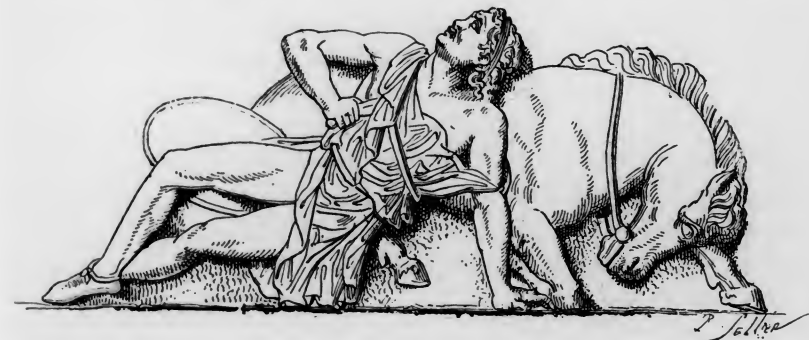
Phrygian coin.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN PROVINCES.

#### I.—EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC ABOUT 130 B.C.

**A** HUNDRED and thirty years before Christ the Roman republic had ended its great wars, and founded its empire. There remained to conquer only Jugurtha, Mithridates, and the Gauls.



Wounded Gaul Killing Himself.<sup>1</sup>

Rome already held the three great peninsulas of southern Europe, Spain, Italy, and Greece. Between Italy and Greece she had opened a way for herself around the Adriatic by the subjugation of the Istrians and the Iapodes in 129, of the Dalmatians in 154, of the Illyrians before the second Punic war; it was a road as yet somewhat insecure, not to become safe until under the empire, after fresh blows had been struck at these rude and barbarous populations. A prætor had even gone as far as the Danube in search of those Gallic nations that Philip and Perseus had hoped

<sup>1</sup> From the sarcophagus given on p. 127.

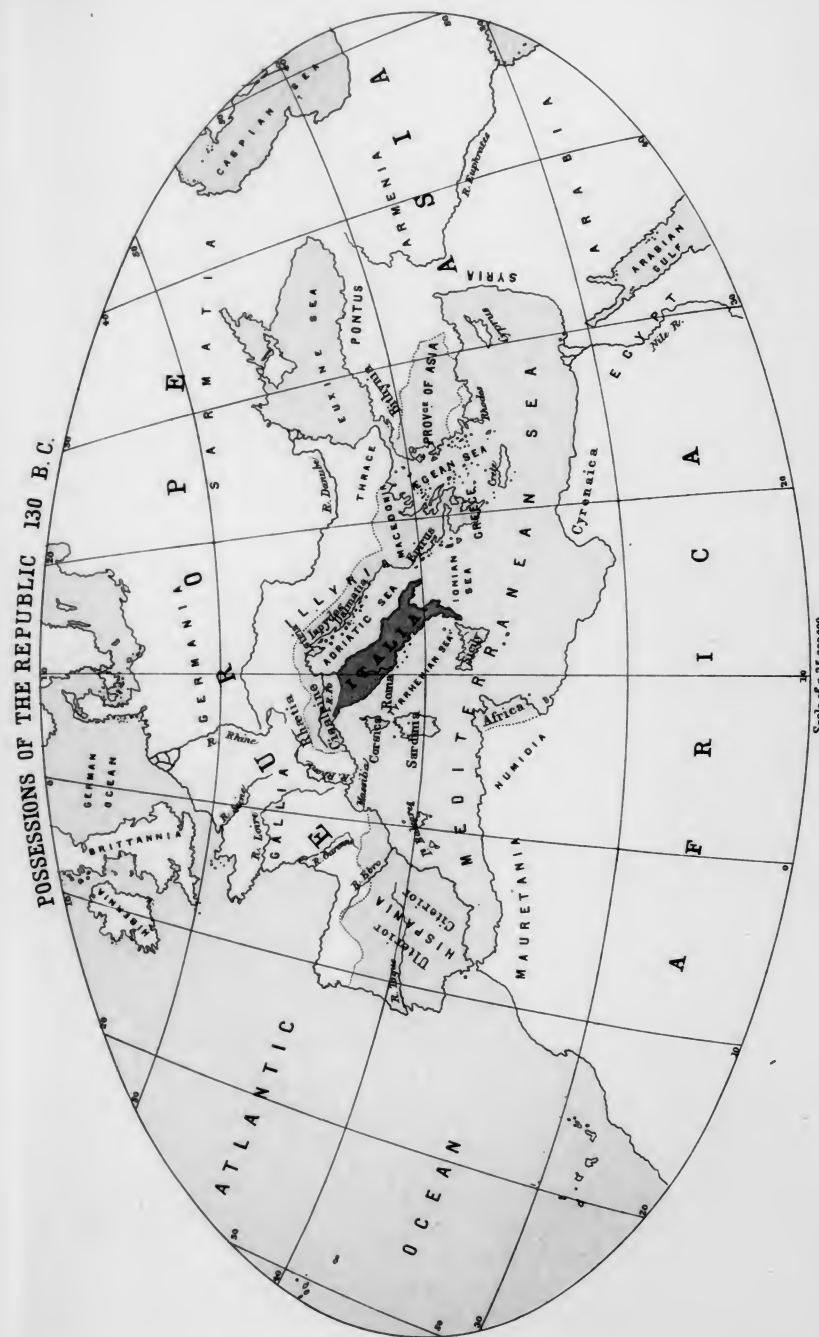
to set upon Italy.<sup>1</sup> Between Italy and Spain there was no route by land, but on that side Rome had long ago formed useful alliances, and a few years later she established a province there. Meanwhile, Marseilles furnished ships and a harbour, pilots from the Var to the Ebro, and put at Rome's service her influence over the neighbouring barbarians. Massiliote spies had warned Rome when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, had kept watch on his march through Gaul, had guided Scipio's horsemen in their reconnoitering. In return, the senate had sent its legions across the Alps as early as 154 to defend these useful allies against the Oxybii and Deciates, who threatened their trading houses at Nice, Antibes, and Monaco.<sup>2</sup> Rome was under a necessity of securing, at all costs, her communication with Spain.

The independence left to some few mountainous districts in the north of Spain, of the Cisalpine, and of Illyria, does not prevent us from regarding the three European peninsulas as subject to the authority of Rome. In Asia Minor their sway extended as far as the Taurus, but ascertaining by means of Manlius' expedition how feeble the Galatians, formerly so dreaded, now were, Rome had not yet required of them the abandonment of a liberty which, on this far-off frontier, was rather a help than a hindrance to the Republic. Gavium, the great city of Ancyra, even Pessinus, which since Cybele came thence to the banks of the Tiber, was considered by the Romans a sacred city, were still left in the hands of Gallic tetrarchs. In Africa, Rome had retained the Carthaginian territory, which the Numidians, divided since the death of Masinissa among several kings, could now no longer molest. Egypt was under her guardianship, the Jews were in alliance with her, and the petty kings still remaining in Asia Minor were altogether at her discretion. Rhodes and the Greek cities of the Asiatic sea-coast rendered her divine honours;<sup>3</sup> finally, before six years, Transalpine Gaul would be invaded. The rule of Rome, or her influence, extended from the ocean to the shores of the Euphrates,

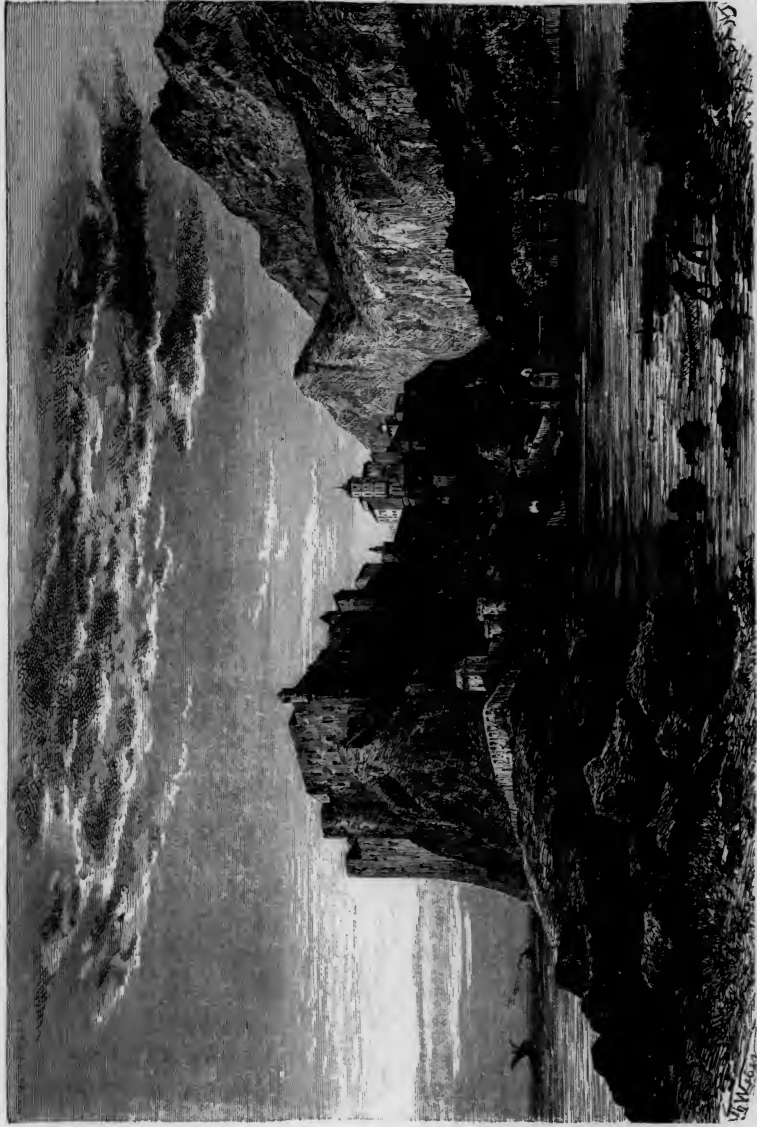
<sup>1</sup> Expedition of Asconius against the Scordisci (135).

<sup>2</sup> See Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. p. 164.

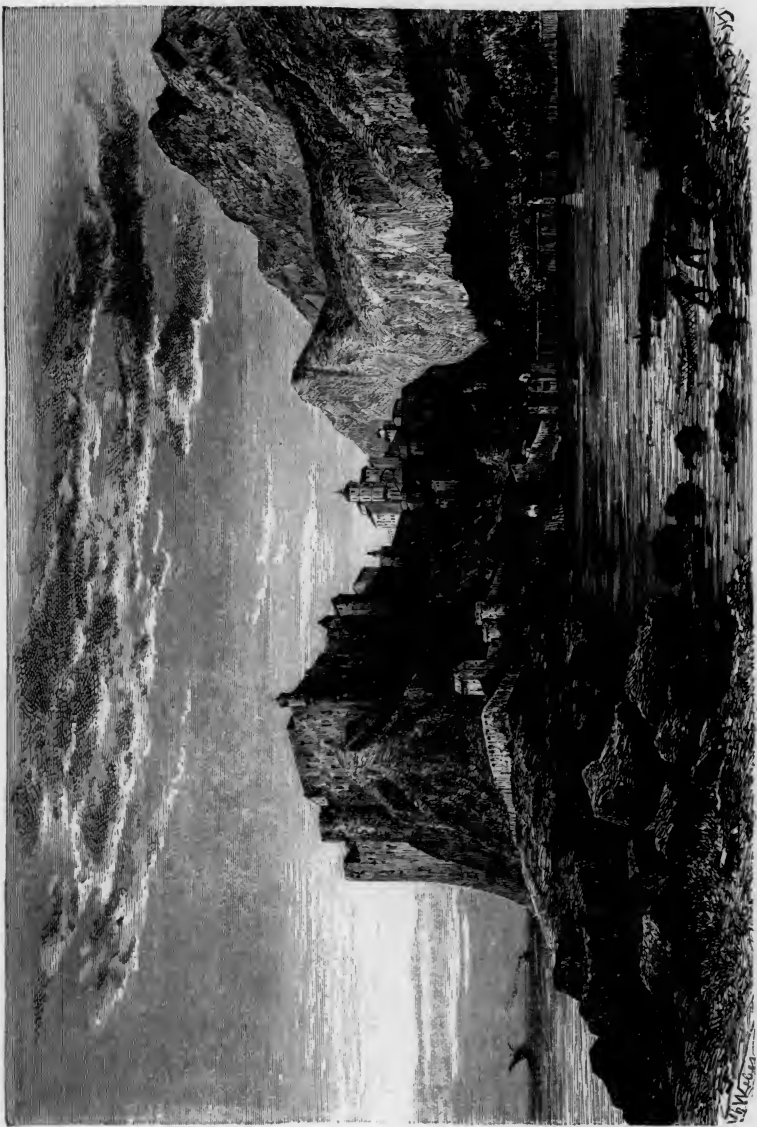
<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 14. The Rhodians in 163 placed in the temple of Athene in honour of the Roman people a colossus thirty cubits high. As early as the year 170, *Alabandenses templum urbis Romæ se fecisse commemoraverunt ludosque anniversarios ei divæ instituisse*. (Liv., xliii. 6.) Smyrna had done the same twenty-five years earlier. (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 56.)







Monaco.



Monaco.

and from the Alps to the Atlas. But a few efforts more were needed to complete the *majestic work of Roman supremacy*.

It is now the proper place to examine the organization which the senate bestowed upon the transalpine or transmarine provinces, as after the Samnite wars<sup>1</sup> we considered the arrangements made in respect to conquered Italy.

The territory of the Republic was divided into two parts: *Italy*, south of the Rubicon and the Macra, and the *provinces*, or tributary lands.<sup>2</sup> There were at this time eight:—

Sicily, divided on account of its wealth into two quæstorships, whose seats were at Lilybæum and Syracuse;<sup>3</sup>

Corsica and Sardinia;

Cisalpine Gaul;

Macedon, with Thessaly, Epirus, and Illyria;

Asia (the old kingdom of Pergamus);

Carthaginian Africa;

Further Spain;

Nearer Spain.

Achæa, that is to say, Greece and her islands, may be regarded as a ninth province, although it had as yet no special governor.

To these domains of the Republic another should be added; the Mediterranean belonged to Rome, and the divine pair, Neptune and Amphitrite, whom the Greeks had so greatly honoured, began now to receive homage on the banks of the Tiber. Neptune obtained at quite a late period a temple in the Campus Martius, and we know nothing of the worship paid him there, not even with certainty the day on which his festival was celebrated. But Greek artists, employed by wealthy Romans, delighted in multiplying graceful representations of Amphitrite and her nymphs, deceitful representations of peace reigning upon the waves, for Rome was not destined to give to her maritime domain



Neptune.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. chap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Stipendiaria facta est.* (Vell. Patere., ii. 28.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., in *Ferr.*, ii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (*of the king Demetrius*) and two monograms. Neptune standing, holding a trident. Reverse of a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes.





Coin of Cisalpina.

Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, a horse's head. Barbaric imitation of Carthaginian and Campanian coins; ΚΑΣΙΟΣ (*Kasios*), chief's name. Gallic coin of the Cisalpina.



Coin of the Achæan League.

Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, AX in monogram, FAM, and a winged thunderbolt in a laurel wreath. Triobol of Achæa (Achæan league).



Coin of the Second Macedon.

Head of Diana on a Macedonian buckler. On the reverse, MAKEΔONON ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ (of the second region of the Macedonians), two monograms and Hercules' club in an oak garland. Tetradrachm.



Coin of Thessaly.

Head of Minerva; behind, a monogram. On the reverse, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and a monogram. Horse *passant*. Didrachme of Thessaly.



Coin of Illyria.

Jupiter laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an eagle standing in a laurel wreath. Didrachme of Epirus.



Coin of Epirus.

ΘΕΟΔΩΤ (magistrate's name), and two monograms. Cow suckling her calf; below, the horns of a bull. On the reverse, ΑΠΟΛ (magistrate's name), and plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs. Drachme of Apollonia in Illyricum.



Coin of Pergamus.

Head of Hercules. On the reverse, ΠΕΡΓΑ, Minerva standing, and a thunderbolt. Drachme of Pergamus. 14.1 gr.)

that peace which she secured to her continental provinces. She destroyed all foreign navies without taking their place with vessels of her own, and she did nothing for the protection of the seas, where piracy henceforth raged with impunity.

II.—THE PROVINCE.<sup>1</sup>

In ancient times the merciless law of war gave over to the conqueror the possessions, the lands, the life, the gods even of the conquered nation.<sup>2</sup>

The senate had at first exercised this terrible right in all its rigour towards certain Italian peoples. Epirus, Numantia, Corinth, and Carthage had suffered the same fate—destruction. But in general Rome left to her subjects their religion,<sup>3</sup> their laws,<sup>4</sup> their magistrates,<sup>5</sup> their senate, and their public assemblies, the larger part or the whole of their lands and revenues<sup>6</sup>—in a word, a very considerable municipal independence, even a lot less hard than in

<sup>1</sup> To render this exposition less incomplete, and to avoid returning to the subject before the empire, facts and testimony will sometimes be cited of later date than the year 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Divina humanaque omnia*, says Plautus (*Amphitryon*, l. i. 102) and Livy (i. 38): Cf. vii. 31; ix. 9; xxxvi. 28; Polybius, xx. 9, 10, xxxvi. 2. The soil was understood to remain to its former owners in the provinces, the superior right of the Roman people being reserved, a right represented by the *tributum* or *vectigal*. (Cf. Gaius, ii. 7, and Cic., *Verr.*, iii. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 60–63; iv. 14, 43; Tertullian, *ad Nation.*, ii. 8; *Apolog.*, 24, *Unicuique provincie et civitati suus deus est*; Boeckh., *Corp. Inscript.*, No. 4474. The juriconsults recognized even the inviolability of religious property in the provinces. (Gaius, ii. 7, *pro sacro habetur*.)

<sup>4</sup> This subject will be treated later in the chapter on *municipal rule* under the empire.

<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions and coins in great number mention in the Greek and Latin provinces magistrates elected by their fellow citizens and having entire jurisdiction, even the *ius necis*, except in a few cases, reserved for the governor's decision, to whom also there was a right of appeal from the local authorities.

<sup>6</sup> The revenues of the cities consisted, first, in town dues (Suet., *Vitell.*, 14); secondly, in tolls (Strab., xii. p. 575, *Portorium Dyrrhachinorum*; Cic., *pro Flacco*, 3); likewise at Tarsus (Dion Chrys., *Or.*, xxxiv.), at Ambracia, but here with this exception, *dum immunes Romani ac socii Latini nominis essent* (Livy, xxxvii. 44); at Thermæ the exemption was stipulated only for the farmers of the revenue (*Plebisc. de Therm.*, lig. 74–75); at a later date Marseilles levied a toll upon the canal of Marius (Strabo, iv. p. 133); thirdly, in largesses, which the customs of the time rendered obligatory upon citizens aspiring to municipal offices (Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 94); fourthly, in interest upon capital lent out (*Dig.*, l. tit. iv. fr. 18, § 2); fifthly, in revenues drawn from public property, edifices, common lands, often situated very far away—Capua had such lands in Crete (Vell. Paterc., 11, 82), Emporiæ in the western Pyrenees, Byzantium in Bithynia. This city shared, Strabo says, with the Romans revenues drawn from tunny-fishing in the Euxine Sea. Arpinum and Atella had lands in Gaul. (Cic., *Fam.*, xiii. 7, 11.) Two little

the days of their independence, for the senate had often diminished the tribute they paid to the kings, their former masters,<sup>1</sup> and did not as a rule require from them military service, which was reserved exclusively for Romans and Italians.

These nations might therefore regard themselves as still free, and, moreover, as relieved from two evils which had rendered their existence intolerable; without, aimless and endless wars, where on both sides, and for the most trivial of motives, there was incessant destruction of harvests, and villages, and human lives; within, an envious populace, re-commencing the strife of the poor against the rich whenever the wars without were for the moment interrupted. Those who held property were constantly exposed to confiscation, to exile, or death. The Roman senate restored tranquillity, causing peace between nations and order in towns; private wars were interdicted, and everywhere authority was reconstituted with a strong hand.

The word *provincia* has a twofold meaning,<sup>2</sup> expressing both the legal authority of the magistrate who held the military or the judicial *imperium*, and also the place in which that authority was exercised. The prætor who determined cases at Rome had only the judicial *imperium*; the proconsul who governed a country had both the judicial and the military; and, finally, the country came to take the name of the function, *provincia*. When a people had made submission to Rome, a constitution was given to them, or as it was called, a *formula*, fixing the quota of the tribute and

cities in Liguria had land in Beneventum. (*Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.* for the year 1835.) The aqueducts and sewers (Cic., *adv. Rullum*, iii. 2), the common pasture lands (Hygin, *de Lim.*, p. 192), gave revenues often collected by publicans, to whom they were farmed out. (*Dig.*, xxxix. tit. iv. fr. 53, § 1.) To these sources must be added donations made by private individuals for the founding of public buildings, festivals, distributions, or perpetual public games. (Plin., *Ep.*, x. 79; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 43; Orelli, *passim*.) And although a tributary city could not at that time be constituted heir or receive a legacy, it no doubt happened often that the law was forgotten or evaded, as in Pliny (*Ep.*, v. 7).

<sup>1</sup> Antony said to the Greeks of Pergamean Asia: Οὐς ἐτελεύτει φόρους Ἀττάλῃ, μεθήκαμεν ἡμῖν. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4.) Paulus Æmilius relieved the Macedonians of half of the tribute, *quod pependissent regibus*, and reduced by one-half the price of leases for the contractors who worked the iron and copper mines. In Illyria also there was a similar reduction. (Livy, xlv. 26, 29.) Cicero said (*pro lege Manilia*, 6): *Provinciarum vectigalia tanta sunt ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas rix contenti esse possimus*. In Sicily there was no new tax levied: *Eorum agris vectigal nullum novum imponerent*. (Cic., *II in Ferr.*, iii. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> [The origin of this word has given rise to long and unsettled controversies.—*Ed.*



P. SELLIER. del.

Imp. Frailery.

THE TRIUMPH OF AMPHITRITE

From a Pompeian Picture after Nicolini



the obligations of the provincials towards the Republic. This formula, which varied in the different provinces, was drawn up by the victorious general or by the commissioners of the senate, generally ten in number. As a rule, in order the better to restore order in the conquered country, the victorious general gave it new civil laws. This was done by Paulus Æmilius in Macedon,<sup>1</sup> by Gracchus in Spain, Rupilius in Sicily, Lucullus in Asia, Pompeius in Bithynia. In Achæa it was Polybius who, at the request of the cities, received from the senate a commission to regulate the form of their government.<sup>2</sup> These new municipal constitutions preserved the old forms dear to the natives, only these forms were made to resemble the aristocratic institutions of Rome,<sup>3</sup> as the civil laws of the vanquished were by degrees assimilated to those of the victors.<sup>4</sup> Thus the sixty-five cities of Sicily<sup>5</sup> had each a senate, two censors, who took the census every five years, orders of citizens, and offices filled on certain conditions of age and fortune. It was allowed to the subject nations, especially in Greece and the East, to celebrate in common their religious festivals and to re-establish their inoffensive leagues.

Provinces where the turbulence of the people or the neighbourhood of the enemy rendered soldiers necessary were governed by consulars; others, more pacific, by prætors.<sup>6</sup> These offices might

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv. 30, 22. *Leges quibus adhuc utitur.* (Justin, xxxiii. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, VIII. xxx. 5. Mummius had already introduced some changes. (*Id.*, vii. 16; Cf. Polybius, xl. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias says this expressly (VIII. xvi. 9): 'Ενταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυσε [Μόμμος], καθίστατο δὲ ἀπὸ τριημέρων τὰς ἀρχάς. Quintius did the same in Thessaly (Livy, xxxiv. 51), and Gabinius in Judæa: . . . Ἀριστοκρατία ἐπακοῦντο. (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, i. 8, 5.) The law made by Pompeius for Bithynia and Pontus, fixing the age of members of the provincial senate at not less than thirty, and requiring some previous service in public affairs, and making the duration of the office for life, also without doubt fixed a property qualification for the senators. (Cf. Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 83; Athenæus, v. 51, Πόκν' ἀπορημένην τοῦ δήμου.) Cicero wrote to his brother (*ad Quint.*, I. i. 2, 8): *Provideri abs te civitates optimatum consiliis administrantur.* In Sicily the inhabitants were divided into classes, *ex genere, censu, ætate.* (Cic., *in Verr.*, ii. 2, 49.)

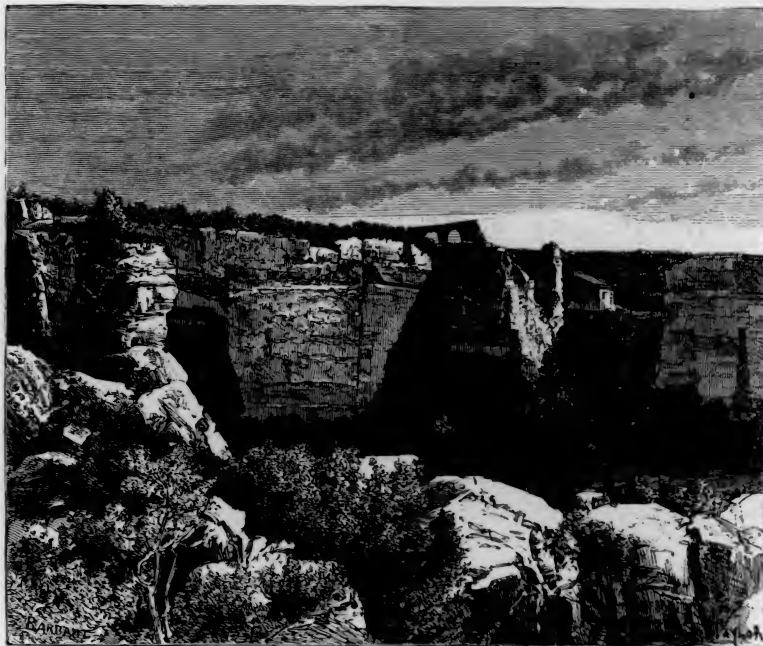
<sup>4</sup> The edicts of the provincial prætors and quæstors (Gaius, i. 6), often, too, decrees of the senate (Ulpian, *Fr.*, xi. 18; Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21), caused this fusion.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 15. We should no doubt add to this number the two confederate cities, Messina and Tauromenium. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii. 8) says sixty-eight, Ptolemy (iii. 4), fifty-eight, Diodorus (xxiii. 5) sixty-seven, Livy (xxvi. 40) sixty-six.

<sup>6</sup> The division into consular and prætorian provinces varied frequently. Macedon, a consular province under Piso, was prætorian in the time of his successor. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 36, and *de Prov. cons.*, 7.) Even the limits of provinces were sometimes changed. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 16, 21, 24; Livy, xxiv. 44.)

be held for years. Sometimes even citizens without office obtained a province from the senate or the people.<sup>1</sup>

Aristocracies, which administer the government gratuitously, and democracies, which must administer it economically [?], do not multiply offices in the State; monarchy, on the other hand, swarms with them; compare, for example, aristocratic England, who not long since had but 24,000 salaries on the estimates, and



Quarries of Syracuse used as Prisons.

the empire of Constantine, where the army of office-holders was as great as the army of legionaries. Republican Rome was never willing to undertake in detail the administration of the provinces. She farmed out the taxes, to escape collecting them herself, the public works, to escape carrying them on, and she left the cities to manage their own affairs, with the intention of concerning herself therein only if the public peace should be in any way

<sup>1</sup> Thus Scipio had obtained Spain: . . . *qui sine magistratu res gessisset*. (Livy, xxviii. 38); Cf. Sallust, *Cat.*, 19; Suet., *Ces.*, 9; Polybius, vi. 13.

disturbed. She governed, she did not administer, *regere imperio populos*. Hence a single man sufficed for a province vast as a kingdom.

### III.—THE GOVERNOR.

Outside the very gates of Rome, as soon as he had crossed the sacred space of the *pomerium*, the governor of a province took his insignia and his lictors with their axes bound in the rods, six for a propraetor, twelve for a proconsul, and he was at once able to exercise "voluntary" jurisdiction,<sup>1</sup> but not the proconsular authority, which he could exercise only within the limits of his province. His service was gratuitous. He received, however, from the senate a sum, at times considerable,<sup>2</sup> for the expenses of his residence and journeys, and from the people of his province the corn required for his household, a heavy tax, for a numerous company attended him; the praetorian cohort, that is, the soldiers composing his guard; the young nobles desiring to be initiated into public affairs under his guidance; his friends, *comites*, who



Roman Herald.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But not contentious jurisdiction: *jurisdictionem habet non contentiosam, sed voluntariam*. (*Dig.*, I. tit. xvi. fr. 1 and 2.)

<sup>2</sup> This money was called *vasarium*. Piso received in this way 18,000,000 *sesterces*. The route into the province was determined in advance, and the journey was made in ships, on horseback, and in vehicles, the means of transportation being furnished partly by the State and partly by the countries through which the governor travelled. (*App.*, *Bell. civ.*, v. 45; *Livy*, xlii. 1; *Cic.*, *II in Verr.*, v. 18; *ad Att.*, v. 13, vi. 8; *in Pis.*, 35.) In travelling within his province the governor lived in a tent, as Cicero did in Cilicia when he wished not to be burdensome to the inhabitants, or he lodged at the houses of individuals. There seems to have been something like our modern system of billeting. (Cf. *Cic.*, *II in Verr.*, i. 25: *Ostendit munus illud suum non esse; se quum suae partes essent hospitum recipiendorum . . . recipere solere*.) But the governor must always enter his province by the same city. Ulpian says in the *Digest* (I. xvi. 4, fr. 5): *Oportet ut per eam partem provinciam ingrediatur per quam ingredi moris est et quas Graeci ἐπιδημίας appellant, or κατὰ δὸν*.

<sup>3</sup> From an engraved stone. A *fetial* standing before a *columna bellica*, on which is a statue of Minerva throwing a javelin. (Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 268, at the word *Fetialis*.)

came to share his honours or make capital out of his influence;<sup>1</sup> his familiars, his freedmen, persons whom he might employ confidentially for secret and delicate missions; scribes, to make copies



Lictors.

of public acts; interpreters, physicians, soothsayers, heralds, and the like.<sup>2</sup>

The governor, whatever was his title, was invested with

<sup>1</sup> Vitellius, governor of Syria, having deposed Pontius Pilate, pro-curator of Judæa, gave the province in charge to Marcellus, one of his friends, τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.) These were the *contubernales*.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 10, 30; Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 12. The governor was not at liberty to buy anything in his province (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iv. 5), nor receive any gift. (Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 4,

political, military, and judicial authority; he had absolute control over the person and property of the provincial. At Rome each magistrate had also, in his sphere of action, a power almost unlimited, but the injured citizen might appeal to another magistrate of equal or superior rank, who by his veto might neutralize the action of his colleague or inferior. In the provinces there was nothing corresponding to this; the pro-consul having neither colleague nor superior, his authority was without limits, and his decisions were immediately executed, with this sole exception, that Roman citizens established in the provinces had a right of appeal to the tribunes at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

These pro-consuls were sometimes rapacious, unjust, and cruel; of this we shall soon have proof. Two circumstances, however, checked the tyranny of these powerful personages; their assizes being public, the pleaders found in this publicity a certain safeguard, and the provincials, having the right of complaint to the senate, the governor was restrained by fear of accusations which might be brought against him. Thus, during the war with Perseus, the Spaniards came to ask justice from the senate against many Roman generals. "Do not suffer," they said, "that your allies should be treated more cruelly than your enemies." The prætor Canuleius, to whom the government of Spain had fallen, received orders to designate five senators, who should institute an inquiry into the conduct of magistrates accused of malversation, and to authorize the Spaniards to choose patrons who should defend their cause. Four were selected by the province—Portius Cato, Corn. Scipio, the son of Cnæus, Paulus Æmilius, and Sulpicius Gallus. The first magistrates cited were acquitted, but two prætors, to escape condemnation, exiled themselves to Tibur and to Præneste.<sup>3</sup>

Later we shall see that in 149 a tribunal was organized expressly to receive these complaints. No doubt the exercise of this

and *lex Servilia*.) He was allowed to coin money for the needs of his army; we have gold *staters* of Flamininus. (Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'antiquité*.)

<sup>1</sup> In virtue of the Portian and Sempronian laws.

<sup>2</sup> M. PLAETORIVS CEST. S.C. Pediment of the temple at Præneste, upon the reverse of a coin of the Plætorian family.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xliii. 2.

Pediment of the Temple at Præneste.<sup>2</sup>



right was dangerous on account of the enmities it created, but it was useful, for condemnations might be obtained—witness that of Verres, and there was always to be found at Rome, without counting the patrons of the provinces, who were under obligation to defend it, some ambitious man in search of a great cause to plead in order to bring himself before the public and prepare his candidature at the ensuing elections. Thus Cæsar began his career, and a hundred others had done the same.

In short, the government, which was republican at Rome, was monarchical in the provinces, and we need not be astonished when we shall see what had been the law for 70,000,000 people becoming the law for that infinitesimal minority which was called the Roman people.

The governor was general, and supreme judge; he was also law-maker, for by his edict he declared what principles he should follow in the administration of justice.<sup>1</sup> In the tributary cities, which bore the heaviest weight of subjugation, he confirmed the action of the local magistrates,<sup>2</sup> watched over the maintenance of order and the proper management of municipal affairs.<sup>3</sup> He prevented, either by arbitration or authority, the carrying on of private war, dispersed seditious gatherings, and made levies in case of need in the province and all requisitions that war might make needful.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 6. Each new governor might, if he preferred, issue a new edict (*perpetuum*) or he might retain, in part or wholly, that of his predecessor, *edictum tralatitium*. A collection of these manifestos formed what the Romans called *viva vox juris civilis*. See curious details given by Cicero in respect to the edict which he put forth in his government of Cilicia. (*ad Attic.*, vi. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 28, 35, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 85. Trajan repeats to Pliny many times that a governor being the guardian of the cities, the person in charge of their property, it is his duty to examine strictly into financial details. Cicero said, in his edict for Cilicia: *Diligentissime scriptum caput est quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum*. (*ad Fam.*, iii. 8.) The Julian and Titian law of the year 31(?) gave to the governor even more extensive rights in reference to the guardianship assigned by the magistrate than were exercised at Rome by the prætor in virtue of the Atilian law. (Cf. Giraud, *Hist. du droit romain*, p. 253.) Augustus forbade the provincial cities to testify their gratitude to their governor until two months had elapsed from the date of his departure. (Dion., lvi. 23.)

<sup>3</sup> Cicero made all the magistrates in Cilician cities who avowed that for ten years they had shamelessly plundered the inhabitants disgorge their ill-gotten wealth. (*ad Att.*, vi. 1.) Tacitus speaks of the extortions practised by the great in the provinces: *Ut solent prævalidi provincialium et opibus nimis ad injurias minorum elati*. (*Ann.*, xv. 20.) The accounts of Apameia had never been examined by the governor of Bithynia before the time of Pliny. But Trajan, who desires to know about everything, directs Pliny to look closely into them, promising the inhabitants that this examination shall not be regarded as establishing a precedent. (Plin., *Ep.*, x. 56.)

Representing the public interest, he stimulated the construction of works of public utility and provided that they should be paid for from the city treasury.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes he even laid on new taxes or discontinued former ones,<sup>2</sup> but in all cases he was obliged to leave a copy of his financial report in two cities of the province.

As supreme judge, from whose jurisdiction there was no appeal except in the case of Roman citizens to the tribunes of the people at Rome, he decided civil and criminal cases in accordance with the rules he had himself laid down in his edict.<sup>3</sup> To spare those within his jurisdiction costly journeys, he travelled through the country, holding his assizes at points designated in advance, *conventus juridici*.<sup>4</sup> In Sicily [and these usages were repeated in the other provinces] the suits between citizens of the same town were settled by the local magistrates; between citizens of different cities by judges whom the prætor designated or else ordered to be selected by lot; between a private individual and a city by the senate of another city; between a Roman and a Sicilian by judges of the same nation as the defendant. In Sicily disputes between farmers of the revenue and proprietors were settled in conformity with the laws of king Hiero.<sup>5</sup> But from all such decisions appeal could be made to the prætor. The subjects do not seem to have the right to take life except in case of slaves. The senate in Catana prosecuted a slave for a capital crime, but in Judæa, the Jews, after condemning Jesus to death, were unable to execute the sentence, without the authority of Pilate.<sup>6</sup> The law formally prohibited the prætor from delegating to any other authority the right of taking life which had been entrusted to

<sup>1</sup> Pontius Pilate directed the construction of aqueducts at Jerusalem, and took money from the treasury of the temple to pay for them. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.)

<sup>2</sup> Vitellius, on his entry into Jerusalem as governor of Syria, abolished a tax levied upon all fruits sold in the city. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.) Piso imposed a tax upon everything sold in Macedon. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 36.)

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes they followed the Roman law, and sometimes the laws of the province. Thus Q. Cicero caused two Mysians, guilty of parricide, to be sewn up in a sack, after the Roman custom, and he threatened other guilty persons with being burned alive, a punishment not in use at Rome. (Cic., *ad Quint.*, i. 2.)

<sup>4</sup> Cicero, governor of Cilicia, sent one of his lieutenants to Cyprus to render justice to the Roman citizens who traded there and had a right to find judges there. (*ad Att.*, v. 21.) Pliny gives a list, numerous although incomplete, of these *conventus juridici*, which the Greeks call *διοικήσεις*. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, xii. 57, 1; Strabo, xii. 629, etc.)

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *in Ferr.*, ii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι Ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα*. (S. John, xviii. 31.) VOL. II. N

him,<sup>1</sup> and he should pronounce the sentence only after consultation with his council, a sort of jury selected by the prætor from his cohort and from citizens residing in the province.

In the Græco-Roman world the religions were almost always subordinated to the secular power.<sup>2</sup> The latter, it is true, was extremely tolerant on the subject of religious beliefs, scarcely concerning itself with them at all, but it chose to hold the priests in strict dependence, especially the higher orders of them who were required to answer for their subordinates. In Judæa, and this right was exercised throughout all the provinces as well, the governors inheriting the royal prerogatives, disposed of the high priesthood at their pleasure.<sup>3</sup>

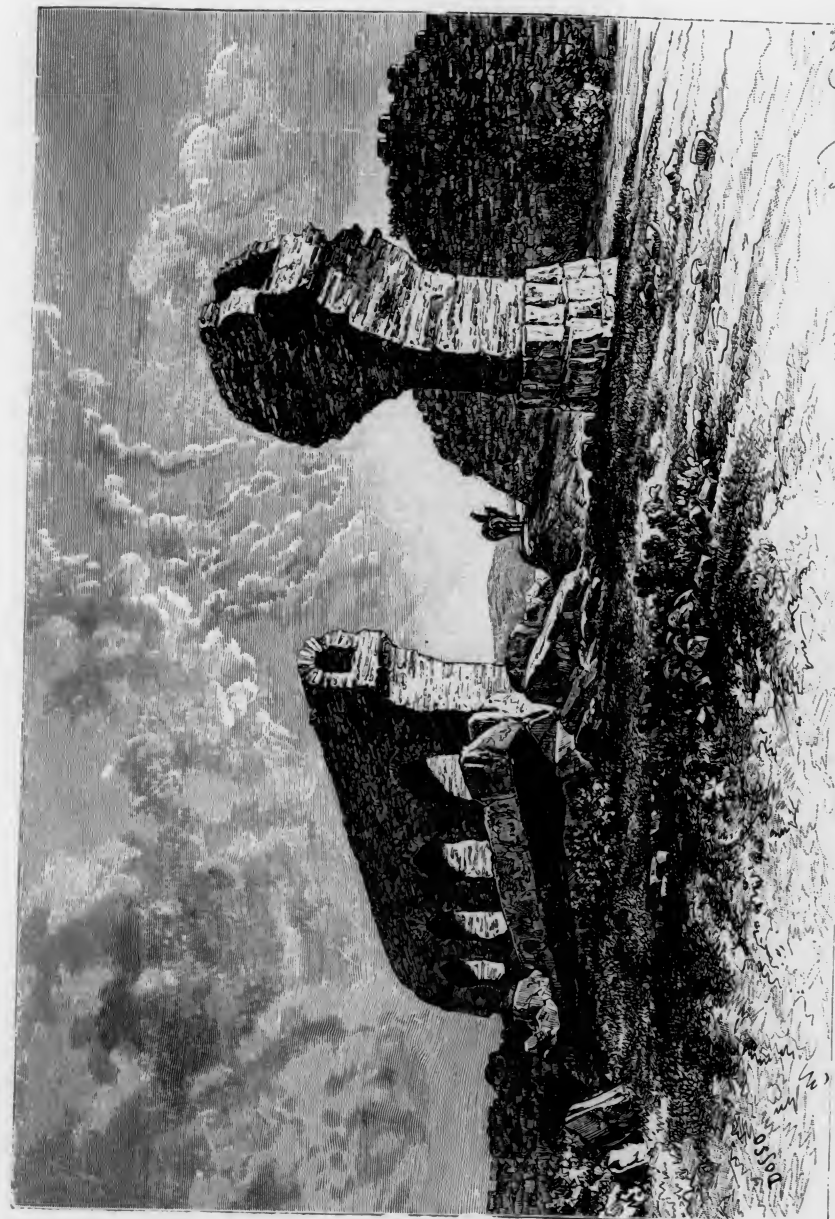
#### IV.—THE LEGATES AND THE QUÆSTORS.

In the performance of his official duties the governor of a province was assisted by a few subordinates. Of these, the first in dignity were the legates, whose number varied according to the importance of the province; they were selected by the pro-consul, but it was necessary that the choice should be ratified by the

<sup>1</sup> *Nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam ad alium transferre.* (Ulpian, *Dig.*, i tit. xvi. § 6 pr.)

<sup>2</sup> See in the *Acts of the Apostles*, xviii. 14, 15, the judgment of Gallio in the case of St. Paul and the Jews. Even monotheism with its open condemnation of the worship of idols was permitted. (Tertull., *Apolog.*, 21.) Druidism was proscribed, because it strove to awaken Gallic patriotism, and Tiberius threw the statue of Isis into the Tiber (*Jos.*, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3, 4) by way of reparation to outraged morality. The eastern religions were, besides, always objects of suspicion to the senate. There was in them a spirit of proselytism, which, acting secretly, caused alarm to the government, who took these religious associations either for secret societies, which the Roman law forbade (*Dig.*, xlvii. 22, fr. 1, 3), or for societies formed for the practice of vices, like the hideous sect of bacchanals discovered in 186. In respect to inoffensive forms of worship they had full security, and the governors of provinces were to protect their temples, property, and rights of asylum. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 60-63.) Gaius says, distinctly (*Inst.*, ii. 7): . . . *quod in provinciis non ex auctoritate populi Romani consecratum est (quanquam) proprie sacrum non est, tamen pro sacro habetur.* (Cf. Cic., *II in Ferr.*, ii. 50, 52, iv. 49.) Later we shall see where and why the Christians were persecuted.

<sup>3</sup> *Jos.*, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3, and in twenty other places. An officer of the government guarded even, in the fortress of Antonia, the ephod and sacred vestments of the high priest. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, 6.) In Italy, in respect to all that concerned worship, the cities were under the jurisdiction of Rome, *juris atque imperii Romani esse.* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 71.) See in chap. xxxv. the decree in regard to the bacchanals.



Ancient Aqueduct at Cutana (Bibliothèque nationale).

senate,<sup>1</sup> so that they were understood to hold their appointment from the State, and in virtue of this their persons were held inviolable during their term of service.<sup>2</sup> Their duties were not strictly defined, but in general they owed to their chief the support of their counsel and of their military skill. Ordinarily, he divided with them the administration of the province. In this case they ruled, each in his district, and under the control of the governor, to whom they referred all doubtful cases, never exercising, however, the *jus necis*, which belonged only to the magistrate invested with the *merum imperium*. "In the Tarraconensis," says Strabo, "the proconsul has under his orders three legions and three lieutenants; one, with two legions, keeps guard over the Gallæci, the Astures, and the Cantabri; another, with the third legion, over the entire coast as far as the Pyrenees; the third has under his jurisdiction the tribes established in the interior and upon the two banks of the Ebro. The consul himself passes the winter either at Tarragona or at Carthagenæ, and there administers justice. During the summer he goes on circuits to rectify abuses which may have crept into the administration."<sup>3</sup>

Insignia of the Quæstor.<sup>4</sup>

Below the legates, or beside them, was the quæstor, specially charged with all the details of the financial administration. He received from the public treasury the sums necessary for the pay and subsistence of the troops, for whatever was bought in the province, and for the expenses of the Roman administration. Certain taxes not farmed out to the publicans were levied by him. The Romans did not understand the principle of the subdivision of

<sup>1</sup> The senate determined their number. Thus, in 56, Cæsar had ten (Cic., *ad Fam.*, i. 7), Pompeius fifteen. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 25.)

<sup>2</sup> *Adimere mandatam jurisdictionem licet proconsuli non autem inconsulto principe.* (Dig., i. tit. xvi. fr. 6, § 2.) No accusation could be received against them during the time that they were in service (Cic., *in Vat.*, 14.), and they must await the arrival of their successor.

<sup>3</sup> iii. p. 166. He might establish his tribunal wherever it seemed best to him. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 5.) Quadratus established his in the city of Lydda. Pliny says also: *In publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem.* (*Epist.*, x. 85.) In very serious cases, or if it were a question involving personages of distinction, the governor sent the accused to Rome. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 5, and *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 7.)

<sup>4</sup> Reverse of a Macedonian tetradrachm, very probably of the legate Sura who was quæstor. The *subsellium*, or quæstor's seat, is represented, and a *cistus* destined to receive the money for distributions.



power, and therefore the quaestor, although his principal duty was the charge of the finances, might be called to all other duties; his experience and energy were at the service of the proconsul, who employed him as judge, administrative officer, or general, as the exigency of the moment might require. Like the aediles at Rome, the quaestor had a jurisdiction of his own, and the right of issuing certain edicts.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the year, he made a report of his financial administration; and a Julian law required him to deposit at Rome in the *ararium* a statement of receipts and expenses, besides leaving a copy of the same in two cities of the province. Sicily had two quaestors, one residing at Syracuse, the other at Lilybaeum.



Insignia of the Quaestor.<sup>1</sup>

#### V.—OBLIGATIONS OF THE PROVINCIALS.

The inhabitants of the provinces owed to their governors absolute obedience; to Rome, moreover, they owed a tribute, for the provinces were the estates of the Roman people, *quasi praedia populi Romani*.<sup>3</sup> From the moment of conquest the Romans had appropriated all the royal domains, and sometimes the common lands, or even the whole territory, in cases where certain cities had by special courage and patriotism merited unusual severity from the victors. This land immediately became part of the domain of the Roman people, and fell under the same regulations.<sup>4</sup> In respect to the lands left to the natives, their character was changed. By reason of the war, the inhabitants of the provinces, in lieu of ownership, had nothing left them but the possession of the soil;<sup>5</sup> they were perpetual tenants, and the token

<sup>1</sup> OY(Α)ΗΘΥΣ ΤΑΜΙΑΣ. The *subsellium*, a wand, and the vase which received moneys, or the *tesserae* to be distributed among the people in a *congiarium*.

<sup>2</sup> The quaestor was not chosen by the governor, but was assigned to him by lot. (Cic., *ad Quint.*, I. i. 3.) Nevertheless, the relations between the two were almost son and father. (Cic., *pro Planc.*, ii.) The quaestor was *consulis particeps omnium rerum consiliorumque*. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, II. i. 15.) He had two lictors with the bundles of rods, but without the axes.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 18. Cf. *ibid.*, ii. 3, and *de Offic.*, iii. 21. He calls the people of the provinces the colonists of the Romans: *Cum illis sic agere, ut cum colonis nostris solemus*.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxv. 28; Cic., *adv. Rullum*, ii. 21.

<sup>5</sup> *In eo solo dominium populi Romani est . . . nos autem possessionem tantum et usum fructum habere videmur*. (Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. 7.) Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 140.

of this diminution of right was the tribute which the holders were obliged to pay to the real proprietor, the Roman people.<sup>1</sup>

These contributions were of four kinds: the personal tax; the tax on land; duties and royalties; requisitions.

The personal tax was estimated upon the *census*, that is to say, upon each man's fortune.

The land tax, paid either in money<sup>2</sup> or in kind,<sup>3</sup> was fixed at a tenth of the produce.<sup>4</sup> This ratio seemed more favourable to those paying tribute, since, if Rome profited by good harvests, she incurred also all the risks of bad years; while, in the case of a money tax, the sum was fixed and must be paid, even though the land had given no return.<sup>5</sup> The Roman citizen, holding lands in a province, paid the same tax as the provincials.<sup>6</sup>

There were requisitions of diverse sorts, some occasional, others permanent. Thus the people of a province must furnish to the magistrate who came to watch over their safety the corn necessary for his household, either directly, in which case the senate fixed the quantity, or by a money tax, and again the senate took care to determine in advance the price at which the corn should be reckoned.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes, for the use of the armies, or in consequence of a bad harvest, the senate required a second

<sup>1</sup> *Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, æquo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat (Asia) atque otium*. (Cic., *ad Quint.*, I. i. 11.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 140. Certain nations paid only a tenth: *Δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετίσσουσιν*, and Cicero, enumerating the principal sources of revenue that the Roman people possessed in Asia, says frequently: *scriptura, decumæ, portorium*. (*Pro Flacco*, 8; *pro lege Manilia*, 6).

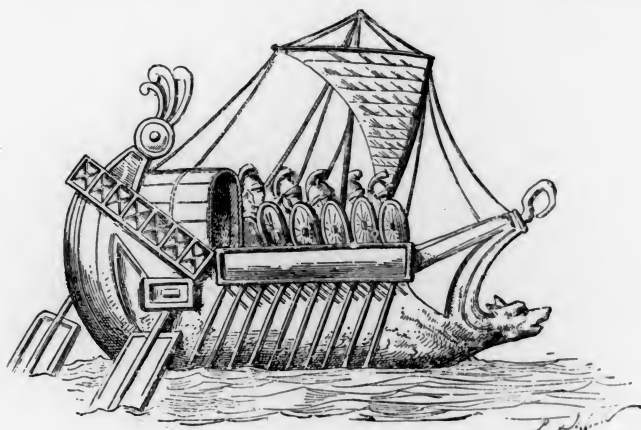
<sup>4</sup> *Agri vectigales multas habent constitutiones. In quibusdam provinciis fructus partem præstant certam, alii quintas, alii septimas, alii pecuniam et hoc per soli æstimationem. Certa enim pretia agris constituta sunt, ut in Pannonia arvi primi, arvi secundi, prata, silvæ glandiferae, silvæ vulgares, pascua. His omnibus agris vectigal est ad modum ubertatis per singula jugera constitutum. Horum æstimio, ne qua usurpatio per falsas professiones fiat, adhibenda est mensuris diligentia. Nam et in Phrygia et tota Asia, ex hujus modi causis tam frequenter disconvenit quam Pannonia*. Hygin., *de Limit. Constit.*, ed. Goes, p. 198. But these differences were not well established till after the register of Augustus.

<sup>5</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4. But this was, however, the system which gave most opportunity for exactions; and Cæsar was obliged to change it for a fixed tax. (App., *ib.*, v. 5; Dion., xlii. 6.)

<sup>6</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 12. *Tot Siculi tot equites Romani (ibid., 14); Septitio . . . equite Romano, affirmante se plus decumæ non daturum (ibid., 25; and pro Flacco, 32)*. The decree of the senate giving liberty to Chios bears even: *Οἱ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούουσιν νόμοις*. (Bœckh., *Inscript.*, No. 2222.)

<sup>7</sup> *Frumentum in cellam, and frumentum æstimatum*. (*II in Verr.*, iii. 81-5.)

tenth, but this was paid for.<sup>1</sup> If the governor judged it necessary to equip a fleet to protect his province against pirates, ships were to be built, sailors and soldiers furnished, all maintained and paid by the city which was under obligation to furnish them.<sup>2</sup> If an army was necessary, the province must furnish corn to feed it. The senate paid for this contribution, but at a price of their own fixing, and the provincials were obliged to transport the corn to such points as suited the prætor's convenience. Huts



Ship Equipped.

for winter quarters were also due from them, and sometimes even auxiliaries for the legions.<sup>3</sup>

The senate reserved for itself the mines of precious metals,

<sup>1</sup> Thus Cicero speaks of *frumentum emptum* as opposed to *frumentum decumanum*. (*II in Verr.*, iii. 81.) In three years Verres received 37,000,000 *sestercies* for the purchase of corn in Sicily at the expense of Rome. In provinces less fertile, the senate required only a twentieth. (Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 2; xliii. 2; xlv. 31.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 17, 24; *Philipp.*, xi. 12. Miletus, for example, was required to have ten ships always ready for service. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 34.) Messina owed one vessel. Syracuse made ready a number upon the order of Verres.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxix. 1; xxxvi. 2; Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*, i. 30; Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 47. Thus Rome levied cavalry in Gaul (Cæs., *ibid.*, i. 15; Plut., *Crass.*, 17; *Ant.*, 37; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 49; iv. 88), in Spain (Plut., *Ant.*, 37; Cæs., *ibid.*, v. 26; App., *ibid.*, i. 89), in Thrace (Sall., *Jug.*, 38; Plut., *Luc.*, 28; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 46), in Numidia (Sall., *Jug.*, 68; App., *ibid.*, i. 42). Crete and the Balearic islands furnished famous archers and slingers. (Livy, *Ep.*, lx.; Sall., *Jug.*, 105; App., *ibid.*, 249.) These auxiliaries were usually led by their native chiefs. (Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, i. 18; viii. 12; *Bell. civ.*, iii. 59.) *Noricorum juvenis* (Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 5); *Retica auxilia* (*ibid.*, i. 67); *Retorum juvenis, sueta armis et more militie exercita* (*ibid.*, 68). The Helvetii supported at their own expense a garrison in a strong castle. (Tac., *ibid.*, i. 67.)

the quarries of marble, and even of certain other kinds of stone, the salt works, the fisheries and the customs. These latter were of considerable importance, for Rome had maintained all the port dues which she had found already existing. The duty in the harbour of Syracuse was 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.<sup>1</sup>

Still further, the money paid by private individuals for the right to send their flocks into the public pastures, may be considered as a tax paid by the provinces, or, at least, as a source of revenue to the Roman people.<sup>2</sup>

## VI.—DIFFERENT CLASSES OF PROVINCIAL CITIES.

The fundamental rule of Roman policy in relation to the vanquished was to divide the populations by diversifying the conditions of political existence bestowed upon nations, cities, and even individuals. By creating new interests, the senate strove to efface the recollection of former independence; they separated what had been united, and united what had been separated, and made degrees in servitude, causing the yoke to weigh unequally so that the different nations should not be by a common oppression united against the foreign ruler:<sup>3</sup> *divide et impera!* No people ever more skilfully practised this maxim, and in the case of none was it ever more conspicuously successful.

Each province, far from forming a homogeneous whole, had

<sup>1</sup> The senate undertook directly the working of certain mines, and farmed out others where work had been already begun. The silver mines of Carthage produced in the time of Polybius (xxxiv. 9, 8) an amount equal to 25,000 drachmæ a day, and 40,000 labourers were employed there. An ancient decree of the senate prohibited the working of the Italian mines; notwithstanding this, the censors farmed out a gold mine near Vercellæ, on condition that not over 5,000 men should be employed in it. The mines of Asturia, Lusitania, and Gallicia, gave annually in the time of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 21) 20,000 pounds weight of gold. Caesar farmed out in Crete the whetstone quarries, *coturias locaret*. (*Dig.*, xxxix., tit. v., fr. 13.) There were mines of precious metals in Macedon, but Paulus Æmilius forbade the working of them, but permitted it in the case of the iron and copper mines. In regard to the port dues, see Cicero (*II in Verr.*, ii. 70, 75, and *pro lege Manilia*, 6). Being in Cilicia, he recommends to Atticus to send his letters *per magistrum scripturæ et portus nostrarum diocesium*. His brother Quintus had allowed the publicans in Asia to levy the *portorium circumvectionis*, customs paid on transporting goods; this Cicero declares was not due (*ad Att.*, ii. 16).

<sup>2</sup> Festus, s. v. *Scripturarius*.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥωμαίων . . . οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκάστοις χρωμένων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν συνέχειν, τοὺς δὲ καταλύειν βουλομένων. (Strabo, viii., p. 385.)

two classes of inhabitants: the *tributaries*, subject to the sovereign will of the governor, while still retaining their particular institutions; and the *privileged*, who were, so to speak, placed outside of the province, and, in consequence, withdrawn from the action of the Roman magistrate.<sup>1</sup> The latter consisted also of several subdivisions, collected into two great categories; the cities having a Roman organization, and those preserving their national constitution, the former, more numerous in the West, the latter chiefly existing in the East.

1. The *Roman colonies*. They had citizenship, that is to say, all the legal rights of the Roman *jus*, but not quiritary ownership, for provincial soil could not be raised to the same dignity with Italian, or possess like prerogatives,<sup>2</sup> of which the chief was the exemption from tribute.<sup>3</sup> The colonists being citizens, *pleno jure*, exercised all its rights during their sojourn in Rome, and might obtain its honours, that is to say, all public offices.

2. The *municipia*, whose inhabitants, *cives sine suffragio*, while retaining their own laws, enjoyed at Rome the prerogatives of the Roman citizen, except that they could not vote in the comitia, and could not aspire to public office. These cities were regarded as ranking below the colonies, and are always named after them by Pliny.<sup>4</sup>

3. The *Latin colonies*, whose magistrates, at the expiration of their term of office, were eligible for Roman citizenship.<sup>5</sup> The inhabitants of these colonies had the *jus commercii*, that is, the right

<sup>1</sup> Strabo says (iv., p. 187) of Nîmes: "It has the Latin law." *Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς προσηγορίαις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἴσται τὸ ἴδιον τοῦτο.*

<sup>2</sup> *Provinciale solum nec mancipi est.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. 27. See in chap. xxxvi.) . . . *Provincialia prædialia usucapionem non recipiunt* (Id., *ibid.*, 46); these colonies were not at liberty to organize at their own pleasure. *Jura institutaque omnia populi Romani non sui arbitrii habent.*

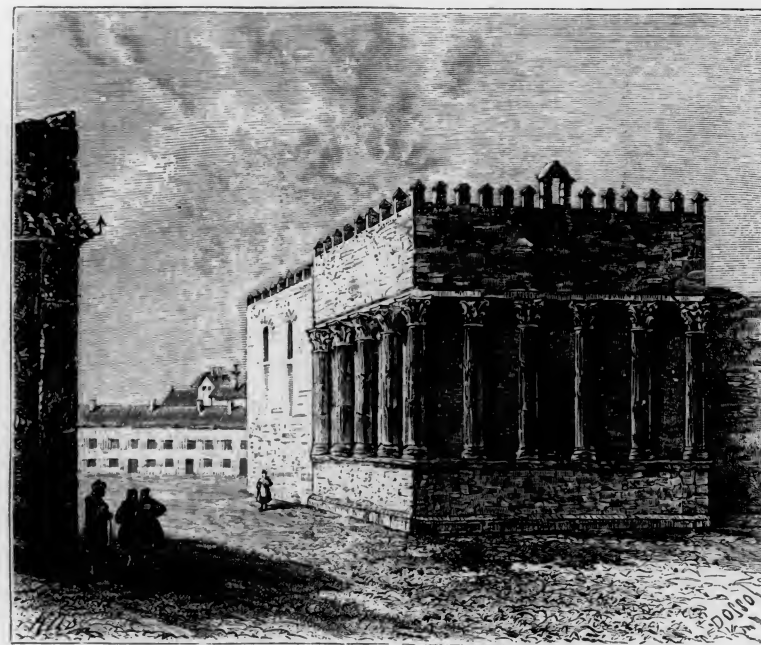
<sup>3</sup> There has been much discussion whether colonies of Roman citizens established in the provinces were subjected to the *tributum soli*. I have no hesitation in affirming that they were not, one reason for my opinion being that neither Cæsar nor Augustus would have invented a new right, the *jus Italicum*, if it had not already existed in the Roman colonies of the provinces.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 4, 25, seq.; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13: *Que tamen conditio (coloniarum), cum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen et præstabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem majestatemque populi Romani, cujus istæ colonie quasi effigies parvæ simulacraque esse quædam videntur.* Colonies have been known to seek to be changed into *municipia*, on account of this first reason, for example, the Prænestines in the time of Tiberius: *Ut ex colonia in municipiū statum redigerentur.* (Aulus Gellius, *ibid.*, xvi. 13.)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. vol. i., p. 391.

to acquire and transmit quiritary ownership;<sup>1</sup> but they had not the *jus connubii*, which would have given the *patria potestas*, or power of the Roman father over all his descendants. When they resided at Rome, they voted in a tribe to which they were assigned by lot.<sup>2</sup>

4. The allied cities, *fœderatæ*,<sup>3</sup> such as Messina, Massilia,



Temple of Diana at Evora (former *Liberalitas Julia*).

Gades, Sparta, Athens, etc., who had concluded with Rome a

<sup>1</sup> By *usucapio*, in *jure cessio*, *mancipatio*, *vindicatio*, and the *testamenti factio*. Later, under the empire there rose another class of cities, having the *jus Italicum* which were exempt from the land tax, because their soil was assimilated to that of Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> They were bound to furnish, in case of need, auxiliaries, ships, and in Sicily a part of the *frumentum imperatum*. Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 21. We may also name *Tauromenium* in Sicily; *Tarragona* (Pl. *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3), and *Malaca*, in Spain; the *Vocontii*, the *Lingones*, the *Remi*, the *Ædui*, and the *Carnutes*, in Gaul; *Athens*, in Greece; *Rhodes* and *Tyre*, in Asia; *Amisus*, in Bithynia; *Utica*, in Africa, etc., etc. These cities, which had contracted a solemn alliance with Rome, by a formal treaty engraved on bronze in the Capitol and read publicly every year (Bœckh., *Inscr.*, No. 2485), were the most truly independent in their internal administration of all that were comprised in the Roman provinces. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 94.



treaty on equal terms,<sup>1</sup> or an agreement implying an obligation to recognize the supremacy of the Roman people.

5. The *free cities*, having, like the allied cities, all the external show of independence, their own laws and entire jurisdiction, but holding this liberty by the good pleasure of Rome, and from a decree of the senate, instead of retaining it in virtue of a treaty;<sup>2</sup> these cities owed to the Roman treasury a fixed tribute in money, the *stipendium*. Coreyra, the Adriatic station for Rome's naval forces, was free, but a coarse proverb marks what this liberty<sup>3</sup>



Coin of Coreyra.<sup>4</sup>

was worth. These cities were very numerous; they are found everywhere except in Sardinia.<sup>4</sup>

6. The cities exempt from taxation, *immunes*.<sup>5</sup>

We also find cities uniting several of these designations at the same time, being at once colonies and free, colonies and exempt, free and allies. Thus Patrae (Patras) had the right of citizenship when it became a Roman colony. Furthermore, it was free, because a great number of the people of the country having come into it, it appeared to be severe and impolitic to subject it, as was done in the case of all colonies, to the civil laws of Rome. By the concession of liberty, the city had the right to organize

<sup>1</sup> Justin, xliii. 5: *æquo jure percussum*.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 102.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ελευθερία Κόρυρα, χιζ' ὅπου θάλας. (Strab., vii., p. 329, fr. 8.) In respect to political matters, this liberty was of no value, but we shall see elsewhere that it was very considerable as concerning the interior administration.

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *pro Seauro*, 15. They were released from the onerous obligation of providing winter quarters. *Plebisc. de Thermens.*, lig. 45: *Ne quis magistratus . . . milites . . . hiemandi causa introducto*. They retained their own laws and magistrates, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις. (Polybius xviii. 29), and the proconsul was not to encroach upon their jurisdiction: *Omitto jurisdictionem in libera civitate contra leges senatusque consulta*. (Cic., *de Prov. cons.*, 3.)

<sup>5</sup> Three vases (*amphora cantharus prochus*) of different shapes. On the reverse, ΚΟΡΥΡΑΙ, between the spokes of a wheel (or the rays of a star). Triobol of Coreyra.

<sup>6</sup> *Immunity* by no means followed the concession of *liberty*. Thus, in 168, the Macedonians are declared free, but must pay tribute. (Livy, xlv., 29, 32.) Many Illyrian tribes, on the other hand, received, besides liberty, immunity. (Id., *ibid.*, 26.) Caesar granted the same favour to the Atrebatas (*Bell. Gall.*, vii. 6), Claudius to the inhabitants of Ilium, Antoninus to those of Pallantium (Pausan., viii. 43). Cf. Baekh., *Corp. Inscr.*, No. 3610, and note. This was at that time the *immunitas plenissima*. Cf. Callistratus, in the *Dig.*, xxvii. 1, 17 § 1. Antioch was free, but in addition, Caracalla gave to the city the title of colony, but *salvis tributis*. (*Dig.*, l. 15, fr. 8, § 5.) I have said that these favoured cities were regarded as outside of the province; this expression, however, must not be understood too literally, for the Romans would not have so understood it. Tarsus, a free city, was the residence of the governor of Cilicia,

in accordance with its own ideas. These colonies, however, paid the land-tax, and the personal tax,<sup>1</sup> unless specially exempt by grant of *immunitas*,<sup>2</sup> or later, by the concession of the *jus Italicum*, which gave to the provincial soil one of the essential attributes of the Italian, namely, the exemption from property tax.

Certain cities, finally, had a patron at Rome, such as were the Marcelli for Sicily, the Catos for Cyprus, etc., or ties of hospitality with some noble personage, and could count in all



Sarcophagus from Patrae.<sup>3</sup>

cases upon his powerful interposition. This was an advantage, at times onerous, and not, however, furnishing a distinct political situation, except in cases where a city had contracted these ties with Rome herself.<sup>4</sup>

These cities prized distinctions as the men of that time prized

and a place where he administered justice; Panormus, in Sicily, was the same, notwithstanding its title of *civitas libera*. It is true that in this case the city had its own jurisdiction also. Sallust says (*Jug.*, 31): *Indignabamini ærarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere*; and Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 102) says that, in the time of Sylla, nations and kings, friends or allies, and not merely the tributary cities, but also the allied cities with whom Rome had made treaty, granting them liberty and immunity, now all paid tribute and owed obedience, πᾶσαι συντέλειν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν. Immunity released even from paying the tenth, at least in Sicily (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 69; iii. 6; v. 21), and from certain onerous obligations, like that in respect to winter quarters. (*Plebiscit. de Thermens.*, i. 45-55.) Furthermore, the immunity was personal, not territorial, *Italicensis, quorum incolæ decumas dant, ipsi agros immunes habent*. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 40.) The *incola* is the individual resident in a city, but not a citizen of it. When the State called for the double tithe from a province, the cities which were *liberæ* and *immunes* were obliged to furnish corn at a fixed price. Cic., *II in Verr.*, iv. 9; iii. 73.) Strabo, speaking of the Eleuthero-Laonians, says (viii., p. 365): *πλὴν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν*.

<sup>1</sup> *Dig.*, l., tit. 15, fr. 8, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie min.*, pl. 93, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Hospitium priatum, hospitium publicum*. (Livy, i. 49; v. 50.) Cære is the only instance we are able to name of "public hospitality" with Rome. At the same time it is certain that this relation was often established with the cities or tribes on the frontiers, for the *Digest* speaks of

personal honours. Among the cities in a province, there were ranks, and consequent precedence.

There was not merely difference between cities, but also between fellow-citizens of the same city, for the right of Roman citizenship, Latin rights, immunity and liberty might be granted, with hereditary succession, to families or to individuals.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, a Liparæan having saved the life of some deputies sent into Greece by the senate, his descendants, when, about a century and a half later, Rome made the conquest of their island, were declared exempt from all tribute.

We have not completed an enumeration of all the conditions of the subject. Rome willingly conferred her citizenship on the provincials,<sup>2</sup> but by degrees. Thus it was possible to have Roman citizenship, but without the right of aspiring to public office.<sup>3</sup> To become a Roman citizen, an Egyptian must first be made a citizen of Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> Again, this distinction existed among subject cities, that to some more favoured, their lands had been left or restored on payment of a certain royalty, the tenth (*civitates decumane*);<sup>5</sup> while to others less fortunate the royalty was a variable sum,<sup>6</sup> the collecting of which was farmed out by the censors (*civitates censoriae*).<sup>7</sup>

The province, it will be seen, was far from forming a homogeneous whole. Still further, the provinces differed from one another, their position towards Rome not being the same. We

it as a habitual condition. *Si cum gente aliqua neque amicitiam, neque hospitium, neque foedus, amicitiae causa factum, habemus* (xlix., tit. 15, § 4, 9, 2). In respect to patrons, they are referred to in countless inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, xii. 39. As regards citizenship, examples abound everywhere. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 3.) Josephus had obtained from Titus ἀριθύναν, ἥτις ἐστὶ μεγίστη τίμη τῇ λαβόντι. (Jos. Vita, 76.)

<sup>2</sup> *Stipendiariorum ex Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia, cæteris provinciis multos civitate donatos videmus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 9) . . . *singillatim* (id., *Phil.*, ii. 37).

<sup>3</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 23-25.

<sup>4</sup> Plin., *Epist.*, x. 22. This obligation was imposed by Octavius.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cic., *in Rull.*, i. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Is ager a censoribus locari solet.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.) Sicily had three allied cities, five free and exempt cities, thirty-four cities paying tithes, and about twenty-five whose dues were farmed out by the censors (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6); Sardinia had only cities paying the *stipendiarium* (Cic., *pro Scauro*, ii. 44); Corsica, two colonies (Sen., *ad Helv.*, 8); the Tarracensis, after Augustus, twelve colonies, thirteen *municipia* with right of Roman citizenship, eighteen with the *jus Latii*, one allied city, 135 paying *stipendiarium*, and 293 other cities or villages depended on them; Bætica, nine colonies, eight *municipia*, twenty-nine Latin cities, six free cities, three allied, and 120 paying *stipendiarium*. (Pl., *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 1.)

have already seen that some had a governor of higher, and others of lower rank. The privileges of which we have just spoken had moreover been dispensed through each province in varying manner; their municipal institutions had nothing in common, and as their rights suffered, their obligations also varied. It is not possible to determine what each paid to Rome, but it is clear they neither paid similar sums, nor in the same manner.

Thus Gaul and Macedon seem to have given only a fixed sum.<sup>1</sup> Most of the cities of Carthaginian Africa,<sup>2</sup> Egypt,<sup>3</sup> Syria and Cilicia<sup>4</sup> paid capitation taxes even for women, and in Egypt, as it seems, for slaves. This last province was later charged with feeding the Roman people for four months.<sup>5</sup> Sicily and Sardinia paid their tithes in kind, and Sardinians besides paid a tribute according to property.<sup>6</sup> Africa and Spain bought back their harvests at a price which never varied whatever might have been the inclemency of the season.<sup>7</sup> Asia and Greece paid the land-tax.

It was difficult to introduce as much variety into the method of collecting the tax. The tax-gatherer must be either Roman or native. The senate authorized the Spaniards,<sup>8</sup> Cæsar permitted the Asiatics,<sup>9</sup> and Paulus Æmilius the Macedonians, to make their own collections. In Greece,<sup>10</sup> in Asia before Cæsar's time,<sup>11</sup> and in Sicily the tax-gatherers were publicans, who had bought

<sup>1</sup> *Vestigal certum quod stipendiarium dicitur.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.) Macedon gave in this way 100 talents (about £20,000). Plut., *Æmilius*, 28. Gaul, 40,000,000 *sesterces* (about £300,000). Suet., *Cæs.*, 25; Eutrop., vi. 17.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Lib.*, 135. In Africa the tax was ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως.

<sup>3</sup> Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 16. The tribute was more than 12,000 talents. (Str., xvii., p. 79.)

<sup>4</sup> App., *Syr.*, 50. The tribute was one per cent. of the valuation. Cicero, *ad Att.*, v. 16 *imperata ἐπιτεφάλαα*. *Ad Fam.*, iii. 8: *acerbisima exactio capillum et ostiorum*.

<sup>5</sup> Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 10, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Livy, xxiii. 32; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 18; Hirtius, *de Bell. Afr.*, 98. Some have understood Cicero to place Sicily in the same category (*II in Verr.*, ii. 53). *Omnes Siculi ex censu quotannis tributa conferunt* (id., *ibid.*, 55, 56). But here we must understand by *tributa* the tax necessary to pay the expenses of the town, levied upon the citizens. In his oration *pro Flacco*, 9, Cicero again uses the word *tributa*, clearly to designate the private revenues of cities. This is also the view taken by Hirschke, *Ueber den Census und die Steuerfassung*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Livy, xliii. 2.

<sup>9</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4: Ὑπὸν τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων.

<sup>10</sup> Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, iii. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6; *ad Quint.*, i. 10; *ad Att.*, i. 17.

at Rome the right of collecting the tributes. In Sicily, certain tithes, those of wine and oil and of small crops, were farmed out, before the time of Verres, by the quæstors in the island itself.

When the Romans had conquered Latium, they prohibited all trade between the Latin cities. The same prohibition was laid upon the Macedonians, when they were distributed into four districts after the fall of Perseus; upon Illyria, divided into three cantons, which were to remain absolute strangers to each other;<sup>1</sup> upon Achæa, after the fall of Corinth.<sup>2</sup> An expression used by Cicero shows that everywhere the same policy was pursued: "Diocles of Panormus," he says, "had hired a field in the territory of Segesta, for between those cities there was a right of trading."<sup>3</sup> The *jus commercii* therefore was the exception, and the prohibition was the rule, since the orator was obliged to explain how the inhabitants of one city could occupy land belonging to another city. It is true the two cities were free, that is to say, they were two so-called independent States, but this class of cities were very numerous, and it cannot be doubted that their independence was often limited in this respect. The Roman citizen, being able to buy and sell everywhere, found it too much for his advantage to be free from rival enterprises for the senate not to multiply these prohibitions.

The province, divided internally as we have seen, had no bond of union with adjacent provinces. They were a foreign land, *aliena*. Thus a person might be exiled from his province.<sup>4</sup> The proconsul who crossed the boundaries of his province incurred the charge of treason; and a city—at least this was the case in Bithynia by the Pompeian law—could not give to the inhabitant of another province the right of citizenship.<sup>5</sup> These prohibitions accorded so well with the narrow spirit of the ancient municipalities that they were accepted without resistance.

Since feudalism, that is to say, the reign of the castles, has passed over modern societies, the country is separated from the city. A city now has but a narrow belt of suburbs surrounding

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv. 26, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan., vii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *II in Ferr.*, iii. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Claud.*, 23; Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 64; Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 20. This is the same with the French *internement*.

<sup>5</sup> *Non civitatis alienæ*. (Plin., *Epist.*, x. 115.)

it; formerly it had a province. At the present day the well-to-do class and a large proportion of the working class live and die in the city. A whole life is spent there, because there is trade, industry, intellectual activity, all the resources and all the pleasures of civilization. Among the ancients life was spent in the country in the rude labours of agriculture, the only industry with which they were acquainted, and in the solitude which such an existence imposes. At the same time there was need of a place of refuge in case of invasion, of gathering for the discussion of common interests, a fortress and a public square, the capitol and the forum, the acropolis and the agora. This was the city, usually placed upon a height easily susceptible of defence. This fortified enclosure (*urbs ἄστυ*) formed, with the territory dependent upon it, the city (*civitas πόλις*).

It is in many cases difficult to draw the dividing line so as to avoid, on the one hand, coming down to a lifeless atom, or on the other, leaving a whole which is both heterogeneous and cumbersome by its bulk. The [French] *commune* is too small; France has 36,000 of them, but the Roman city was too large; in Gallia Comata, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, there were only sixteen. They were really small States, with a complicated administration, including many secondary cities,<sup>1</sup> with a budget, magistrates for taking of the census, for the administration of justice, for the superintendence of public works, of police, of public health, of all the interests of the city and of the territory, and ready, upon the withdrawal of the hand which kept the peace among them, to arm their militia and send them out against

<sup>1</sup> Nîmes had dependent upon her twenty-four towns. (Strabo and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5.) A hundred and seventy-nine cities of the Tarraconensis possessed 293 villages. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3.) The towns of the Carni, in the Carnic Alps, were in the jurisdiction of Tergeste (Zumpt., *Decretum municipale Tergestinum*); Calatia was dependent upon Capua, Caudium upon Beneventum. (Becker and Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.*, iii. p. 3.) This was the Greek principle: for example, there was but one city in Attica and one in Laconia, though in these two provinces there were many towns. Accordingly, the Greeks often used the name of the city for that of the territory. These secondary places, *loci*, were called in Italy, *fora*, *conciliabula*, *vici*, *castella*. The principal places were generally called *municipia* or *oppida*. Where there were no cities, the country was set off into *pagi*, as in Pannonia, or into *regiones*, as in Mæsia, both being again sub-divided into *vici*. (Becker, *ibid.*) It would appear from the Julian law (*tabula Heracleensis*) that only inhabitants of *municipia*, colonies or prefectures, might be raised to the duumvirate or the quatuorvirate, the highest municipal offices (lines 15, 21, 24), but that the people living in the *fora* or the *conciliabula* could aspire to the decurionate. (lines 35, 45, 50, 54, 56, 61, 63.)



their neighbours whom they loved no better than great States are wont to love those whose frontiers touch their own.<sup>1</sup>

If this municipal organization left the governor little to do, unless he had the inclination to interfere in everything, it made the Roman empire, instead of a homogeneous people, a union of little States, most of them living under different conditions. Wrapped about and held in restraint by the administration above them, these cities will remain united only so long as the binding force holds firm, as soon as it is weakened, all ties will break, and the barbarians, few in number though they are, will subjugate, one after another, these nations, which having never had sentiments and interests in common, will not in the decisive moment be able to make common stock of their resources and their courage.

#### VII.—PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES.

Between the State and the commune, even if the latter were not reduced to its present insignificant proportions, there was needed an intermediate division, a political representation of the province itself. There ought, therefore, to have been below the formidable government whose seat was Rome, and above the humble and timid magistrates of the cities, men who could speak in the name of the province, that is to say, in the name of an important interest which the government was bound to treat with respect. Assemblies thus composed might no doubt have become embarrassing to the power of Rome, but they would have restrained its excesses. The institution would have been a good one; but was it possible?

The ancients were not so ignorant of the representative system

<sup>1</sup> See in Tacitus (*Hist.*, i. 65) the bitter hate existing between Lugdunum and Vienna, who attacked each other the instant that the troubles of the empire permitted them to do so with impunity, and the bloody combat between the people of Nuceria and of Puteoli (*Id.*, *Ann.*, xiv. 17), Cicero, in a passage already cited (*ad Quint.*, I. i. 11), shows all these little States ready to tear each other in pieces if Rome did not impose peace upon them. Tyre and Sidon had been free, and Augustus was obliged to deprive them of liberty (18 B.C.) on account of the seditions which desolated them. (Dion Cassius, lxxiv. 7.) Nero restores to the Greeks their liberty, and they at once return to their civil wars, 'Ες ἰμῶνλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν. (Pausan., vii. 17, 4.) Vespasian, therefore, replaces them under the authority of a governor, saying that they have forgotten how to be free. (*Id.*, *ibid.*)

as they have been said to be.<sup>1</sup> The Greek race, it is true, were never willing to emerge from their little cities<sup>2</sup> and form a great State, yet its tribes never lost sight of their fraternal origin, and in token of this common blood, they had certain national institutions in which religion, art, and pleasure had more share, no doubt, than politics, but which formed a tie between the members of the Hellenic family. The Amphictyons at Delphi were not always limited to affairs of the temple, and the Lycians had a genuine parliament, a wise people, "whose twenty-three cities," says Strabo, "sent deputies to an assembly held in a designated place. The most important of the cities sent three deputies, those next in rank two, and the humblest one. They contributed in a like proportion to the public expenses. . . . The assembly begins by naming a chief of the confederation; it then proceeds to the appointment of the other officers of the Lycian body. It appoints also the judges of all the tribunals. Formerly peace and war and alliances were determined in the same assembly, but this cannot now be done save by the consent of the Romans who accord permission only for deliberations concerning local interests. The number of magistrates and judges named by each city is in proportion to the number of votes it controls."<sup>3</sup>

The Lycian body was not an isolated instance. Greece, which had been the great political school of the world, desired, after passing through all phases, and as if to leave nothing untried, to also make the essay of representative government.<sup>4</sup> Commenced

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the ideas spread abroad in the ancient world in respect to a mixed and balanced government, see Cicero, *de Rep.*, i. 45; Tac., iv. 33.

<sup>2</sup> In Greece, exclusive of the islands, have been counted ninety-nine distinct States, thirty of which were free under the emperors. (Kuhn, *Beiträge z. Verfass. des Röm. Reichs.*, p. 125-9.)

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xiv. p. 665. [See the interesting account of this constitution in Freeman's *Federal Government*, I. p. 208. *Ed.*] Caria was organized in the same manner. "The cantons having the most towns have also," he says, "the most votes in the general assembly; their association is known under the name of Chrysaoreon." (*Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 660.) "If we want an example of a noble federative republic," says Montesquieu, "I will indicate the republic of Lycia." (*Espr. des Lois*, ix. 3.) I cite Montesquieu, for Lycia came to a bad end (Dion., lx. 17; Suet., *Claud.*, 25), and her institutions have been held responsible. See also Strabo, xiii. p. 631, concerning the tetrapolis of Phrygia, and Gruter (*Inscr.*, No. 2056) for the pentapolis formed by Odessus, Mesembria, Tomi, Istriani, and Apollonia.

<sup>4</sup> [Mr. Freeman has shown (*Fed. Govt.* I. p. 266, *seq.*) with what limitations this statement should be introduced. Practically, because only rich and idle men attended the meetings, the government was representative, but every free Achaean had a right to go and to vote.—*Ed.*]

too late, and amidst unfavourable conditions, the attempt failed. However, the brilliancy which the Achæan league cast over the last days of Greece gave this system a durable popularity. When the conquest was completed and secured, Rome left her new subjects to re-unite one after another the bonds which she had carefully broken. Everywhere confederations were re-formed, and if politically these new leagues had not even the shadow of liberty, yet they preserved the memory of it, and its reality might any day reappear under the forms which for the moment were but a deceitful show.<sup>1</sup>

Coin of Pergamus.<sup>2</sup>

Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamean Asia had general assemblies, which were held successively in the principal cities of the province. Upon a coin of Pergamus is the temple of Rome and of Augustus with this legend, *Comunitas Asiæ*. Cæsar gathered at Tarsus deputies from all the cities of Cilicia.<sup>3</sup> Mention is also made in the *Digest* of assemblies of Thracians and assemblies of Thessalians held at Larissa; in the code of a general priesthood or superintendence of the games of Syria and Phœnicia; in the medals and inscriptions of the province of Asia of a supreme pontiff, ἀρχιερεύς; and of a president of the sacred games, Δσιάρχης, chosen by deputies of the entire province, κοινὸν Ἀσίας.<sup>4</sup> At these meetings the deputies took a certain order determined by the rank

<sup>1</sup> The Ionians of the thirteen cities of Ionia (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, ii. p. 503, and Strabo, xiv. 639) always met at the Panionium, the Achæans at Ægium (Pausan., vii. 27), the Bœotians at Coronea (Bückh., *Corp. Inscr.*, i. p. 5 of the introduction); the league of the Phocians subsisted (Pausan., x. 5) as well as the Amphictyonic council. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, 8.) Hadrian instituted at Athens, in the Panhellenion, an assembly of all the Greeks. (Müller, *Æginet.*, p. 152, seq.; Bœckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, No. 385; and Ahrens, *de Athen. statu.*)

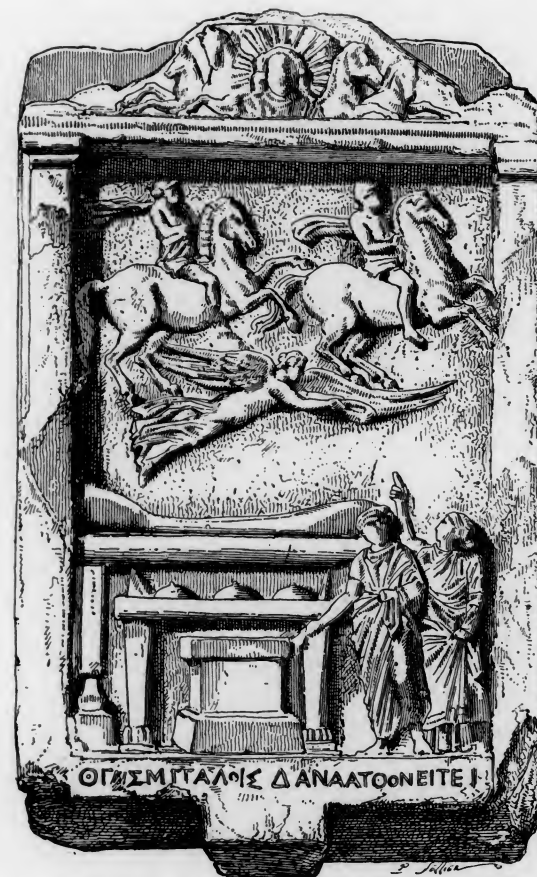
<sup>2</sup> COM(munitas) ASI(æ). Fortune standing, crowning Claudius in a bi-columnar temple consecrated to Rome and to Augustus, the first letters of which names are upon the pediment, ROM. ET AVG. Reverse of a silver coin of Claudius.

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of their cities, some coming first, like Ephesus and Pergamus, others in the seventh rank, like Magnesia in Ionia.

Testimony to this effect is abundant during the imperial

Votive Column of the Dioscuri found at Larissa.<sup>1</sup>

period, but the usage was ancient and anterior to the Roman conquest. Indeed, it has been shown in the course of this history

<sup>1</sup> In the centre, a festal couch for the divine guests; in front, a table, with sacred cakes, a priest making a libation, a woman raising her right hand towards the gods, whom she invokes, and the Dioscuri going by at a gallop in the sky; beneath them, Fortune, bearing a crown for those offering the sacrifice; below, the inscription, "To the great gods," a name often given to Castor and Pollux, "Danaa, daughter of [I]thoneite[s]." (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 419 and pl. xxv.) This votive column is in the Louvre.

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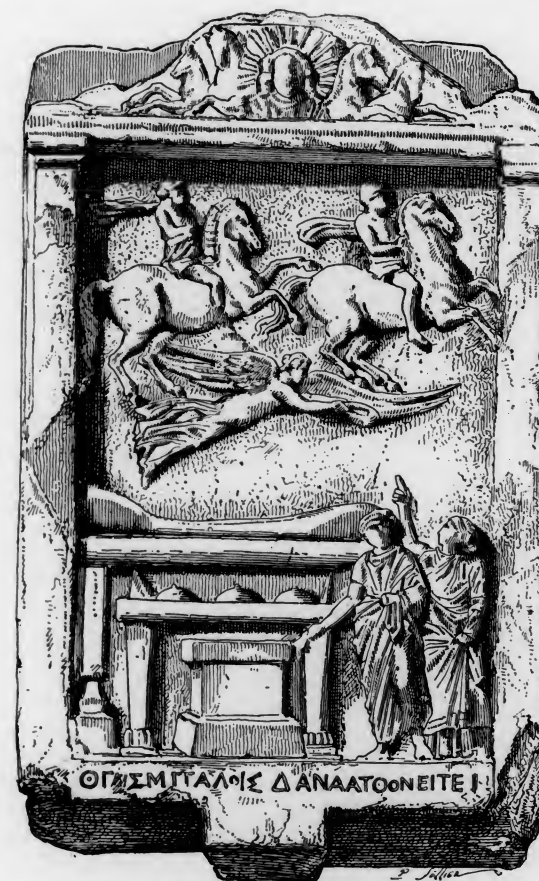
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that all the Italian races had similar assemblies, that the Romans took part in the Latin *feriae*, and that at one time a proposition was made that the allied cities should be allowed to elect two



Ionian Coin.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Magnesian Ionia.<sup>2</sup>

senators to sit at Rome with the Conscript Fathers of the Republic. These ideas, therefore, were not foreign to the Roman mind, and were carried with the Roman domination into those western regions where they had germinated spontaneously.

Cæsar will presently convoke the deputies of the *Further Spain* at Cordova and of *Nearer* at Tarragona. In Gaul he will call together every year the States-

general of the country, and Augustus will assemble about him the deputies of the provinces through which he journeys. Before their time, Sertorius, in the Iberian peninsula, had pursued the same course.

Respecting the rights of these assemblies we know but little. In the West, Julius and Augustus Cæsar seem to have given them a political character by consulting them upon affairs of importance; in the East, they appear to have had, at least for the time with which our documents are concerned, authority only in matters of religion.<sup>3</sup> We find the assembly of proconsular Asia meeting in 165 A.D. in upper Phrygia and appointing the asiarchs,

<sup>1</sup> ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ (the Pergamean Ephesians [being] the first of Asia). Hercules seated and Diana standing, her quiver on the ground; beneath, ΚΟΙΝΩΝ ΓΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ (the community [association] of thirteen cities), and ΠΡΟ ΜΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ (being procurator [or proconsul], Marcus Claudius Fronto). On other coins he is *asiarch*. The thirteen cities composing this community were Miletus, Ephesus, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Priene, Phocæa, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Myus, the two islands, Samos and Chios, to which was added later Smyrna. Why are the Pergameans named in this inscription? No one can say. The cut represents the reverse of a very rare bronze of Antoninus, struck in Ionia. (Note of M. de Sauley.)

<sup>2</sup> ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ (the people of Magnesia, seventh city of the province of Asia). Bacchus, a child, upon the mystic cistus, surrounded by a wreath. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ionian Magnesia, of Gordian III.

<sup>3</sup> In the inscriptions of Orelli, No. 3144, we find a *prætor Hetruriae xv. populorum*. In No. 2182 mention is made of the *sacra Etruriae*, and the Latin games lasted until the fourth century. (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, i. 21.) *Pacarius, vocatis principibus insule (Corsica), consilium aperit*. (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 16.) United Sicily, *communis Sicilia*, decrees that statues shall be erected to Verres. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 59, 63.)

from whose number the Roman governor selected the one who should fill the very honourable but ruinous office of supreme pontiff for the entire province; a passage in Strabo proves the extreme antiquity of this usage.<sup>1</sup>

There was certainly in these essentially popular customs a germ which might have been developed, to the great profit of the provinces and the empire, but these assemblies were allowed to subsist, obscure and useless, so that the provincial government lacked the counterpoise which might so easily have been given it. If this idea be criticised, we may rejoin that history is by no means designed simply to register what has been done and to applaud it; that Rome, in becoming a world, was bound to suffer transformation, and that for a dominion so vast, one of two forms of government became inevitable, either that which she did in fact adopt, namely, the absolute power of the ruler, subordinating the prosperity of the empire to all the accidents of royal births, to all the hazards of an election in the barracks, or else a close union between Rome and her provinces by the effective participation of the latter in the general administration. Doubtless an organization like this would have shocked the old Roman prejudices, but a great State cannot be founded without forethought. Julius and Augustus Cæsar had this forethought for a brief time in Gaul; the senate might have carried it everywhere, for with these assemblies, which existed everywhere, it would have been easy to unite counsel and action, so as to submit arbitrary will to censure, and put a bridle upon misused power. Such a constitution Rome herself had with her senate and consuls; it was a question of giving it to her subjects, and then binding the provinces fast to Rome by granting to their assemblies what Spurius Carvilius had



Veiled Pontiff clothed in a Long Robe.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aristides, *Orat.*, xxvi. p. 344-6; Strab., xiv. p. 649. This is a very high dignity, says Philostratus (*Sophist. vitæ*, lib. i. § 212), but very costly, *ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων*. The asiarchs had the superintendence of the sacred games of the province; there were also asiarchs for the solemnities of the cities.

<sup>2</sup> Silver statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2874 of the catalogue. See in vol. i. p. 667, a bronze figurine almost similar, giving exactly the Roman pontifical costume.

asked, after the great massacre at Cannæ, for the citizens of the Italian cities.<sup>1</sup> The question well deserved to be studied and determined, for had the empire been better organized there would have been no Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman Catholic clergy well understood the importance of this machinery for establishing over immense districts a community of interests and beliefs. They imitated with their synods of bishops these provincial assemblies, so that if the latter did not bring the representative system into the State, we may at least say that they aided in introducing it into religious organization. The Church crowned this work of deep sagacity by establishing above the provincial synod a supreme senate, the œcumenical council, and this double institution long secured unity to its faith, its discipline, and its empire. What Christian Rome knew how to do, why could not pagan Rome have done? The Roman pride and the interests of 200 families, whom we shall see in the last century of the Republic living upon the plunder of the whole world, did not permit it.

It is only fair, however, to recognize that the solution here indicated would have been extremely difficult in the face of those fatalities of education, of historic conditions and of hereditary prejudices which in all time reduce to a minimum true largeness of mind. The province, which never even succeeded in making itself recognized as a civil entity, capable of action and ownership, remained nothing more than a territorial division, and its governors, who regarded their appointment as a sentence of exile<sup>3</sup> when they did not regard it as a means of repairing a fortune, ruined by pleasure or by the purchase of an office, found themselves surrounded by weakness and servility, for there was nowhere that union which gives strength, or that dignity which springs from

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 616, the proposition of Carvilius in 216, and p. 322, the request of the Latin prætors in the year 340. Elsewhere we shall further consider this question of municipal and provincial organization.

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks of Asia were so far from being destitute of the desire to organize that they had given numerical rank to their cities; some were *metropoles*, and first, others second, seventh, etc. Thus Ephesus was *πρώτη πασῶν* (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, ii. p. 521); Magnesia was *ἰβδόμη τῆς Ἀσίας* (*id.*, *ibid.*, p. 527); Aspendus *τρίτη τῶν ἐκεί* (Cilicia). (Philostrat., *Vita Apoll.*, i. 15.) Unfortunately all this was only a matter of vanity, and this organization only regulated precedence at the games and feasts of the province. (Cf. Eckhel, *ibid.*, iv. p. 288.)

<sup>3</sup> See Cicero, *ad Att.*, ii. 16, and all his letters dated from Cilicia.

the conviction of a man's rights which he desires and is able to assert.

Plutarch somewhere has an energetic sentence concerning the Asiatics, races who never, he says, knew how to say *No*. From one end to the other of the vast domains of Rome there was no longer—if we except a few mountaineers sheltered in inaccessible gorges—a nation who knew how to utter that word, and therefore, in spite of formulas and treaties, in spite of all the privileges we have enumerated at such length, there existed, in truth, but one condition throughout the provinces—the condition of subjects.

The Romans, then, never knew how to rise to any higher idea than that of force, and all their political science is expressed in two words, *divide et impera*. At the same time, under honest proconsuls and intelligent emperors, this principle was concealed under a noble name, the name of justice, *jus*, which was to control all the dealings of Rome with the provincials. When Pliny mentions a city he alludes to the tribunal to which the city is accountable, and where she comes to seek for justice, *jura petere*. Later, another form expressed the advantage, which was the compensation for this imperious sway, *pax romana*, that “Roman peace” destined to draw the nations together and blend all languages, the real imperial divinity to whom the greatest of the emperors, Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan will build temples, and whose boundless majesty, *immensa romanæ pacis majestas*, the nations will honour with sincere homage.

<sup>1</sup> Peace seated, holding an olive branch and a sceptre; the legend, PAX AUGUST. Reverse of a gold coin of Vespasian.



Peace.<sup>1</sup>

## SIXTH PERIOD.

THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SYLLA (133—79);

EFFORTS AT REFORM.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

HELLENISM AT ROME.

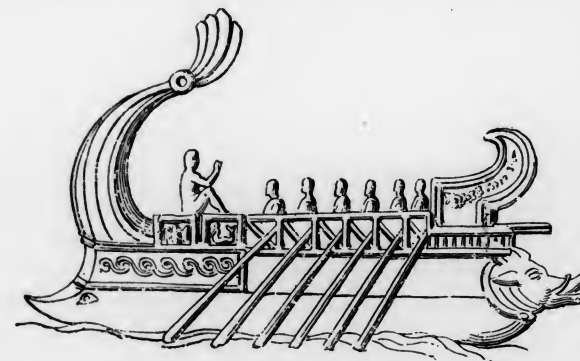
### I.—MORAL CONDITION OF GREECE IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

IN the year 146 B.C., about the ides of April, Rome presented a most animated aspect. For several days, says Appian, the senate had not met, the tribunals were deserted, and in the streets and squares are immense crowds gathered, seemingly expectant of some great event. Suddenly the news spread that from Ostia had been seen out at sea a ship adorned with the most magnificent trophies,<sup>1</sup> and bearing wreaths of laurel on her prow. They dared not yet believe in the good news, but towards evening the ship had entered the Tiber, and from a thousand voices the cry burst forth, "Carthage is taken!" The whole night was spent in the wildest revelry. "She is fallen at last," they said, "this hated rival!" The crowd gathered to listen where a few old men, here and there, were telling of a time they could remember when for sixteen years Numidian horses had trampled the soil of Italy, when across the smoking ruins of 400 cities, and plains strewn with 300,000 Roman corpses, a Carthaginian army had made its way to the very gates of Rome; and now the city whence Hannibal had

<sup>1</sup> Ναῦν . . . κοσμήσας λαφύροις. (App., *Libyca*, 133.)

come was destroyed by Scipio! Corinth also had just fallen, and two triumphs were preparing, one for Metellus, the second conqueror of Macedon, the other for Mummius, victorious over the Achæans. Looking eastward beyond subjugated Greece, there were to be seen only trembling nations and enslaved kings. Viriathus was scarcely a shadow in this brilliant picture of the prosperity of Rome.

And yet, looking upon the ruins of Carthage, Scipio had wept as he thought of his own city. His were not idle and poetic



Transport Vessel (p. 202).

tears. These Romans of stern temper had not the chord in their hearts that vibrates to vague anxieties. Scipio knew his country: under the brilliant exterior he could see the slow disintegration of morals, religion, and of the people itself—the alarming decrease in the number of small landowners, the increase of slavery, the influence of the tax-farmers, the insolence of the nobles, the venality of the poor. In this inevitable transformation, the necessity of which he could not understand, he beheld dangers more formidable than Hannibal and Carthage. And he was right, for the old Rome was about to perish, and give place to a new.

In the preceding volume we have shown a patriciate taking the place of royalty, then constrained to share the government with the people, this fortunate union allaying internal discord. The best days of republican equality at Rome lie between the beginning of the Samnite war and the close of the second war with Carthage.



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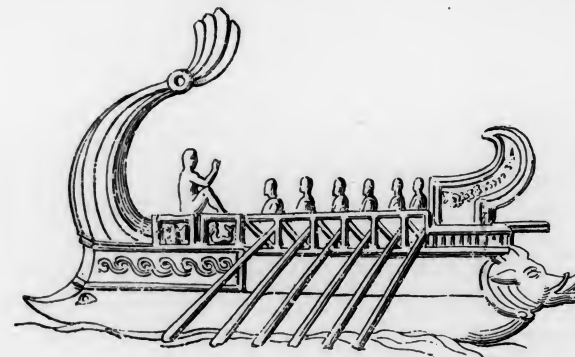
### I.—MORAL CONDITION OF GREECE IN THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

IN the year 146 B.C., about the ides of April, Rome presented a most animated aspect. For several days, says Appian, the senate had not met, the tribunals were deserted, and in the streets and squares are immense crowds gathered, seemingly expectant of some great event. Suddenly the news spread that from Ostia had been seen out at sea a ship adorned with the most magnificent trophies,<sup>1</sup> and bearing wreaths of laurel on her prow. They dared not yet believe in the good news, but towards evening the ship had entered the Tiber, and from a thousand voices the cry burst forth, "Carthage is taken!" The whole night was spent in the wildest revelry. "She is fallen at last," they said, "this hated rival!" The crowd gathered to listen where a few old men, here and there, were telling of a time they could remember when for sixteen years Numidian horses had trampled the soil of Italy, when across the smoking ruins of 400 cities, and plains strewn with 300,000 Roman corpses, a Carthaginian army had made its way to the very gates of Rome; and now the city whence Hannibal had

<sup>1</sup> Ναῦν . . . κοσμήσας λαφύροις. (App., *Libyca*, 133.)

come was destroyed by Scipio! Corinth also had just fallen, and two triumphs were preparing, one for Metellus, the second conqueror of Macedon, the other for Mummius, victorious over the Achæans. Looking eastward beyond subjugated Greece, there were to be seen only trembling nations and enslaved kings. Viriathus was scarcely a shadow in this brilliant picture of the prosperity of Rome.

And yet, looking upon the ruins of Carthage, Scipio had wept as he thought of his own city. His were not idle and poetic



Transport Vessel (p. 202).

tears. These Romans of stern temper had not the chord in their hearts that vibrates to vague anxieties. Scipio knew his country: under the brilliant exterior he could see the slow disintegration of morals, religion, and of the people itself—the alarming decrease in the number of small landowners, the increase of slavery, the influence of the tax-farmers, the insolence of the nobles, the venality of the poor. In this inevitable transformation, the necessity of which he could not understand, he beheld dangers more formidable than Hannibal and Carthage. And he was right, for the old Rome was about to perish, and give place to a new.

In the preceding volume we have shown a patriciate taking the place of royalty, then constrained to share the government with the people, this fortunate union allaying internal discord. The best days of republican equality at Rome lie between the beginning of the Samnite war and the close of the second war with Carthage.

All was at that time common—magistracies, honours, and devotion to the public good, and to this equality of rights corresponded very nearly a similar equality of fortunes. The great consuls, Cincinnatus, Curius, Fabricius, when they were not invested with the triumphal robe, wore the peasant's tunic and lived in the peasant's poverty and industry. Patricians and plebeians vied with each other in their zeal to serve the State, and if the former gave Fabius and Papirius and the Scipios, the latter could boast of Decius, Metellus, and Marcellus. The Romans of that time were indeed a great people, rough and rude still, but full of the spirit of civic duty, and keeping, with their strongly constituted family life, the stern morality of early days. Accordingly, it was the epoch of the difficult victories over the Samnites and Pyrrhus, over Carthage and Hannibal, which made easy all that came later.

In these wars Rome had fought for her existence; she obtained empire by their means, but at the cost of her institutions. Under the stress of circumstances, she retraced her steps—she came back from equality to privilege, from the rule of a wise democracy, which was excellent for a city, to a centralized government, indispensable for a power which reached so far. Unfortunately this revolution was complicated by another; the economic conditions of society were changed by the conquest of rich provinces. Rome, whose manners had long been those of poverty, suddenly assumed those of wealth, but of wealth acquired by pillage, not by industry. The strife of classes sprung up again, and as in the early time, the city contained two distinct peoples. If time and the law had almost effaced the distinction between patrician and plebeian, a worse barrier was now raised between rich and poor, the former every day growing prouder and more insolent, the latter more wretched and submissive.

We must study closely this transformation, by which are explained the revolutions of the last hundred years of the Roman republic; on the one side, there was the invasion of Hellenism modifying the intellectual and moral life of the aristocracy; on the other, the incessant wars, by which the old race was wasted away, and replaced by freedmen, and for the prosperous termination of which it became necessary that all authority should be concentrated in the hands of the senate.

It was a moral and political revolution, less due to the ambition of men than to irresistible circumstances. Nations are not such masters of their fate that they can escape the consequences of their own deeds. Upon the world's theatre two unequal forces act—the liberty of man and historic fate—I mean that force of circumstances which man himself creates, since it results from deeds which he himself has done, but whose remote results no human wisdom can foresee, and whose effects no human will can completely control. Thus the invasion of Hellenism was the inevitable re-action of civilized subjects upon the barbaric conqueror, and an oligarchy arose inevitably out of the popular assembly, which was unsuited to watch over the important interests which resulted from victory.

"After the transmarine wars," says Cicero, "a great wave of new ideas and of knowledge poured into Rome."<sup>1</sup> But what was it that the Greeks of that day could give?

We have shown the weakness of Greece at the time when it was invaded by the Romans, with the purpose of thus explaining the facility of its conquest.<sup>2</sup> In now showing, as the poet says, how the Greeks avenged themselves on Rome by giving her their vices, we shall do well to examine their moral condition at the time.

The Greek people had lived so intensely that it had really a very long life, and at the epoch of which we speak was far advanced in age—the dishonoured old age of a people wasting in factiousness and turbulence the little strength that remained, having lost, too, the virtues of the time when all had together laboured for the common good. The youth (*ephebi*) still received their severe training, but upon their entrance into active life they quickly forgot what they had learned, for since Alexander had given the treasures of Persia to the Greeks, and since his successors offered them innumerable places at court, in which complaisance towards the master led to complaisance towards one's self, public morals, formerly preserved by poverty and danger,

<sup>1</sup> *De Rep.*, ii. 19. He says again, in the *pro Archia*, 3: *Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum.*

<sup>2</sup> See vol. ii. p. 1, *seq.*

declined, and with all its brilliant exterior, this civilization seemed at last to aim at nothing but multiplying for man the means of satisfying his lowest desires.<sup>1</sup>

The chief object was to live well, not as Phidias and Plato had understood it, but after the manner, to quote Horace,<sup>2</sup> of those swine of Epicurus, who declared that reason and nature commands us to refer everything to the pleasures of sense.<sup>3</sup> The poets of the middle and new comedy at Athens return endlessly to this theme; one of them represents a cook explaining the important influence of the culinary art upon human affairs:

"What is all this nonsense you are talking?" says the poet Alexis.<sup>4</sup> "The Lyceum and the Academy and the Odeon, and the Amphictionic council—folies of sophists, in which I acknowledge nothing of value! Let us drink, my dear Sico, let us drink to excess and lead a merry life while we have the means to do so. . . . Virtues, embassies, commands, 'tis all vain glory and a vain rumour out of the land of dreams. Death will lay his icy hand upon you on the day the gods have appointed. What will then remain to you? What you have eaten and drunk, and no more. The rest is dust—dust of Pericles, of Codrus, or of Cimon!"

But is not this an outburst of ill humour in the poet? yes, certainly, but also a sign of the times. Ennius had just translated for the Romans the *Gastronomy* of Archestratus, and we know that to arrange a banquet skilfully was an object of ambition even to the severe Paulus Æmilius.

For this merry life gold was needful, and the men of that time sought it everywhere—in all things, even by vice and fraud. For many of them, their word was but a pawn in the game,<sup>5</sup> and there were those who dared to say, "O divine metal, gift

<sup>1</sup> *Græci vitiorum omnium genitores.* (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xv. 4.) See in Plautus, *passim*, the definition of Greek life, *pergræcari*. [We must remember that there were many noble exceptions.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> . . . *Epicuri de grege porcum.* (*Ep.*, I. iv. 16.) Cicero had also said: *Epicure noster, ex hara producte, non ex schola.* (*In Pis.*, 16.)

<sup>3</sup> Athenæus, xii. 67. [Cf. also my *Social Life in Greece*, chap. xi, for further details.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> Fragment preserved by Athenæus. (See *Fragm., Comic. Græc.*, ed. Didot, p. 524.) Alexis was born at Thurii (Suidas, s.v. Ἀλεξίς) shortly before the destruction of that city by the Lucanians in 390. By birth, therefore, he was Italian, but he lived at Athens and died about 288. Aulus Gellius (ii. 23) says that some of his numerous plays were translated or imitated at Rome. [Cf. my *Hist. of Greek Lit.*, i. p. 476.—*Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> See in Plautus, *Asinaria*, v. 199, and elsewhere what was meant by "Greek faith."

most precious made to mortals; a mother is not so dear as thou art!" or, again, "Call me a swindler provided I win!"<sup>1</sup> An expression habitual in Greece was, "Lend me your testimony, and I will do the same for you."<sup>2</sup> What dishonesty, moreover, what depravity in public and in private life! Polybius has already shown this to us.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of Mallos.<sup>4</sup>

But all things answer one another; mental power declined with moral tone. To the serious working of the intellect had succeeded a research after subtleties. The imagination, so powerful with young nations, was lost, and Greek genius, exhausted and no longer able to create, observed, analyzed, criticized. Commentators succeeded poets; Aristarchus ruled at Alexandria, Crates of Mallos at Pergamus.<sup>5</sup> Poetry and eloquence were gone; Demosthenes and his rivals had been the last of the Athenian orators, Euripides and Aristophanes the last poets. Since the



Euripides.<sup>6</sup>

fourth century opened tragedy was dead; down to the third, certain

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (xxxvii. 30) says that these lines were in everybody's mouth.

<sup>2</sup> See how Cicero arraigns the Greeks in the *pro Flacco*, especially in § 4.

<sup>3</sup> See chap. xxvi. For the frightful corruption of the Greek world, consult especially Athenæus—upon Demetrius of Phalerum, xii. 60, upon Antiochus Theos, vii. 35 and x. 10, upon the cities of Syria, xii. 35, upon the philosopher Anaxarchus, xii. 70, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Satrap's head; reverse, a bull in a parallelogram, (M)AAAQT(ω)N. Silver coin of Mallos.

<sup>5</sup> Crates was sent, about 152, by Attalus on an embassy to Rome, where he gave numerous lectures. (Suet., *de Illust. Gramm.*, 2.)

<sup>6</sup> Bust in the Museum of Naples. [This poet marks the transition from the old to the new.—*Ed.*]



writers may still claim a place apart, such as Menander, the best type of what is called the new comedy, which Terence was to imitate at Rome, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, poets of elegies and pastorals, two forms which flourish in the decay of



Athlete with the *Strigillum* (attributed to Lysippus).

societies and literatures. The principal merit of Apollonius of Rhodes, the epic poet of this period, is a sustained mediocrity,<sup>1</sup> and Lycophron, the most celebrated of the members of the Alexandrian Pleiad, executed designs with his verses—eggs, axes, etc. One of his poetic caprices is to represent Hercules in the belly of a whale,<sup>2</sup> borrowed perhaps from the Septuagint, and to complete his record, he invented the anagram. Among the Greeks of the decadence, letters, once the city's glory, the dazzling sign of religious and political life, because they

were the homage of genius to the gods and to the fatherland, were reduced to the mere amusement of a frivolous society. In the second century one name alone is noteworthy—that of Polybius, who might stand beside the greatest writers of Greece

<sup>1</sup> Quintilian, x. 1; Longinus, *On the sublime*, xxxiii. 6. [But Cf. my *Greek Lit.*, i. p. 49.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 31, seq.

had he united literary skill to his conscientious and penetrating historic faculty.

In art, the powerful impulse given by Phidias, Polycletus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, had not yet ceased to make itself felt.<sup>1</sup>

These great men had bequeathed to the schools of Rhodes and Pergamus, at that time the most flourishing in the world, incomparable models, a skilful manner of handling, and technical methods which would for a long time support the faltering of genius. But already signs of decadence were appearing; some sculptors made statues colossal, believing they should thus make them great. At Rhodes ships under full sail could pass between the legs of the statue of Apollo, whose feet rested on the two piers of the harbour; others took from statuary its character of repose and serenity in striving to make it rival painting, not alone in the expression of emotion common to both, but in the representation of varied and violent scenes. They overwrought the marble so as not to leave a space where some muscle did not show,



The Farnese Bull.<sup>2</sup>

and overstrained the dramatic effect of the figures, as in the over-praised statue of the Laocoon, which has been called a tragedy in three acts, and that of the Farnese bull, lauded as a poem in stone.

After all, the progress or decline of art mattered little to the Romans, who left to their subjects the work of keeping them

<sup>1</sup> No actual piece of Lysippus is extant; but we know there are several Roman copies, of which two are given above. [The famous Venus of Melos dates from late in the 3rd century B.C.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Museum of Naples. The denouement of the tragedy of Euripides, *Antiope*, has furnished the subject of this fine group. The sons of Antiope, Amphion and Zethos, are tying to a wild bull the queen Dirce, who has maltreated their mother. The tragedy was imitated by the Roman Pacuvius.

supplied with statues and pictures. Greek art, accordingly, which at first was a worship, now becomes an industry, but although all that was once its inspiration declines and perishes, it will yet keep strength enough to live four centuries longer, and to embellish that new world of the West which Rome is destined to draw into civilized life. It is a memorable example of the power of schools and of traditions, a phenomenon which, for the same reasons, is reproduced among us, where during nearly three centuries the French school has suffered only partial eclipses, while others have entirely disappeared.

Religion, on the contrary, having never had doctrinal teaching nor a clergy constituted into a powerful corporation, was incapable of retaining the minds of men in the chains of the early faith.

The enlightened class went to the temples only through habit, and uttered the names of the gods only as an oratorical device. The Olympians were dying; Æschylus had already attacked them in his *Prometheus*, and Aristophanes, the audacious mocker, in his *Birds*, where he sports with the race of gods as with men. In the *Knights*, Nicias, the faithful servant of the worthy Demos (the people), desperate at the misfortunes which happen to him, can think of nothing better than to prostrate himself before the statue of some god. "What statue?" says Demosthenes to him. "Do you really believe that there are gods?" "Certainly."—"What proofs have you?" "The proof that they have a spite against me. . . ." "Well, there is nothing to say against that."

Greece seemed to lose the memory of her past; she forgot even her great men. Cicero prided himself for having discovered at Syracuse the tomb of Archimedes hidden under thorns; he saw the temple of Delphi deserted, the Pythia mute,<sup>1</sup> and an Ætolian had burned that of Dodona, the most venerable sanctuary of the Hellenic race.

During the brilliant days of Greece the oracles had played a great part, both religious and patriotic. But how laborious was the existence of the prophetic divinities now, interrogated every

<sup>1</sup> *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphi non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jam diu: jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius?* (Cic., *de Divin.*, ii. 57.)

moment about wretched personal interests, and what suppleness of mind was needed for their priests to prepare ambiguous oracles which would satisfy the worshipper without compromising the credit of the god? There has lately been found under the ruins of the temple of Dodona a large number of appeals to the protection of Zeus Naïos.<sup>1</sup> A woman asks for a remedy which shall restore her to health, and private individuals apply for information as to which of three courses is best to follow; a shepherd promises tangible proofs of gratitude if the god will bring success to some speculation in sheep which he proposes to make; an Ambraciote wishes to know which divinity will give him health and fortune; Agis, how to recover the pillows and coverlets which have been stolen from him. The Jupiter of Homer and Phidias is fallen to the level of a fortune-teller!



Priest at Delphi.<sup>2</sup>

As the last outrage this religion no longer erected temples to any but the men of the time, and in bitter derision, as it were, vice had the honours of apotheosis. Thebes consecrated altars to the courtesan Lamia; Antiochus, "the god" (Θεός), ordered the worship of his unworthy favourite, Themison Heracles,<sup>4</sup> and "the virgin city" bestowed divine honours upon the sharers of the infamous pleasures of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The prayers of Athens to this prince were at once blasphemous and cowardly. At the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries a choir of Athenians in white robes crowned with flowers came forward singing in their city's name: "The other gods are sleeping or on a journey; perhaps they do not even exist; to thee only, who art not made of wood or stone, to thee, present and living divinity, I address



Antiochus II., Theos.<sup>3</sup>



Demetrius Poliorcetes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, p. 72-83.

<sup>2</sup> Young man inscribing upon a patera the oracle's answer. Gem (cornelian) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1890 of the catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> Diademed head of Antiochus II., "the god," from a gold coin.

<sup>4</sup> Athenæus, vi. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Diademed and horned head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, from a tetradrachm whose reverse is given p. 167.

my worship. Oh, well-beloved! make me enjoy peace and save me from my enemies, for I can fight no longer."<sup>1</sup>

We shall now inquire whether philosophy could offer to the souls of men the consolations which religion failed to give.

The Greek philosophy had already passed through three glorious phases of its history. It had studied—

*Nature*, considered as a harmonious whole by those whom Aristotle calls "the physiceists;"

*Mind*, asserting its claim, since Anaxagoras, to be considered separately from matter, and becoming in the two great systems of Plato and Aristotle the universal cause;

And finally, *Morals*, striving, through the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, to take away from pure reason the primacy in the guidance of men's minds.<sup>2</sup>

We need not explain these doctrines, with which Greece was intoxicated, but in which the Romans took but little interest, the wisest among them agreeing with the words of Ennius, "One should only sip philosophy, not drink deep draughts of it." Their social results, however, we must follow out, because these made a part of Roman life.

Philosophy had been with Socrates and Plato more speculative, and with Aristotle more experimental. The latter gave indeed to the science of being the importance which it has kept, nay its very name, metaphysics, and found therein a divine unity; but in allowing nature a spontaneous power and in separating all nature from the Deity, he seemed to deny a Providential government of the world; finally, his system destroyed one of the strongest principles of moral responsibility when it granted immortality to the soul only on condition of its losing its personality. Busied with the necessities which are imposed by our human condition, he brought elements which Plato had disregarded into the ideas of virtue and happiness, and seemed to lower the moral ideal. In reality he brought this ideal more within the reach of men,

Socrates.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Athenæus, vi. 63: . . . κοῖν ἐχὼ μάχεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ravaisson, *Métaphysique d'Aristote*, and Zeller, *Philosophie des Grecs*, vol. i. p. lxiii. of the *Introduction* by M. Boutroux.

<sup>3</sup> Cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2038 of the catalogue.

and his theory of expediency would have been harmless<sup>1</sup> if he had not deduced from it the lawfulness of slavery.<sup>2</sup> It was not from Aristotle, therefore, that men could ask what they should believe; he only taught what they should know; he was the man of science, as his master, Plato, will be the man of faith. These two mighty minds, who had laid open the twofold road in which we yet walk, are the two immortal adversaries who claim possession of the human mind; but Rome was not destined to know anything of these mighty conflicts.

Plato.<sup>3</sup>

False to the true spirit of their master, the disciples of Aristotle ended by closing heaven and that future full of hope which Plato had opened. Theophrastus, who succeeded him as chief of the Lyceum, inclined in morals towards the doctrines which Aristotle had disavowed;<sup>4</sup> he makes Fortune (*fortuna*) the mistress of the world, and replaces God in the midst of creation, where Strato, his successor, will not even recognize him. "All divine life," says the latter, "resides in nature, and I have no need of gods to explain the formation of the world. There is nothing which does not result from motion and weight, *naturalibus ponderibus et*

Chance.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The useful was to the peripatetic philosophers identical with the right: *honesta commiserent cum commodis*. (Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, i. 7.) [This is hardly true.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Polit.*, i. 2; *Mor.*, viii. 2. He even combats (*Polit.*, i. 2) certain philosophers who were maintaining that slavery was a state contrary to nature. Aristotle believed that this institution was useful to the State, to the citizens, whom it freed from mercenary occupations, to the slave even, who, he maintained, never fell into slavery save through the inferiority of his moral nature. [He further maintained radical distinctions of race as its natural basis.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Museum of Naples.

Cic., *Acad.*, i. 10: *nervos virtutis incideret*. . . . Cf. id. *Tuscul.*, v. 9. In his *Characters* [if genuine], not a single virtuous one is to be found.

<sup>5</sup> M. PLAETORI CEST. S.C. Bust of Chance, placed on base bearing the word *Sors*. Reverse of a penny of the Platorian family.



*motibus.*"<sup>1</sup> This became the doctrine of Epicurus, and is to-day the formula of scientists who dispense with a first cause. Strato was called in the school "the physician"; two others also merit this name, Dicaearchus, who denied the existence of the soul, and Aristoxenus, who held it to be a certain harmony of the body, *intentio quaedam corporis*. We thus come upon blank materialism, and Demetrius Phalereus showed at once by his political skill and the depravity of his life<sup>2</sup> that if the Peripatetic school did much for science, it ended by doing too little for morals.

The Greeks of that time having no longer a country nor the two things which had made it, liberty and religion, were teaching in all their schools that the wise man should detach himself from public life and take refuge in a tranquil indifference. It would seem that, fatigued with having for four centuries traversed the world of thought and of history in every direction, they now, like the Italy of Michael Angelo, desired only to rest and sleep.<sup>3</sup>

This teaching was especially the work of Epicurus. This hero disguised as a woman, as Seneca calls him,<sup>4</sup> deserves better than his reputation. But in writing over his school, "Passer-by, thou wilt do well to rest here, pleasure is the supreme good,"<sup>5</sup> he placed his disciples upon a path where the descent was easy, and Pleasure, seated upon a throne attended by all the Virtues,<sup>6</sup> remains a dangerous image. In vain did Epicurus place the

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 13; *Acad.*, ii. 38.

<sup>2</sup> See in Athenæus, xii. 60, what is said by Duris of Samos, whose testimony on this subject has vainly been called in question.

<sup>3</sup> Beneath the noble statue of Night, whom Michael Angelo represents as sleeping, Strozzi wrote these words, "She lives; if you doubt it, waken her; she will speak." To whom the great sculptor, who was also a great patriot, replied:—

*Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura!  
Però non mi destar: deh! parla basso.*

("To see nothing, to feel nothing, is a great happiness to me. Wherefore do not awaken me I beseech you, speak low!")

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.*, 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>6</sup> Cic., *de Finibus*, ii. 21. We must agree upon the meaning of this word *pleasure*. Religion and morality have for their end happiness, *eudaimonia*. Has not Bossuet himself said, "All the doctrine of morals tends solely to render us happy." (*Méditation sur l'Év., Les huit béatitudes, X<sup>e</sup> Jour.*) But we must examine by what means a system of religion or morality proposes to lead to happiness. The doctrine of morals as taught by Epicurus is summed up in four rules:—

1. To take the pleasure from which no pain results;

pleasures of the soul above those of the body, or aver that the strictly needful was enough for happiness, that, with barley bread and water, a man might be as happy as Jupiter; he had merely founded the theory of selfishness with its disastrous consequences. Religion he destroyed, because the fear of the gods was a constraint; patriotism, devotion to the State, family affection all perished, because they disturbed the tranquillity of the sage.

These doctrines, the natural product of an epoch when so many spirits longed for repose, were the very opposite to all that the Romans of early days held in honour. Two centuries earlier they would have been heard with horror by the inhabitants of the seven hills; but we shall see that there remained but few Romans in Rome, and that these degenerate sons of the great consulars were ready to



Epicurus.

accept from Epicurus those encouragements to self-indulgence which could be drawn from his teaching, leaving untouched the lessons of his life and his true teaching.<sup>1</sup> His school added one more element of dissolution to those already fermenting in the midst of this society, covering, as it did, with an aspect of philosophy a disorderly or listless life, which had nothing philosophic about it. How many Romans, and I speak of the

2. To avoid the pain which brings no pleasure;

3. To avoid the gratification which deprives of a greater enjoyment, or causes more pain than pleasure;

4. To accept the pain which delivers from a greater pain, or will result in a great pleasure. The true basis of morals therefore, duty, was absent in this dangerous teaching.

<sup>1</sup> Cic. (*de Fin.*, i. 48) says of Epicurus, "This man whom you represent as the slave of pleasure cries out to you that there is no happiness without wisdom, honour, and virtue."

best among them, will live away from the city, like that friend of Cicero, who laid aside his father's name to call himself "the Athenian," like that Hortensius, so occupied with his fishponds, and that Asinius Pollio, resigned in advance to become the spoil of the conqueror! There are always sages of this kind, who leave to others the struggles of life without believing themselves the epicureans they are, and there were many such at Rome. But the school of pleasure is punished for its enervating doctrine by



Metrodorus.<sup>1</sup>

its sterility; no superior man is ever born of her, and of the school of duty there are many.

The downward path which the Greek mind was descending led to the deepest abysses; never was moral destruction so complete.

"We know nothing," said Metrodorus, a disciple of Epicurus; "we do not even know that we know no-

thing." These negative doctrines, which made a void in the soul, gained a hearing even in the Platonic school. Arcesilas, reviving Pyrrhus's scepticism, established it in the New Academy, and the teaching was carried to Rome by Carneades when he was sent thither as ambassador by Athens (155). "Who," says

<sup>1</sup> Museum of the Louvre, No. 139 of the Clarac catalogue. A double-headed "Hermes" presenting a head of Epicurus on one side and of Metrodorus on the other. The Hermes and busts often had, like this one, projections to be used in lifting them or to hang crowns upon. A Hermes of this kind, found at Rome in 1745, having the names on it, has made known the originals of these two portraits. (Cf. Clarac, *Description des antiques du musée du Louvre*, p. 64.)

Ælian, "will not praise the wisdom of the races we call barbarians? They at least never bring in question whether there are or are not gods; whether they watch over the world or no. Among these nations no one has ever imagined systems like those of Euhemerus and that of Epicurus!"<sup>1</sup>

The doctrines of the Porch, especially since the direction given them by Chrysippus and Panætius, were a re-action in the name of the moral instinct and of common sense.<sup>2</sup> Zeno did not destroy the national religion, all whose divinities were to him manifestations of the One Being, and in virtue of this principle he was able to respect popular beliefs, especially the very lively faith in genii. Of his successor, Cleanthes, we have the magnificent hymn to Jupiter: "Hail to thee, most glorious of immortals, adored under a thousand names, Jupiter eternal and omnipotent, hail to thee, lord of nature; who rulest all things according to thy law! . . . Jupiter, god whom the dark clouds hide, withdraw men from their fatal ignorance; dissipate the darkness of their souls, O our father, and give them to know the thought whereby thou rulest the world in justice. Then shall we render to thee our homage in return for thy benefits, celebrating forever as we ought the works of thy hands, the common law of all beings!" An echo of this noble strain rings in the soul of the last of the great Antonines, and if, instead of Jupiter, we read Jehovah, the prayer will be a Christian one.

At Rome, says Hegel, Stoicism was at home. We have seen, in fact, in more than one Roman of the early days, the Stoic virtues which were naturally developed in this hard and energetic race. Under the empire we shall see them again. But in the last century of the Republic the austere faith of the Porch gained but a few superior minds; men were more ready to listen to the voices which cried, "Doubt all things and believe only in pleasure."

Apart from philosophy the human mind had opened other paths for itself. Under the powerful impulse given by Aristotle, the sciences of observation had made great progress; men knew

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Var.*, ii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic., Acad.*, i. 2, iv. 6.

more and knew more accurately. Ambitious minds went in search of adventure. In the school of Epicurus men believed that they knew how the world was made; a little later Cicero ridicules those persons who "when they speak of the universe have the air of men just returned from an assembly of the gods." These audacities sometimes hit upon truths, and germs of theories at the present day accepted may be found in the writings of those times—thus the principle of the conservation of force, the foundation of modern physics, of which Epicurus reasons almost as well as Leibnitz; and this other, that everything suffers transformation, nothing perishes; also the molecular theory, the negation of spontaneous generation, and the assertion that all bodies fall with equal rapidity in a vacuum.<sup>1</sup>

Unhappily these germs were not developed because the scientists of that time were mere philosophers; they had the intuitions of genius, but they guessed and did not demonstrate. They lacked the experimental method, without which all science of nature is impossible, and their systems were logical constructions, which logic overthrew, setting out from different *a priori* premises. In those sciences, on the contrary, which proceed from immutable axioms, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, Greece had produced Euclid, Archimedes, and Hipparchus, three men whom the history of physical science places among her greatest names. But the sciences have no moral influence save for the minds capable of seizing the harmonious order of the double *cosmos* in which we live, and of feeling that a man ought to be so much the better as he is the more intelligent. Never had Greece been so learned, and never so debased, a grave warning to those ages in which the physical sciences assert an undivided empire.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, we find in certain sciences for which Rome cared nothing, great splendour, but in art and poetry, no mighty inspiration, in eloquence a vain chatter of words and images (the rhetoricians), in religion, habits but no faith, in philosophy the materialism which came from the school of Aristotle, the doubt born of Plato, the atheism of Theodorus,<sup>3</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> See upon this question Martha, *le Poème de Lucrèce*, p. 242-317.

<sup>2</sup> Montaigne (i. 24): *Je trouve Rome plus vaillante avant qu'elle feust sçavante.*

<sup>3</sup> One of the leaders of the Cyrenaic school, which later melted into that of Epicurus, as the

sensualism of Epicurus, vainly combated by the moral protests of Zeno; and, lastly, in private and in public life the enfeeblement or the total loss of all those virtues which make the man and the citizen. Such were Greece and the East. And now, we say with Cato, Polybius, Livy, Pliny, Justin, and Plutarch, that all this passed into the eternal city. The conquest of Greece by Rome was followed by the conquest of Rome by Greece: *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

## II.—GREEK MANNERS AND ORIENTAL LUXURY IN ROME.

The austerity of the early Romans was due to their poverty rather than to their conscience; two or three generations had sufficed to make of the city which had known nothing but meagre banquets and rustic holidays a city of feasting and pleasure. There was now gluttony and drunkenness and debauchery hitherto unknown. Listen to Polybius, an eye-witness, "Most of the Romans," he says, "live in strange dissipation. The young allow themselves to be carried away in the most shameful excesses. They are given to shows, to feasts, to luxury, and disorder of every kind, which it is too evident they have learned from the Greeks during the war with Perseus."<sup>2</sup> "See this Roman," says Cato; "he descends from his chariot, he pirouettes, he recites buffooneries and jokes and vile stories, then sings or declaims Greek verses, and then resumes his pirouettes."<sup>3</sup> This imitation of degenerate Greece became a rule in the education of the young

Cynical school ended by being absorbed in that of Zeno, Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 1: . . . *plerique deos esse dixerunt, dubitare se Protagoras, nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt.*

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cat.*, 6. Justin says (xxxvi. 4): *Asia, Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.* Cicero (*de Orat.*, iii. 33): *politissimam doctrinam transmarinam atque adventitiam*; and Horace (*Epist.*, II. i. 156) adds:—

et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio . . .  
. . . post Punica bella quietus querere cepit  
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxii. 11: . . . *alii in meritorios pueros, alii in meretrices effusi.* He adds: πολλοὺς ἐρώμενον ἡγορακίαι ταλάντων.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment of Cato appended to the translation of Fronto by M. Cassan.



nobility. "When I entered one of the schools to which the nobles send their sons," cries Scipio Æmilianus, "great gods! I found there more than five hundred young girls and lads who were receiving among actors and infamous persons lessons on the lyre, in singing, in posturing, and I saw a child of twelve, the son of a candidate for office, executing a dance worthy of the most licentious slave."<sup>1</sup>

Greek vices, hitherto unknown in Rome, now became naturalized there. Yet Roman sobriety gave way slowly, and the law punished with death an outrage of this kind committed upon a citizen.<sup>2</sup> But the slave had no protection against his master's brutality, and we shall shortly see how greatly war had increased the number of these unfortunate persons. Now at Rome, as everywhere, slavery was a very active cause of corruption. Some slaves remained in the master's house and often drew profit from his vices; others laboured outside for his benefit, and in employments that were not always honourable. The freedwomen,<sup>3</sup> who had gained their liberty by subservience to their master's vices, crowded the houses of ill-repute, and when they fell victims to their debauchery, the master legally inherited their property. In and about these houses is laid the scenes of almost all the comedies of Plautus and of Terence. Women of free birth imitated this vicious life, we know, for in the year 114, to bring back modesty,

<sup>1</sup> Macr., *Saturn.*, ii. 10. The verses of Sotades fortunately are lost, but not the *Epigrams* of Strato.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max., VI. i. 5, 7, 9-12.

<sup>3</sup> Eucharis, enfranchised by a lady of the Licinian family, died at the age of fourteen; her portrait, made in the sixteenth century by Fulvio Orsini from a marble original now lost or destroyed, represents her as three times that age. We give the inscription that the father caused to be engraved upon her tomb, calling attention to the fact that these words, *Græca in scena prima populo apparuit*, give reason to believe that Eucharis lived in the time of Nero, who in the year 60 instituted games of this name.

"O thou, who with careless glance, perceivest this house of death, stay thy foot, and read. It is a father's love which has consecrated this monument to the ashes of his daughter!

"Alas! while my youth flourished in the culture of the arts, and my fame was increasing with my years, the fatal hour made haste and deprived me of the breath of life. Skilled in music, brought up, as it were, by the hand of the Muses, I was the ornament of the chorus in the shows given by the nobility; for I was the first to appear in Rome upon the Greek stage, and the cruel Parca have plunged me into the tomb. The affection of my mistress, love, praise, beauty, all are silent upon my funeral pyre and swallowed up by death. I leave tears only to my father, whom I have preceded to the tomb. My fourteen years are bound in chains with me in Pluto's eternal dwelling. In departing, wish, I pray you, that the earth lie lightly on my ashes." (Visconti, *Iconogr. gr.*, t. i. p. 181: Orelli, No. 2602.)



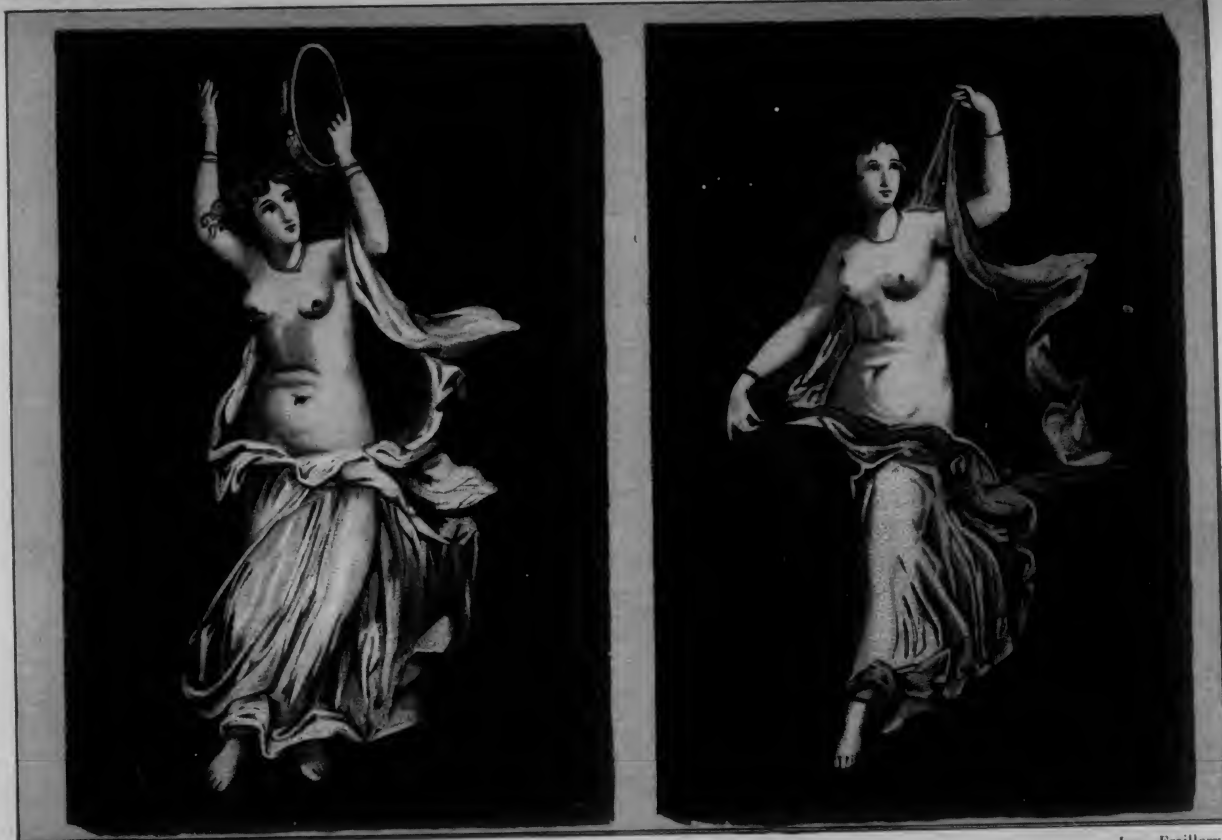
PLATE 10.



PLATE 11.

ORIGIN OF

FROM A THIRTEENTH CENTURY



P. SELLIER, del.

Imp. Fraillery.

DANCING GIRLS

From a Pompeian Painting





Temple of Juno Matuta (restoration of M. Lefuel.)

the senate ordered the construction of a temple to Venus *Verticordia*, the Venus who turns hearts to virtue!<sup>1</sup> But this new Venus was less powerful than she who presided over unchaste loves. The matrons were no more successful against her fatal influence when they buffeted in the temple of Juno Matuta<sup>2</sup> at the feast of the *Matralia*, a female freedwoman representing the whole class dangerous to conjugal fidelity.<sup>3</sup>

An *Atilian* law belonging to this epoch recognizes in the urban prætor and a majority of the college of tribunes the right of assigning a guardian to a woman having none. This was by way of protection to her interests and also of discipline for her conduct.<sup>4</sup> Another, in the year 204, rendered squandering difficult by submitting it to public formalities,<sup>5</sup> which it was not agreeable to fulfil when a courtesan was to profit by these gifts at the expense of the family of the giver. Finally, it was forbidden by the Voconian law (169) to any one registered as possessor of 100,000 *ases* to make a woman his heir.<sup>6</sup> These attempts were all in vain. Courtesans became daily more numerous, and concubines obtained at last, in the time of Augustus, a legal recognition to their union.

Another scourge did perhaps more harm, because it increased the former. "The army of Manlius returning from Asia imported foreign luxury into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings, and other works of the loom. At entertainments likewise were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meals also began to be prepared with greater care and cost, while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves, became highly valuable, and a servile office

<sup>1</sup> Ov., *Fast.*, iv. 160; Val. Max., VIII. xv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The cut represents the restoration of this temple by M. Lefuel. The site of the temple of Juno Matuta is near the church of San Nicolo in Carcere Tulliano.

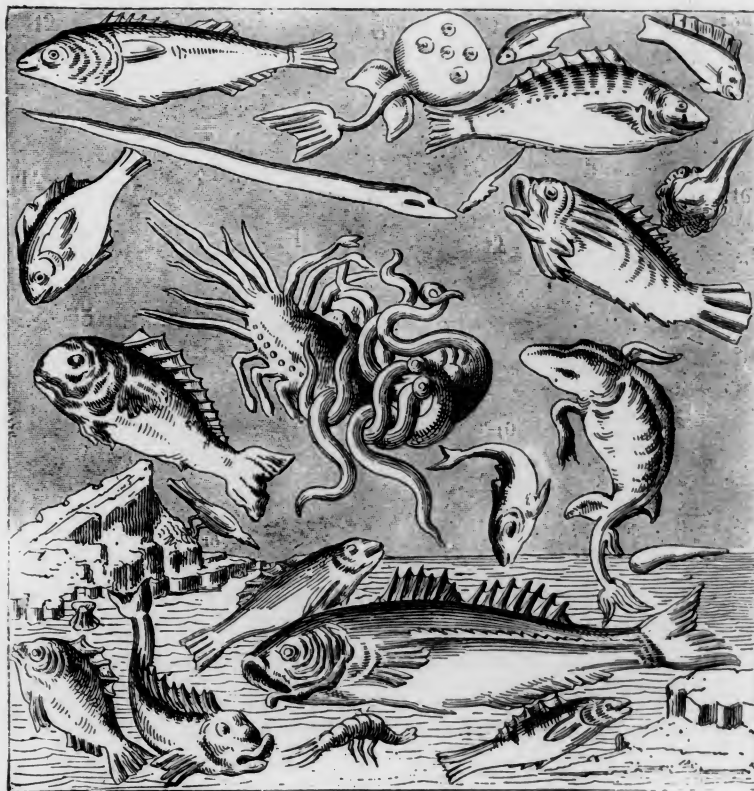
<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Quest. Rom.*, No. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ulpian, *Fragm.*, xi. 18. He says in § 1: *Tutores constituuntur . . . feminis tam im-  
puberibus quam puberibus et propter sexus infirmitatem et propter forensium rerum ignorantiam.* This was the tutor *Dativus* rendered necessary by the disorganization of the *gentes*.

<sup>5</sup> *Lex Cincia* or *muneralis*. It treated also of honoraria of advocates, who were not to receive from their clients. (Cf. Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 71; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 5.)

<sup>6</sup> Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. 274: . . . *neve virgo, neve mulier.* Cf. Cic., *II in Ferr.*, i. 41, 42.

began to be regarded as an art."<sup>1</sup> Then was seen a young and handsome slave costing more than a fertile field, and a few fishes than a yoke of oxen.<sup>2</sup> We have not yet come to the time of Apicius, and yet the most successful enterprises were those which



Mediterranean Fish, from a Pompeian Mosaic.<sup>3</sup>

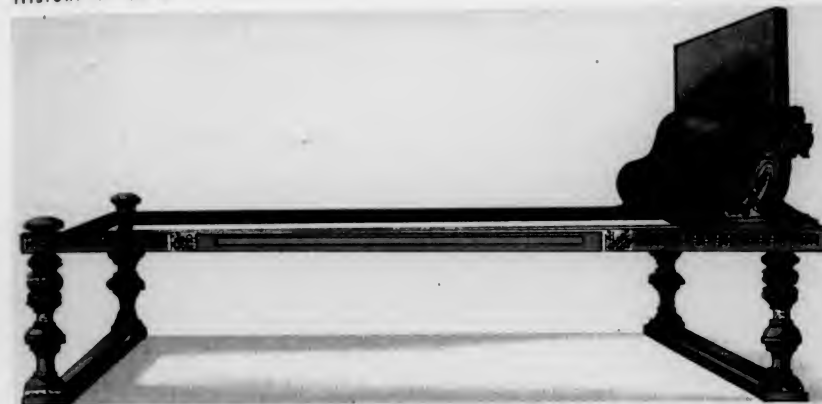
undertook to provide the tables of the rich and satisfy their capricious desires.<sup>4</sup> The great even found distinction in inventing new dishes; Hortensius boasted of being the first to have peacocks

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxix. 6, and Diod., xxxvii. 3. The price of a good cook rose to four talents; for two, Caesar redeemed his life from Sylla's assassins. (Cf. Montesq., *Esprit des Loix*, vii. 2.)

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Niccolini, t. ii., "House of the Faun," pl. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x. 23, 27.



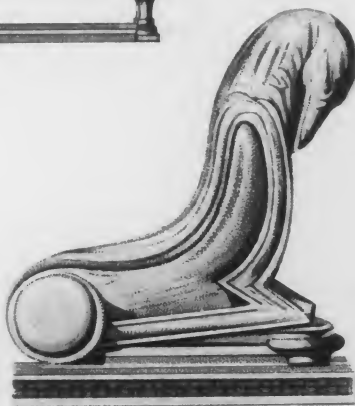
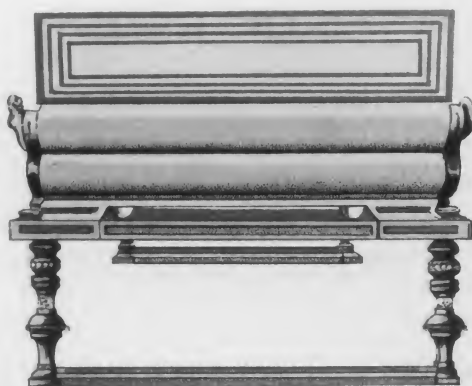
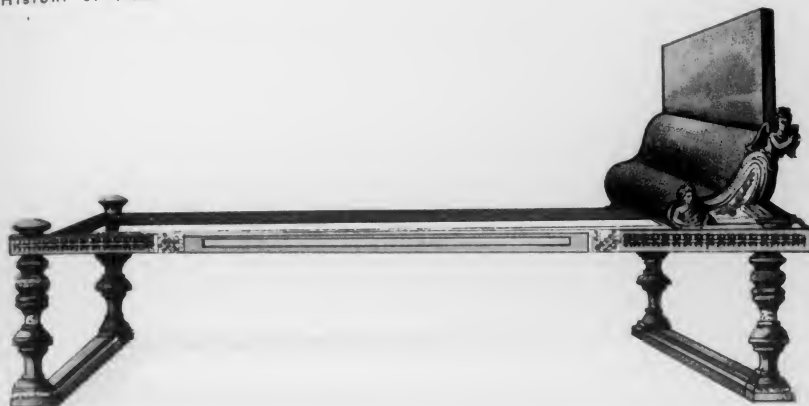
P. SELLIER, del.

Imp. Fraillery.

# BRONZE FURNITURE (COUCH)

From Pompeii (after Nicolini).





Secura, del.

Italy, 1800-1810

BRONZE FURNITURE (COUCH)

From Pompeii (after Nicoline)

served at table; Metellus Scipio, a consul, and Seius, a rich knight, disputed for the honour of having invented the *foies gras*.<sup>1</sup> Formerly all the senators had in common one silver service, which they used in rotation when they entertained foreign ambassadors.<sup>2</sup> Now some of them had as much as 1,000 pounds weight of plate, and a little later Livius Drusus had 10,000 pounds.<sup>3</sup> They required for their houses and villas, ivory, precious woods, African marble, and the like.<sup>4</sup> In 131 a certain Metellus built a temple entirely of marble, for these nobles disposed of royal wealth.<sup>5</sup>

In twelve years the war indemnity levied upon Carthage, Antiochus, and the Ætolians had amounted to nearly £6,000,000. The gold, silver, and bronze borne by the generals in their triumphs represented as much more.<sup>6</sup> These £12,000,000 will be easily doubled if we add all the plunder that was taken by the officers and the soldiers,<sup>7</sup> the sums distributed to the legionaries,<sup>8</sup> and the valuables, furniture, stuffs, silver ware, bronzes brought to Europe from the depths of Asia, for nothing escaped the rapacity of the Romans. L. Scipio exhibited at his triumph 1,231 elephants' tusks; Flaminius and Fulvius more than 500 marble and bronze statues,<sup>9</sup> massive bucklers of gold and silver, and chased vases. Acilius even carried off the wardrobe of Antiochus, Manlius his small

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *de Re rust.*, iii. 11, 15; Colum., viii. 10, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Vell. Pat., i. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Vell. Pat., i. 12, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, de Supp., 48.)

<sup>6</sup> This statement is derived from the last fifteen books of Livy, and includes the sums directly deposited in the treasury or borne in the triumphs of these twelve years. The figures probably are not absolutely exact, but the sums were certainly enormous. Carthage paid 10,000 talents, Antiochus 15,000, the Ætolians 500, Ariarathus 300, Philip 1,000, Nabis 500, in all, 27,300 talents. M. Macé (*Lois agraires*, p. 26) has made an estimate for the forty years, 208-167, which reaches nearly £40,000,000. Mengotti (*Del Commercio de' Romani*) has two chapters on this subject: *Prede immense de' Romani*.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 231, the condemnation of Acilius Glabrio. The Scipios were accused of peculation, and Manlius was threatened with prosecution.

<sup>8</sup> C. Cornelius gave his soldiers 70 *ases* apiece, Marcellus 80, Lentulus 120, Flaminius 250, Cato 270, Scipio 400, Manlius Vulso 420, Paulus Æmilius 200 denarii in Epirus and 100 after his triumph, Lucullus 950 drachmæ (Plut., *Lucullus*, 54), Pompeius more than 1,500. (Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 47.) The centurions had twice as much as the legionaries, and the horsemen three times as much. (Livy, *passim*.)

<sup>9</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 52. Polybius (xxii. 13) speaks of a crown of 150 talents offered by the Ætolians to Fulvius, and Josephus of another weighing 4,000 gold pieces given to Pompeius by a king of Egypt. (*Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 5.)

tables and side-boards.<sup>1</sup> In Ambracia, once the residence of the kings of Epirus, Fulvius left nothing but the bare walls, *parietes postesque nudatos*.<sup>2</sup>

The years which followed were no less productive. From one campaign Paulus Æmilius brought back nearly £2,000,000.<sup>3</sup> Then came the wealth of Corinth and of Carthage and the treasures of Attalus. According to the Capitoline Fasti there were in 283 years



Silver Cup.<sup>4</sup>

181 triumphs, or nearly one every two years. The principal interest of this celebration was the exhibition of the booty. It was not allowed to a proconsul to return with empty hands, though he

<sup>1</sup> *Monopodia et abacos*. (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Polybius blames this pillage severely (ix. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 43. This Fulvius Nobilior, who had distinguished himself in Spain, gave while censor in 175 a great example of severity. He expelled from the senate his brother Fulvius because the latter had, without order of the consul, abandoned a cohort of the legion of which he was tribune. (Val. Max., II. vii. 5.)

<sup>3</sup> *Unius imperatoris praeda finem attulit tributorum*, says Cicero strikingly. (*Off.*, ii. 21.) It was customary, however, still to pay the twentieth of the price of enfranchised slaves; customs and port dues were not suppressed until the year 62 or 61 by the tribune Metellus Nepos. This tribute was re-established under the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa in 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Cabinet de France*, No. 2807 and 2808.

had been making war upon the poorest of men, upon those intractable tribes from whom he could not even make prisoners that might be sold as slaves. There was no profit so small that the Romans disdained it; in 197 Cethegus deposited in the treasury 79,000 denarii and Minucius 53,000,<sup>1</sup> which they had extorted, one from the Insubri, the other from the Ligurians.

To these revenues arising from the plunder of the world must be added the gifts made willingly, it was said, by the cities and provinces. The Ætolians offered Fulvius a gold crown of 150 talents; a king of Egypt sent one to Pompeius which weighed 4,000 gold pieces; and there was no city favoured by exemption from tribute, no people declared free who did not feel itself obliged to offer to a victorious proconsul one of these crowns, whose weight was measured by the servility of the giver. At his triumph Manlius carried 200 of them.<sup>2</sup> As the republican usage of largesses to the soldiers prepared the way for the imperial usage of *donativa* to the legions, so these gold crowns of the proconsuls became the *aurum coronarium* of the emperors, a tax which European royalty inherited under the title of "gift of happy accession." The State, for its part, received every year the tributes of the provinces, the product of the enfranchisement of slaves, the revenue from the public domain, from customs and from the mines, which latter was very considerable, that of Carthage furnishing an amount equal to 25,000 drachmæ daily.<sup>3</sup>

What was to be done with all this gold? Public works consumed part of it; the gods had a share, which was laid up in the temples against public emergency;<sup>4</sup> the people also claimed their share. The idle were numerous; above, there was too much wealth, below too much poverty. To occupy them and amuse them

<sup>1</sup> [The denarius, a Roman penny, was less than a franc in intrinsic value.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxix. Cf. Festus, s.v. *Triumphales coronæ*. The governors even who had not fought required them. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 37.)

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, xxxiv. 14. To the taxes regularly paid are to be added the special tribute of the *ævari* and that of the *orbi* and of the *viduæ* for the *æs hordiarum* of the *equites eque publico*, that is to say, for the support of the horses furnished by the State to the cavalry.

<sup>4</sup> This usage lasted as long as pagan Rome. Aurelian consecrated in the temples a grant of the spoils of Palmyra. Recently has been found in Cyprus a treasure hidden in a chamber several meters below the mosaic floor of a temple, which the heathen priests had been prevented from carrying away by the sudden attack of the persecution to which they in their turn had been subjected by the Christians.



public fêtes were given incessantly, some still of a serious character, others in which license was a part of worship; in the circus were countless chariot and horse-races and coursing of hares and foxes. But these amusements of the good old times seemed no longer worthy of the grandeur of Rome. Men who had run the world over sword in hand, killing and pillaging, had need of keener excitements and did not seek them from Greece, still gracious and graceful even in her decline, who would have for her fêtes only songs and garlands and beautiful dancing girls—all the splendours of luxury and of nature, but no bloodshed. The Roman had shed so much blood, however, that he loved to see it flow, even in his pleasures. In this way it came about that the great carnivora from Africa began to appear in Rome, lions and panthers who were let loose upon each other, and soon let loose upon human prey;<sup>1</sup> and this spectacle of living flesh torn, of limbs crushed by wild beasts, caused such a thrill of delight through the amphitheatre, that to satiate the eyes of the public a new kind of punishment was devised, and the condemned criminal was thrown to wild beasts in the arena.

Ennius says: "It is by the virtues and the men of ancient days that the Republic is preserved."

*Moribus antiquis stat res romana vireisque.*

This theme of the old poet has been adopted by those who do not see that the renewal of all things is the world's law, and that the life of nations, as of individuals, is a perpetual 'becoming.' How many are the declamations against the present as compared with the past, against luxury and the perils hidden under sumptuous carpets, expensive vases, and all beautiful useless things! We will not renew the old complaint made under this head against the Roman nation; but we will unite with the wisdom of all nations in saying, that wealth which is not the fruit of labour and its kindred virtues profits not to its possessor; that an ill-acquired fortune goes as it came, leaving much moral ruin behind it; and we will add, with the experience of political

<sup>1</sup> In 186, the first *venatio* of lions and panthers was given by M. Fulvius. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 168 were seen at the *ludi circenses* sixty-three panthers, forty bears and elephants. From this time on, the curule ædiles were obliged to furnish wild beasts in the shows that they offered to the people.

economists, that gold is like the water of a river: if it comes with sudden overflow and inundation, it devastates; if it comes through a thousand channels slowly circulating, it brings life everywhere. Europe, in this second half of the nineteenth century, has seen such an inundation of gold from American and Australian mines. But this enormous increase of capital produced by labour has served to refit all its industrial apparatus, and there has resulted a vast addition to public wealth and individual comfort. But it was by war, by pillage and robbery that Rome passed suddenly from poverty to opulence, and the conquered gold served only to increase the sterile luxury of those who possessed it. We can, therefore, easily picture to ourselves the disturbance caused by this sudden change;<sup>1</sup> morals could not stand against it and the contagion of example, the facility of finding new pleasures, rapidly carried corruption into the larger number of the old Roman families. "After the conquest of Macedon," says Polybius, "men believed themselves able to enjoy in all security the empire of the world and the spoils thereof."<sup>2</sup>

We must, therefore, accept as historic fact these words of Juvenal: "You ask whence arise our disorders? An humble life in other days preserved the innocence of the Latin women. Protracted vigils, hands hardened by toil, Hannibal at the gates of Rome and Roman citizens in arms upon her walls guarded from vice the modest dwellings of our fathers. Now we endure the evils of a long peace; luxury has fallen upon us more formidable than the sword, and the conquered world has avenged itself upon us by the gift of its vices."<sup>3</sup> Since Rome has lost her noble poverty, Sybaris and Rhodes, Miletus and Tarentum, crowned with roses and scented with perfumes, have entered within our walls."<sup>4</sup>

This plague, corrupting the high society of Rome to its very core, lasted two centuries and a half, from Paulus Æmilius to Vespasian. We shall see that from five to six generations of profligates were needed to waste the spoils of conquest, to satiate the thirst

<sup>1</sup> See the sketch of these disorders given by Diodorus (xxxvii. 3), and what is said by Velleius Paterculus (i. 11), Valerius Maximus (ix. 1), Sallust, and others.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 7: xxxiii. 11) and Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 53) say the same.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat.*, vi. 286-297.

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This theme of the old poet has been adopted by those who do not see that the renewal of all things is the world's law, and that the life of nations, as of individuals, is a perpetual 'becoming.' How many are the declamations against the present as compared with the past, against luxury and the perils hidden under sumptuous carpets, expensive vases, and all beautiful useless things! We will not renew the old complaint made under this head against the Roman nation; but we will unite with the wisdom of all nations in saying, that wealth which is not the fruit of labour and its kindred virtues profits not to its possessor; that an ill-acquired fortune goes as it came, leaving much moral ruin behind it; and we will add, with the experience of political

<sup>1</sup> In 186, the first *venatio* of lions and panthers was given by M. Fulvius. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 168 were seen at the *ludi circenses* sixty-three panthers, forty bears and elephants. From this time on, the curule ædiles were obliged to furnish wild beasts in the shows that they offered to the people.

economists, that gold is like the water of a river: if it comes with sudden overflow and inundation, it devastates; if it comes through a thousand channels slowly circulating, it brings life everywhere. Europe, in this second half of the nineteenth century, has seen such an inundation of gold from American and Australian mines. But this enormous increase of capital produced by labour has served to refit all its industrial apparatus, and there has resulted a vast addition to public wealth and individual comfort. But it was by war, by pillage and robbery that Rome passed suddenly from poverty to opulence, and the conquered gold served only to increase the sterile luxury of those who possessed it. We can, therefore, easily picture to ourselves the disturbance caused by this sudden change;<sup>1</sup> morals could not stand against it and the contagion of example, the facility of finding new pleasures, rapidly carried corruption into the larger number of the old Roman families. "After the conquest of Macedon," says Polybius, "men believed themselves able to enjoy in all security the empire of the world and the spoils thereof."<sup>2</sup>

We must, therefore, accept as historic fact these words of Juvenal: "You ask whence arise our disorders? An humble life in other days preserved the innocence of the Latin women. Protracted vigils, hands hardened by toil, Hannibal at the gates of Rome and Roman citizens in arms upon her walls guarded from vice the modest dwellings of our fathers. Now we endure the evils of a long peace; luxury has fallen upon us more formidable than the sword, and the conquered world has avenged itself upon us by the gift of its vices."<sup>3</sup> Since Rome has lost her noble poverty, Sybaris and Rhodes, Miletus and Tarentum, crowned with roses and scented with perfumes, have entered within our walls."<sup>4</sup>

This plague, corrupting the high society of Rome to its very core, lasted two centuries and a half, from Paulus Æmilius to Vespasian. We shall see that from five to six generations of profligates were needed to waste the spoils of conquest, to satiate the thirst

<sup>1</sup> See the sketch of these disorders given by Diodorus (xxxvii. 3), and what is said by Velleius Paterculus (i. 11), Valerius Maximus (ix. 1), Sallust, and others.

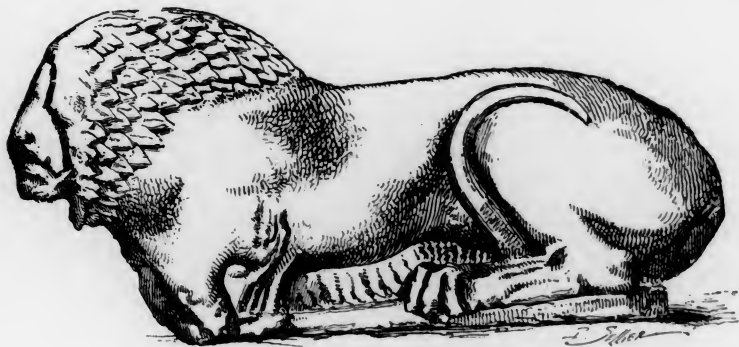
<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 7: xxxiii. 11) and Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 53) say the same.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat.*, vi. 286-297.

for pleasure, and to wear out that senatorial aristocracy which, near the close of the first century of the Christian era, came to be replaced in the government by a provincial aristocracy of better stamp. In his prologue to the *Trinummus*, Plautus represents Indigence as the daughter of Luxury. Let a century pass, and we shall see these nobles as mendicants in the palace of Augustus and Tiberius; a hundred more, and they will have disappeared.

Some of the old Romans made a vain effort to stay this contagion. In 204, seven senators were degraded from their position by the censors; seven also by Cato; nine in 174, and a still



Marble Lion found at Miletus.<sup>1</sup>

larger number in 164.<sup>2</sup> But the censorship itself became the reward of intrigue. Valerius Messala, formerly *noted*, obtained the office in 154. From that time all disorders seemed authorized, and until the year 116 there was not a single erasure from the list of the senate. That year, however, Metellus at one blow removed thirty-two senators.<sup>3</sup> Among those who were expelled in 174, was a former prætor, and an acting prætor, the son of Scipio Africanus. A Fabius Maximus was leading so scandalous a life, that the prætor Pompeius interfered and put him under a guardian.

The most illustrious personages disgraced themselves with a

<sup>1</sup> Found in the necropolis at Miletus in excavations made at the expense of M. de Rothschild by MM. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas (*Milet et le golfe latmique*, vol. i., pl. 22).

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max., iii. 5; Livy, xlv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxii.

scandalous shamelessness. In 181, the censor Lepidus, a prince of the senate, and also pontifex Maximus, employed the money of the public treasury in constructing a dike at Terracina to preserve his lands from inundation. Another censor, Fulvius, carried off the marble tiles from the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno to cover a temple which he was building at Rome. Public indignation having forced the senate to condemn this sacrilege, the censor contented himself with carrying the tiles back into the court of the temple. A former consul, Acilius Glabrio, was soliciting the censorship, when he was accused of peculation. Cato swore that there were certain vases of gold and silver which he had seen in the camp of Antiochus that were not produced in the triumph, and the candidate for the censorship was condemned to a fine of 100,000 *ases*. This may have been the revenge of the nobles upon a parvenu,<sup>1</sup> but these peculations were only too frequent. A commissioner of the senate, Decimus, being sent into Illyria, allowed himself to be bought over by the king of that country to make a favourable report.<sup>2</sup> In 141, a Metellus was recalled from Spain, where the war at this moment promised fame and booty; in his rage the general disorganized the army, destroyed the provisions, and killed the elephants. Others, again, refused the provinces assigned them, because they had no hope of gaining anything from them.<sup>3</sup> In Greece, Licinius was turning everything to his own profit, selling even furloughs to his soldiers, trafficking in the honour of his army and the safety of the province. A Fulvius Nobilior disbanded by one order an entire legion. Two consuls were disputing for a province. "I think," said Scipio Æmilianus, "we ought to exclude both; for one has nothing and the other has never enough." From the time of Plautus, Roman faith had come into discredit. "If Jupiter," says the poet, "should open his temple to perjurers, there would not be room enough for them in the Capitol."<sup>4</sup> At a later period Laberius says in the open theatre: "What is an oath? It is a plaster to heal debts."

The censors and ædiles, charged with the care of the public morals, having no means of action at their disposal, only from

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xlii. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xli. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Curcul.*, 276; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 5.



time to time made an example which however gave no general alarm. In other days there had not been need of incessant watchfulness. In the first place the old Latin religion did not legalize disorder, and secondly, in these little States where each lived under the eyes of all,<sup>1</sup> a chaste and laborious life, frugality, disinterestedness, appeared virtues necessary to the State, and the citizens themselves kept watch over their own morals.<sup>2</sup> But in this immense Rome, the capital and the sewer of the world, how many vices must have satisfied themselves openly! how many attempts against morals have been committed with impunity! The absolute inefficiency of the administration of public morals and general security was at Rome one of the causes which precipitated the destruction of the Republic. All excesses being permitted, numberless people gave way to them, and when there is no virtue left in social, there is none in political life.

Montesquieu says, and human reason admits the truth of his remark, that a Republic where the executive is always feeble, cannot endure without morality, which is the self-applied curb of liberty. The governing class at Rome having it no longer, and that which was called the people not possessing it, all the ties which once held society together were relaxed, and religion, the strongest of all, was soon to break.

### III.—DECLINE OF NATIONAL RELIGION AT ROME.

Philosophy had by no means caused these innovations, but in many of her schools had furnished reasons for regarding them as legitimate. The old Romans held her responsible for the changes which were produced by "historic fatality." "As for me," said Pacuvius, "I hate those men who pass their time in philosophizing, not in acting." This was the protest of the Roman conscience.

<sup>1</sup> The Orchian law, as late as 198, ordered that during late dinner, which was the principal meal of the day, the doors of houses should stand open, so that all might see if the directions of the sumptuary laws were observed. (Macr., *Sat.*, ii. 13.) The Romans, says Plutarch (*Cat.*, 23), did not believe that there should be left to each man liberty to marry, to rear children, to choose his method of life, to make banquets, in a word to follow his own tastes and inclinations without regard to the judgment and observation of any, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Aulus Gellius, xiii. 8.

Cato, who regarded Socrates as a babbler, and would have condemned him over again for seeking to modify the manners and customs of his fathers, said to his son: "Remember this and bear it in mind as the utterance of an oracle, when this race shall have invaded us with literature Rome will be lost." He was certainly one of the authors of the famous decree of 161 which expelled philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Six years later, the exile returned.

The senate desired to keep peace among its subjects; the Athenians having pillaged the territory of a Bœotian city, the affair was referred to the arbitration of Sicily, and Athens was condemned to an enormous fine of 500 talents, which she was unable to pay. She solicited an abatement from the senate, and in order to obtain it, sent as ambassadors to Rome the chiefs of the Porch, the Lyceum, and the Academy, or, as Pliny says, "the princes



The Orator.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Museum of the Louvre, No. 712 of the Clarac catalogue. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*, p. 213-215. In this statue, one of the best preserved that we have, has been seen by turns Mercury, Germanicus, Flamininus, etc. Upon the shell of a tortoise, an animal consecrated to Mercury, an inscription in characters of the last century of the Republic gives us the sculptor's name, Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes the Athenian. The Venus de Medici is the work of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, hence it has been supposed one was the father of the other. By common consent, the statue is now called the Orator; it was bought by Louis XIV. through the agency of Poussin.

of wisdom." The three philosophers were—Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Carneades [of the new Academy], a great dialectician and orator, to whom nature had given "all the weapons of strength and grace" (153). While awaiting the discussion of the affair, the three envoys gave public lessons. The Roman youth crowded about them surprised and charmed at this new world which the Greeks unveiled to them. At the same time, with the Romans, a people of action, Greek philosophy could succeed only by its direct influence upon ideas which were limited, and morals which were already becoming corrupt. For them, Aristotle was too abstract, Plato too much an enthusiast; indifferent to the atoms of Epicurus as to the *catalepsies* of Zeno, they left dogmas and concerned themselves only with results. Critolaus might indeed say to them: "The object of life is the perfect exercise of reason;" and Diogenes: "Virtue is the only good, vice the only evil;" they admired without really comprehending this austere morality and philosophy which sought to carry the idea of absolute right into matters where the old Latin spirit recognized only practical wisdom, that is to say, for the individual, a consideration of his personal interest, for the State, that of the public advantage. But they listened attentively to the founder of the third academy, Carneades, who undermined all schools of philosophy by showing their weak side; who destroyed religion by pointing out that the great proof of the existence of the gods, namely, the general consent of mankind, had been acquired by a thousand foolish mistakes;—the worship of the gods, by proving that there was no more reason for accepting one divinity than another;—the oracles, by opposing to them human freedom; and morality, by victoriously supporting contradictory cases.

Thus, trifling with the most formidable questions, Carneades exhibited his brilliant talents before a Roman audience, and gained a popularity useful for his embassy. His famous discourse on political sagacity was an indirect defence of Athens, which, in pillaging Oropus, had committed an expedient but unjust act, as Rome had done so many times. It has been said that this school, of which Cicero was the pupil, did not merit all the discredit into which it has fallen, and this dangerous sentence of the great orator has been quoted: "To plead all that can be said, for and

against, is the surest method of arriving at the truth." To plead it, no; to seek it, yes; for doubt and the examination of all sides of a question are *par excellence* the scientific method, that which eliminates false hypotheses, and leaves only true theories. Still further, it is essential that from these controversies which make so many ruins something should remain intact like the lamps beneath the broken pitchers of Gideon. But how often is the mind drawn in divers directions, and disturbed by subtle discussions, when the conscience wavers, and the belief in abstract right is lost. With this scepticism taught by the new Academy, the minds of men lost those firm principles so necessary for living an honourable life. Not denying, therefore, that [even in dogma] the chemical changes of death may be those also of a new life springing from it, I can understand the alarm which Cato, that resolute defender of the past, felt at this destructive logic, which, to men weary of their superstition and of the darkness in which they had lived, appeared a weapon for combat and deliverance.

After the great success of Carneades, Cato adjured the senate to answer these philosophers as quickly as possible, and send them back to their own country. "They persuade men," he said, "to believe whatever they will, and truth and falsehood are so blended in their arguments,<sup>1</sup> that no one can separate the two. Let them go and teach the youth of Greece; let us keep our children submissive, as heretofore, to laws and magistrates." But it was too late; the initiation had been effected, and Carneades, in leaving Rome, left behind him a fatal curiosity, that philosophy of doubt which two centuries later disquieted Cicero, even when he was speaking no longer as a philosopher, but as a statesman. "In respect to the new Academy," he said, "I seek not to challenge it, and I implore its silence; for, if it should fall upon these principles which we are now establishing, it would soon leave nothing but ruins."<sup>2</sup>

The influence of Carneades was maintained by his successor Clitomachus, who, if he did not teach in Rome, at least propagated scepticism there by his writings, one of which he

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Leg.*, i. 13: *Nimias edet ruinas: quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo.*

inscribed to the poet Lucilius, and another to the consul Censorinus.<sup>1</sup>

The invasion was rapid. Less than two generations after the senatus-consultum had decreed, in that imperative fashion the senate was wont to employ: "Let these people depart from Rome; *uti Romæ ne essent*," Pompeius went to Rhodes to salute the philosopher Posidonius, and lowered the consular emblems before science, forbidding his lictors to strike, as was the custom, at the door of the house.<sup>2</sup>

The impulse towards this new way was, however, independent of Carneades and of all schools of philosophy. The enfeebling of the national religion dates from an early day. When any misfortune, pestilence or famine, fire or military disaster fell upon the city, the Romans were more exasperated at the evil which their gods had not prevented, than grateful for the victories in which they were well aware that the courage of their soldiers had the chief part, and they came to feel that these protectors of their ancestors had grown powerless. In vain during the disastrous times of the second Punic war had they multiplied their temples and sacrifices, their expiations and sacred games, heaven had long remained deaf to their supplications, and they had taken refuge in foreign superstitions. Then, Hannibal being dead and the danger past, the credit of these divinities of the conquered had in its turn diminished, at least among the nobles, for whom Ennius, a dependent of Cato, had translated into Latin the work of Euhemerus.<sup>3</sup> This traveller asserted that he had seen in an island off the coast of Arabia a golden column, upon which were inscribed the actions and the death of Saturn, Jupiter and other gods, former kings of the country, deified by popular credulity. To people Olympus with deified men was to destroy at one blow all the heathen religions. Ennius was no more respectful towards the priests than towards their gods. His sarcasms, which professed to be aimed only at charlatans, struck higher. "I despise," he says, "the auguries of the country of the Marsi as

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Acad.*, ii. 31, 32.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 31, on Carneades. (Cf. M. Martha in the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1868.)

<sup>3</sup> *ἱερὰ ἀνθρώπων*. Euhemerus was a disciple of Theodorus, surnamed the Atheist. (Diod., v. 44-46.)

well as the fortune-tellers of the village, and the astrologers of the market-place, the prognosticators of Isis, and the interpreters of dreams. They have neither divine art nor human knowledge. They are impudent liars, idlers and fools, or beggars urged by hunger. They know not whither to go, and they assume to lead us; they promise treasures while they beg an obol. Let them raise their obol upon the credit of this promised wealth, and give us what remains."<sup>1</sup>

But we must speak seriously of things which believers hold as serious. That which Ennius despises, and with such good reason, was, nevertheless, the very foundation of the Latin religion, since the ancient Romans considered the signs interpreted by the priests as a divine *revelation* constantly renewed by gods ever present in the midst of their people. For this reason the Roman statesmen, while they left the poets and men of letters at liberty to say whatever they pleased, for their own part carefully supported the ancient institution. "It is not well," said the pontifex Aurelius Cotta, "to deny in public the existence of the gods; but in private it is a different matter;" and he did not hesitate to do so.<sup>2</sup>

Polybius, who was a friend of Cato, the counsellor of Scipio Æmilianus, and the most honest man of his time, being disgusted with the popular religion which had become for some a school of scandal, while it remained for others a rude and gross superstition, banished Providence from his history, and replaced it by a stern sentiment of personal and public duty. He denied that there was suffering reserved for the wicked, but he maintained a severe responsibility to society and to a man's own conscience; finally, with that proud scorn of the crowd so common to superior minds, he regarded a system of worship merely as a useful method of governing and restraining men.<sup>3</sup> When we see Cato, augur and censor, unable to comprehend how two soothsayers could look each

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 26; ii. 3; and *de Div.*, ii. 24. Cæsar, pontifex Maximus, was an agnostic. [This was very much the attitude of many ecclesiastics in the Renaissance, notably at the court of Leo X.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Polybius, vi. 56. To Varro, to the pontifex Scævola, to Cicero himself (Cf. *de Nat. deor.*, and *de Divin.*, *passim*) the old religion was no more than this. We have already seen that Flaminius feared being detained by pretended prodigies.



other in the face without laughing, we are no longer surprised that the government should allow the gods to be insulted with impunity, so long as the magistrates were held in respect.<sup>1</sup>

Clever reasoners, Varro for instance, and the pontifex Scaevola,<sup>2</sup> who was consul in 95, escaped from the difficulty by distinguish-



Providence.<sup>4</sup>

ing many kinds of theologies; that of the poets, at most good for the theatre; that of the philosophers, discussed by reason; that of the State and the people, which the laws were bound to respect and defend. The last, as we have seen,<sup>3</sup> consisted only in dry and empty formalities which touched neither the intellect nor the heart; the second remained inaccessible to the crowd, and brought forth nothing but doubt; the first alone, that of the poets, was dear and vital. But what instruction could be derived from those scandalous imitations of the licentious plays of Athens, where the gods were given up to the ridicule of their worshippers?

It was in vain that the philosophers and rhetoricians had been expelled from Rome, their influence remained there, and Greek education taking the place of the Etruscan, spread abroad in families and in the heart of new generations contempt for the old customs and the religion of their forefathers. Besides, decrees of expulsion reached only

<sup>1</sup> St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei.*, ii. 12: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum peperisse.* (Cf. Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei.*, vi. 27: *Prima theologia maxime accommodata est ad theatrum secunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem.*

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i., p. 94, *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> Statue in the Louvre, No. 323 of the Clarac catalogue.

the distinguished masters, and not the obscure crowd gathered in the great city,<sup>1</sup> those *Graculi* who entered everywhere as slaves, as sculptors, painters, teachers, parasites: a crafty and deceitful race greatly in demand for their acuteness of mind and skill in speech.<sup>2</sup> In ancient Greece the education of the young was one of the chief cares of the government;<sup>3</sup> the Romans, with rare exceptions when the magistrates intervened, left this matter to private enterprise. Poly-

bios reproaches them for it, and it appears from a sentence in Plautus what fruits were borne by this liberty: "Am I your slave, or are you mine?" says a scholar to his tutor in the *Bacchides*. Consider also the lamentations of poor Lydus, and his comparison of the new manners with the old.<sup>4</sup> Terence, enumerating the tastes of fashionable young men at random, places philosophers along with horses and hunting-dogs.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile the most illustrious Romans of the time, the Scipios, Paulus Æmilius, all the nobility and all who strove to copy fine manners, surrounded their children with Greek instructors. But how could conquered men, slaves bought in the market, bring up the sons of the conquerors in the strong virtues of the earlier age? "The Romans," said



Sculptor.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Πολὺ δὲ τι φῶλον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιρρίον ὁρῶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων. (Polybius, xxxii. 10.)

<sup>2</sup> See Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 22, 51, also the *pro Flacco* and his letters.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 11. Cf. Suet., *de Ill. gramm.* See the *Épêchie attique* of M. Albert Dumont.

<sup>4</sup> *Bacchides*, 202, 473, *seq.*

<sup>5</sup> . . . *Aut equos alere aut canes ad venandum, aut ad philosophos.* (*Andr.*, 55.)

<sup>6</sup> From the museum in the *Villa Albani*.

Cicero's father, "are like the Syrian slaves; he who knows Greek best is the worst."<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.—INCREASING POPULARITY OF ORIENTAL RELIGIONS.

If we must deplore the degeneracy of morals, and the introduction of new vices into the Roman life, is it right also to regret the work of destruction accomplished in the matter of religious beliefs?<sup>2</sup> In the first place, the decay of the old faith was inevitable, and this alone is a reason for resigning ourselves to it. But, further, the place these errors occupied in men's minds was now ready to be filled by a better idea of divinity, an idea of which Cicero had a glimpse. This death then was but a renewal of life. A certain amount of time must pass, for the doubt which was the herald of a purer faith came as yet but to few, and the old religion had too strong a hold on all the habits of life to be easily wrenched from them. Although Roman polytheism gave very little comfort in this life or hope for another, although it was worn out by hard usage, the crowd could not free themselves from the superstitious fears they had so long entertained. The future was still sought in the entrails of victims, and in the flight of birds, a strange superstition which has not long been extinct, if indeed it be so now, since it yet survives in Greece.<sup>3</sup> Prodigies were still regarded, and must be solemnly expiated upon the altars of the gods; the senators themselves were filled with terror when the consuls made known to them that a five-legged calf had been born; and two men of iron will, Marius and Sylla, were no more than children before omens. One took counsel of a Syrian prophetess named Martha, and an ass seeking to drink, and two scorpions fighting, showed him what he must do; the other had faith in dreams and in amulets. Such are the unbelievers of our day who are afraid of bad luck, and that personage in the play who is frightened at the sound of his own thunder-machine which he has just had mended by the

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, ix. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Perrot, *Mém. d'archéol.*, p. 388.

blacksmith round the corner. Superstition and free-thinking keep house together in certain minds, as do the two Masters in others. Some, after being sceptical, recover their faith under the stroke of misfortune; this is common to all times. As for the mass of the population, it kept its lares and penates, its rustic gods, and its faith in that Jupiter *optimus maximus* who reigned in the Capitol, and who caused Rome to reign over the world. But many whose religious sentiment was not fully



satisfied by the arid formalism of the national religion, sought new heavens, and called down from them foreign gods. Already had Apollo, Æsculapius, Venus Erycina, and the Phrygian Cybele received rights of Roman citizenship,<sup>2</sup> and the old Italian

<sup>1</sup> The penates are represented on coins and medals in different aspects. The Virgil of the Vatican, from which the above representation is taken, has given to the protectors of Æneas a venerable air and the costume of priests and priestesses offering sacrifice, without however, assigning them any names. See, upon these divinities, vol. i., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i., p. 554, *seq.* In the worship of Cybele, the liturgy was altogether Greek (Serv., in *Georg.*, ii. 394); it was nearly the same with the mysteries of Ceres. (Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 9; *II in Verr.*, v. 72.) The priests of Ceres were generally called from Naples or Velia. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24; Val. Max., i. 1.)

divinities had lost their special character, assuming a Greek form and less austere manners. Faunus and Sylvanus had become Pans, Satyrs, and Silenuses. Djanus Djana gave up the double form and Rome retained the huntress Diana. Tages had given place to



Matuta or Leucothea (the dawn).<sup>2</sup>

Mercury, Libitina to Proserpine, Sancus to Hercules. Matuta,

<sup>1</sup> Sylvanus had lost much in the esteem of the higher classes, but this guardian of the house and field (see vol. i., p. 81, and 142) retained the confidence of the poor. The *sanctus sacer* had brotherhoods in all the provinces, *cultores Silvani*; there were some in Lutetia, and some have been found in Macedon. See two curious inscriptions on one of these colleges in Heuzey, *Mission de Macéd.*, p. 71, and in Orelli, 1800.

<sup>2</sup> Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. 3rd series, pl. 39.

the goddess of the morning, had been changed into Leucothea, and Portumnus into Palæmon or Melicertes.

An example will show the effect of this transformation. The ancient Faunus, the revered divinity of fields and flocks,<sup>1</sup> the infallible oracle, revealing the future now by dreams, now by mysterious voices, assumes horns and a goat's tail, and becomes the merry and amorous satyr of Greece, pursuing the nymphs when intoxication did not retard his footsteps.

Following these Greek divinities, the more dangerous gods of the East slipped into the city, as early as 220; Isis and Serapis had temples which the senate ordered to be destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

An attempt was made, even in 181, to establish these innovations by a pious fraud. "Some la-

bourers on the farm of Lucius Petilius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, the other that therein were contained his books. . . . In the latter were found two bundles, each containing seven books; seven were in Latin, and



Satyr.

<sup>1</sup> Hor., *Carm.*, iii. 18; Virg., *Æn.*, vii. 81; Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, ii. 2; iii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max., i. 3.



related to the pontifical law, and seven in Greek, containing philosophy. . . . The prætor, on reading the contents" [of the Latin books], "perceived that most of them had a tendency to



Worship of Isis and Serapis.<sup>1</sup>

undermine the established system of religion,<sup>2</sup> . . . and declared

<sup>1</sup> From a painting in Pompeii. The temple is built near a sacred wood; the statue of Isis stands upon a little column, Egyptian in character; in front, a sphinx with human head seems to represent Serapis-Bacchus or Liber, a priest of whom, carrying a cymbal and the mystic basket, seems to be conversing with the priestess of Isis. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. i. pl. 58.)

<sup>2</sup> *Pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse.* (Livy, xl. 29.) The same historian asserts that certain of these books appeared to be entirely new: *recentissima specie*. Numa could not

that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved, and the senate decreed that they should without delay be burned in the comitium," which was done (181).

The Oriental divinities gave a new cast to the religious convictions of men, to whom a very crude form of worship had so long sufficed.<sup>1</sup> Born in the scorching East, these deities required savage rites and pious orgies. Dramatic spectacles, intoxicating ceremonies affected violently the dull Roman mind, excited religious frenzy, and for the first time the Roman felt those transports



Serapis and Isis.<sup>2</sup>

which, according to the character of the doctrine and the condition of the mind, produce effects diametrically opposite—absolute purity of life or the excess of debauchery sanctified by religious belief. Asiatic slaves, now numerous at Rome, certainly carried on an unnoticed proselytism, as happened later in the beginnings of Christianity. We may clearly indicate by describing the rites of two of these faiths into what new and hitherto untried paths the religious spirit of the Romans had drifted. Lucretius thus pictures the feasts of Cybele, omitting the scandalous details:—

"The Greek poets when they sing of the earth represent her seated in a chariot drawn by two lions, her brows girt with a mural crown. . . . Mutilated priests accompany her . . . ; drums resound under their hands; cymbals and trumpets mingle their strident tones with the intoxicating harmonies of the Phrygian flute. . . . Javelins they bear, the weapons of their fury, and the mute image of the goddess traverses the great city without manifesting her silent beneficence. Silver and bronze coins, and flowers strew the route by which the procession moves. The goddess and her priests are, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of roses. Then a troop of armed men with crested heads dance,

have written in Greek, and the prætor of the year 181 could not have understood the Latin of Numa.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i., p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Serapis coiffed with the *modius*, and Isis with the lotos flower standing face to face, each bearing ears of corn, symbols of fertility. Reverse of a bronze coin of Antoninus, struck at Alexandria.

leaping in time to the music, while the blood runs from the wounds they give each other."<sup>1</sup>

These strange solemnities made part of the public worship,<sup>2</sup> and a certain decency was observed in them. But the mysteries of Bacchus, carried on secretly, had no such restraints. We give the story nearly in the words of Livy:—



Cybele.

A Greek of mean condition came into Etruria, bringing with him these secret and nocturnal rites. They were at first imparted to but a few, but afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women; the infection of this mischief, like the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome, where the size of the city affording greater room for such villainies and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first; but information of it was at length brought to the consul Postumius in the following manner: Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left fatherless, and his guardians dying, he was brought up by his mother, Duronia,

and his stepfather, Rutilus. Duronia was entirely under the influence of her husband, and Sempronius having so dealt with his ward's property that he could not give a good account of

<sup>1</sup> *De Nat. rer.*, ii. 601–634.

<sup>2</sup> In 205 a decree of the senate established the worship of Cybele.

<sup>3</sup> Cybele, crowned with towers. Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2019.

it, wished to have the young man made away with or bound by some tie to submission. The Bacchanalian rites furnished a way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him that she had made a vow in his behalf during a recent illness that if he should recover she would cause him to be initiated into the Bacchanalian mysteries. This vow she called upon him to fulfil; the young man consented, having no idea of any evil or danger in so doing, and he communicated his intention to a freedwoman named Hispala Fecenia to whom he was attached. Upon hearing this the woman in great terror broke out, "May the gods preserve you from it!" and went on to imprecate vengeance and destruction upon those who had advised him to such a step. The young man informed her that it was his mother who had counselled it with the approbation of his stepfather. "Your stepfather, then," she said, "is eager to destroy you," and being greatly urged, she went on to say, after imploring pardon of the gods and goddesses, if in the excess of her affection for her lover she was about to disclose what ought not to be revealed, that when a slave she had once gone to that place of worship as an attendant upon her mistress, but that since she had obtained her liberty she had never re-visited it, and that she knew it to be a receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries. She entreated the young man to escape the danger, and not plunge himself into a situation where he must suffer and commit all that was infamous.

Upon making known to his mother his determination not to obey her in the affair, Æbutius was at once driven out of the house, and went to his aunt Æbutia, who advised him to reveal to the consul the whole matter.

The consul having satisfied himself that Æbutius had spoken truly, desired his own mother-in-law to send for the freedwoman Hispala. The latter on finding herself summoned to the house of a woman of high rank and respectable character, was much alarmed, and on coming to the door and seeing the lictors in attendance believed herself lost. Both the consul and his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, exerted themselves to reassure her, and she after declaring her dread of offending the gods by betrayal of these secrets, and still more her anxiety lest the men implicated should tear her in pieces when they knew of it, at last consented to speak. The rites at first, she

said, were performed by women, no man being admitted; there were three stated days yearly when persons were initiated, and the ceremonies took place by day. The matrons were appointed priestesses in rotation, and finally one of them, a Campanian woman, had made alterations in all these particulars as if by the direction of the gods. She introduced men into the ceremonies, changing the time from day to night, and instead of three in a year there were now five days of initiation in every month. From the time that the rites were thus changed, there was nothing scandalous that had not been



Sarcophagus of Bacchantes.<sup>1</sup>

practised among them, to think nothing unlawful being the great maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, clad as Bacchantes, with dishevelled hair, ran down to the Tiber carrying blazing torches, which they dipped into the water and drew them up again still burning, the torches being made with native sulphur and charcoal. Those who shrank back from any crimes were dragged away into caverns under ground and slain, the noise of drums and cymbals and savage yells stifling the cries of the victims. The number of the initiated, she said, was extremely large, making almost a second State in themselves, and many among them were persons of noble families in Rome.

Having completed her deposition, Hispala fell upon her knees and entreated the consul to send her out of the country into some region where she might live in safety. She was, however, received

<sup>1</sup> This magnificent sarcophagus is at Rome. (Cf. Wey, *Rome*, p. 507.) Bacchus was also a divinity of the dead, *θεὸς χθονίου*. (Pausan., viii. 37, § 3; Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, v. 19.) Hence representations of his worship upon tombs.

instead into the house of Sulpicia, an apartment being given her in the upper storey and the egress to the street walled up, so that there was no way of reaching the rooms except from the inmost court of the house.

Having both his witnesses within reach, Postumius now made a report to the senate, and his words struck terror into the Conscript Fathers, not merely on the public account, lest such assemblies and nightly meetings might be productive of treachery and mischief, but also on account of their own families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. Revolts of slaves had recently taken place in Etruria (196)<sup>1</sup> and in Latium, where Setia and Præneste had narrowly escaped being taken by them,<sup>2</sup> and all the Apulian herdsmen were in tumult, so much so that it became necessary to send against them, a few months after the discovery of the Bacchanalian orgies, an army and a prætor, who put to death 7,000 of them.<sup>3</sup> The senate had never been favourable to secret meetings, and here they had them in Rome at the very gates of the senate house, while all through Italy there was reason to suspect their existence.

The senate voted that thanks should be given to the consul for his extraordinary promptness and discretion in the investigation of the matter. They then ordered the consuls to hold a special inquiry concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies; to take the utmost care that no harm should come to the informers, Æbutius and Fecenia, and to offer rewards for still further information. They ordered that all officers in the Bacchanalian rites, whether men or women, should be sought for not only at Rome, but throughout all the Italian towns, and should be delivered over to the consuls; also that proclamation be made in the city of Rome and through all Italy that no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites or to perform any kind of worship; and, above all, that search should be made for all those assembling for flagitious practices of whatever kind.

The consuls then directed the curule ædiles to search out and arrest all priests and priestesses of Bacchus; they charged the

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxii. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxix. 29.



plebeian aediles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private; they gave orders to the capital triumvirs to establish posts in all quarters and break up nocturnal gatherings, and five assistants were added to the triumvirs to keep special watch against incendiary attempts upon the buildings of the city.

An assembly of the people was then convoked, and one of the consuls addressed the crowd, giving them some account of what had been done. He recalled to them the edicts of their fathers prohibiting foreign religious rites, banishing strolling sacrificers and soothsayers, searching out and burning books of divination, and abolishing every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice. The assembly then listened to the reading of the decrees, closing with the edict that no person should buy or sell anything for the purpose of leaving the country, nor receive, conceal, or aid any fugitives.

Great alarm was felt in the city, and the excitement soon spread throughout Italy when letters were sent by the patrons of cities and public guests, with copies of the decree of the senate, of the consul's address, and of the edict, offering rewards to informers, warning offenders to appear within a given time and make their confession, and forbidding all citizens to harbour the accused or to facilitate their flight.

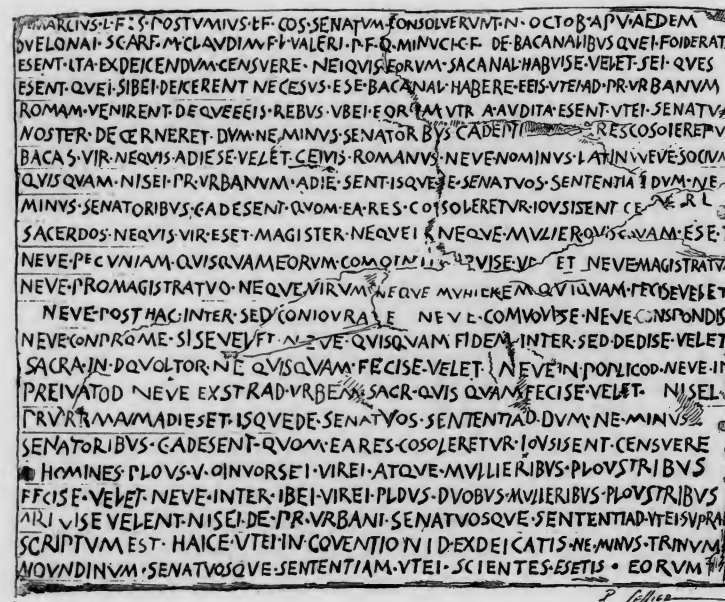
The action of the government was prompt. Guards were at once placed by the triumvirs at all the gates of the city. Many were arrested seeking to escape, and others turning back at sight of the guards endeavoured to obtain shelter in the city; some destroyed themselves. The guilty persons were over 7,000 in number. Four of the founders of the sect, being brought before the consuls, confessed their guilt, and were put to death. Those who had merely been initiated and taken the oath were condemned to prison, and those who had shared in the rites, a much greater number, were executed. The women, delivered over to those who had control of them,<sup>1</sup> were judged and punished in private.

A senatus-consultum, of which we have a copy,<sup>2</sup> decided that

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Cognatis aut in quorum manu essent.* (Livy, xxxix. 18.)

<sup>2</sup> With the consul's letter, ordering obedience to it. This letter was found in 1640 [at Tiriolo, near Catanzaro, in southern Calabria] engraved on a bronze plate. It was addressed to

there should be no more Bacchanalia at Rome or in Italy, but that the ancient altars and statues consecrated to Bacchus should be left standing. It was also provided that in case any person should believe that some such kind of worship was necessary and incumbent upon him, and that he could not, without offence to religion or fear of calamity, omit it, he should represent this to the



Fragment of the senatus-consultum on the Bacchanals.

praetor, who should lay the matter before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate when not less than 100 members were present, he then might perform the rites provided that no more than five persons were present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest. The worshippers were also forbidden to bind themselves by mutual oaths. And that no one might be

the people of Teura, and all the other cities of Italy had received a similar one. This bronze is now in Vienna. (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* of Berlin, vol. i. p. 43.) [It is of great interest as one of our oldest specimens of Latin with archaic forms, such as the ablative in *d*, not to be found in Latin literature.—*Ed.*]

ignorant of this decree, it was directed that it be read in the public assembly on three market days, and engraved on a table of bronze, which should be fixed in some public place most easy of access; finally, that all offenders should be punished with death.

Another decree of the senate gave to Æbutius and Hispala the sum of 100,000 *ases* apiece; it was further directed that the necessary steps should be taken to exempt Æbutius from military service. Hispala received the privilege of disposing of her own

Bacchus.<sup>2</sup>

property, of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, also that she might marry a man of honourable birth, and such marriage should not be a cause of loss or ignominy to the husband; finally, that consuls and prætors, present and future, should watch particularly over her safety.<sup>1</sup>

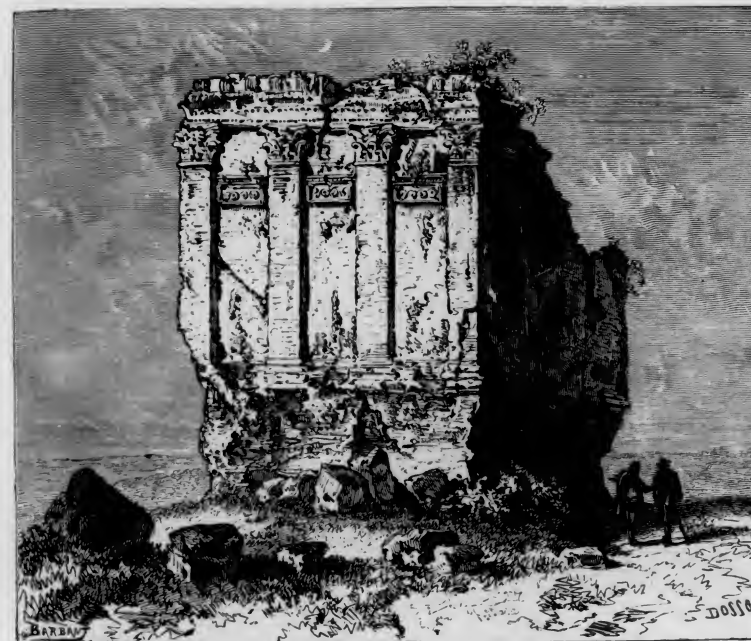
These events occurred in the year 186; search continued during the following years, and other victims perished; of these, most, doubtless were innocent, like many of those who were put to death in 186. There appears to have been no conspiracy in the matter. Crimes were imputed to the accused as they were later to the Jews and Christians. The scenes of debauchery are but too certain, and the initiated probably made away with certain

persons now and then whose indiscretion they had reason to fear. The terror and confessions of Hispala, much more than the testimony of paid informers, can leave no doubt on this question. But this

<sup>1</sup> In other words, the decree of the people suggested by the *senatus-consultum* conferred upon Hispala all the rights of the Roman matron; without it her former owner would have inherited her property; he would have authorized no marriage except with one of his own freedmen; he would have been her guardian; and it appears from the words of Livy, "*Neu quid ei, qui eam duxisset, ob id fraudi ignominiae esset,*" to what the free Roman would otherwise have been exposed in marrying her. Augustus forbade such marriages to senators, but it seems probable that in earlier times they were forbidden, in the interest of morality, to any citizen.

<sup>2</sup> Bacchus holding a vase in the right hand and stretching the left towards a little figure standing on a pedestal, to which Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.*, vol. iv. p. 207) gives the name of Hope. This group was found in the territory of Tusculum. (London, *Hope Collection*; Cf. Saglio, fig. 715, p. 630.)

orgiastic worship, celebrated by night, this secret association, which elected chiefs and levied assessments from its members, caused alarm to statesmen as well as to the conservative in matters of religion. Those whose descendants came to call Christians the enemies of the human race had but little trouble in believing that the worshippers of Bacchus were the enemies of the Republic. In

Ruins of the Temple of Health on the road to Albani.<sup>1</sup>

substance, the punishment of the Bacchanalians was the first of the religious persecutions ordered by the Roman government.

This pretended conspiracy had thrown men's minds into a condition which shows how easily these Romans became excited by superstitious terrors. A frightful plague ravaged Rome and all Italy. It carried off a prætor, a consul, many persons of importance, and so large a number of the people that recruiting became difficult. This scourge was regarded as a sign of celestial anger. The pontifex Maximus caused the Sibylline books to be

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

consulted. Offerings and gilded statues were vowed to the healing gods, Apollo, Æsculapius, and Health, and a supplication was offered for two days in the city and the market towns and villages by all persons over twelve years of age, the suppliants wearing



Apollo.<sup>2</sup>

garlands on their heads and carrying laurel branches in their hands. But the over-excited imagination of the people saw human villainy in this wide-spread mortality. The word poison was whispered, and ran through the city with extreme rapidity, as happens in cases of panic, and an investigation resulted, if we may believe Valerius of Antium, in the condemnation of 2,000 persons, among them Quarta Hostilia, the wife of the consul who had died of the pestilence.<sup>1</sup> It was a fresh holocaust offered to fear.

The proceedings against the Bacchanalians are worthy of our further attention, for many important facts are thereby brought to notice. We see that the senate suggested decrees to the popular assembly, and itself made laws and set in motion the whole administration, consuls and prætors, ædiles and tribunes of the people, regulating the affairs of Rome and of Italy. We see, moreover, to what extent had grown the dependence of the Italians upon the city, now their capital and their mistress, since the senate was able to forbid

to them certain forms of worship, and reserved to itself the right of giving the *jus civitatis* to new divinities. Still further serious consequences followed from the affair, since the emperors inheriting

<sup>1</sup> In this statement facts are collected, which Livy separates. (Cf. xxxix. 41, and xl. 37.) The accusations of poisoning began again in 152, when two noble matrons were put to death in their own houses.

<sup>2</sup> *Atl. du Bull. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 13. [From a Pompeian bronze.]

the senate's jealousy of foreign religious and secret societies, accepted the decree in the affair of the Bacchanalia, as a rule for their dealings with the Jews and Christians.

Details of manners may be noticed. The rights of the domestic tribunal still recognized; the demi-servitude of the freed person: the facility of recognized intimacy with a courtesan; the duty of a city's patron to keep that city informed of Roman affairs; lastly, the use of informations obtained by offer of reward, a shameful legacy from the Republic to the Empire. Another point is of greater importance—the fact that Hispala entertains no doubt of the religious character of these mysteries, that she believes them of divine origin, that she dreads the anger of the gods on account of her revelations, that, finally, the senate regards the matter in the same light, neither proscribing the god nor his worship, and solely striving to repress its immoralities. But to us these lawless doings make part of a numerous category of analogous facts, which the history of religions records. Within the pale of an association employing the usual methods of secret societies, the mysterious initiation, the solemn oath, the menace (sometimes the poniard) for those who break their plighted faith, we find teaching of esoteric doctrines, impure rites, the over-excitement of the senses and the souls of men. Whatever allowance may require to be made for exaggeration in the story of these horrors, there must remain enough truth to reveal a certain condition of mind which had never before existed in Rome, but henceforth would exist and develop. The proscribed Bacchanalia re-appeared;<sup>1</sup> the priests of Jupiter Sabasius repeated the same scandals. In 140 it became necessary to expel these pious profligates from Rome, together with the Chaldæan astrologers,<sup>2</sup> but they soon returned, and many others in their train. Sylla,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xxxix. 8–19. Notwithstanding the severities of the year 186, the Bacchanalia continued with a little more decency at first, but later without any restraints, merely ceasing to seek concealment, a change which, in the eyes of the government, removed its dangerous character. At Lavinium, says S. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, vii. 21), they were celebrated during an entire month with the most shameful obscenities. It is, however, justice to add that the Romans never introduced into their public worship those consecrated prostitutions which dishonoured so many of the Oriental religions. The reserve of the Western nations preserved them from this shame. Upon the subject of these immoralities considered as acts of devotion, see J. Baisnac, *Les Origines de la religion* (1877).

<sup>2</sup> Val. Max., I. iii. 1; Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 15.



conservative in the extreme, introduced the Enyo of the Cappadocians, and Varro says, "All the gods of Egypt have come down upon Rome."

We have therefore just witnessed the very humble and the very shameful beginnings of a moral revolution destined to exercise the greatest influence upon the destinies of the empire.

If we compare this narrative with what was said in the third chapter of the first volume, we shall find that in religious things the Roman mind before arriving at Christianity passed through three phases, which naturally ensue.

The first is marked by the narrow and prosaic character of the Latino-Sabine religion.

The second appeared when the weighty slavery of this formal ceremonial, good for the rude peasant, became insupportable to men who, having conquered many provinces and many ideas, began to believe that human foresight had more weight in the affairs of this world than Jupiter's favour. They retained the old forms of worship as a means of government, leaving religious institutions blended with political until the very end of the pagan empire, but for themselves they renounced the old beliefs while seeking for no new ones, and the best of them stood in that middle path of good sense and indulgent doubt where Horace chooses in those lines which must have appeared most irreverent to the devout:—

*Sed satis est orare Jovem quæ donat et aufert  
Det vitam, det opes: æquum mi animum ipse parabo.*<sup>1</sup>

This is the epoch which we have reached—that of scepticism.

Already the third was beginning to appear. The philosophic doubt of the consulars, whose education Greece had superintended, was not for every man's use. Those whom a nervous and excitable organization predisposed to ardent passions and lively imaginings, women especially, began to weary of the national gods, too long deaf to their prayers, and carried their offerings to the divinities who came to them from the East with a whole train of strange rites, by which mind and senses were alike excited. It was the preparation for the final phase. But four centuries were yet needed before these cold and selfish souls could arrive at

<sup>1</sup> *Ep.*, I. xviii. 111-112; *Carm.*, ii. 3.

mysticism, before these men would exchange their mad pleasures for religious gloom, the worship of life for that of death. We have seen how in this early Rome all tottered to its fall, morals and faith alike. We shall soon see a new Rome arise.

#### V.—INFLUENCE OF GREECE UPON ROMAN LITERATURE.

In respect to letters, shall we say that these conquered people who subjugated their conquerors exercised a happy influence upon Rome? No Latin tongue had yet cried out with the grief or love that the true poet utters. Poetry is something personal and individual, and in Rome the severe discipline of laws and custom, *mos majorum*, had not permitted the flight of individual genius. Accordingly this phenomenon had been produced, unique in the history of nations, that a people had arrived at high political eminence without having kindled the flame of patriotism and noble thought upon the hearth-stone of letters.

When the Romans accepted Greece as their instructor they had not yet formed their language or their taste. Hence their literature, from its very earliest days, was marked by the character that it always retained, namely, the imitation of Greece, and this tamely accepted dependence prevented it from making a path for itself. It remained an echo of the voices to which Hellas had listened.

Early Rome had had, no doubt, songs of a rude and primitive nature, which time would have softened; she possessed also traditions, legends, glorious memories which would have been precious material for a national poet. But this poet never appeared, and from the time when Ennius the Calabrian<sup>1</sup> substituted the Greek hexameter for the old Saturnian verse, native poetry fell into neglect and was lost without hope of recovery. Carried away by the brilliant forms of Greek literature, the Roman nobles, especially the Scipios, popularized it with a zeal that alarmed the patriotism of Cato. Everyone spoke Greek,<sup>2</sup> Scipio Africanus

<sup>1</sup> Ennius was born in 239, and died in 169.

<sup>2</sup> The numerous hostages brought from Greece into Italy brought Greek, for many families, into the relations of private life.

no less than Paulus Æmilius, who brought home the books of Perseus, Flamininus as well as Scipio Æmilianus, who knew Homer by heart. The pontifex Maximus, P. Crassus, knew all the Greek dialects, Cato himself learned the language, and Ennius opened upon the Aventine a school for instruction in Greek. The year of the battle of Pydna, Crates of Mallos, Homer's commentator, coming to Rome, gave lessons there which drew a crowd about him, and Sylla even permitted the Greek envoys to harangue the senate in their own tongue.

Doubtless in this intercourse the rude speech of Latium gained more softness and elegance. But it did not stop with the giving of ideas; words were copied, and some went so far as to blend the two languages, like Lucilius, whose style is sometimes like a mosaic of Greek and Latin words.<sup>1</sup> Fabius Pictor had already, in the time of the second Punic war, written a Roman history in Greek. Postumius Albinus, a senator, followed this example, and excused himself in his preface in case he should have made any errors in the foreign tongue, to which Cato replied, "But were you obliged to write in that language?" Flamininus, it is certain, committed no barbarisms in the Greek verses engraved on the silver bucklers he hung up on the walls of the temple at Delphi.

Horace, the most original of the Latin authors, began by Greek verses, and in the midst of his success, exhorted his fellow Romans to read the Greek authors night and day. How many novelties, indeed—philosophy and science, amorous gallantry and the dainty refinements of society, lyric and elegiac verse, were now to find expression in that language which for centuries had done no more than speak the rude fact, as a weapon, which is still covered with the slag of the foundry, smites, but does not flash. At the same time, whatever Roman



Dioscuroi on Horseback.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hor., *Sat.*, I. x. 23: *Sermo linguâ concinnus utrâque suavior*. Cicero (*de Off.*, i. 31) takes up the same ridicule, although he himself uses Greek words in almost every one of his letters to Atticus. (See also Juv., *Sat.*, vi.) A pretor, Albicius, went so far as to forget his mother tongue. (See *Fragm. Lucilii*.) Lucullus wrote in Greek as well as Cicero, but the latter was careful not to leave barbarisms therein, which Lucullus did, as he said, expressly.

<sup>2</sup> P. PAETVS ROMA. The Dioscuroi on horseback. Reverse of a silver coin of the Ælian family.

literature, trained in the schools of Greece lost in originality, it gained in rapid development, by having access to their richest storehouse of literary treasures. From the time that contact was well established between Roman and Greek genius, a brilliant light shone upon Italy, and Rome produced great poets.

In this first period of Roman literature, therefore, we find everywhere the forms and the spirit of the Greek. There are translations and imitations, and even the rhythm is copied. The form which succeeds best, comedy, has nothing Roman about it, but neither is it the comedy of Aristophanes. The nobles were too powerful at Rome to suffer the liberties which the Greek poet had allowed himself at Athens, and the terrible law of the Twelve Tables against offensive verses was still in force.<sup>1</sup> "What folly is mine," cries Plautus, with a modesty which was really but prudence, "what folly to concern myself in public affairs when we have magistrates to watch over them!"<sup>2</sup> They copied Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus,<sup>3</sup> and in the plays of Plautus<sup>4</sup> and Terence the reader feels himself at Athens, although the former was an Umbrian, the latter a Carthaginian. They made no secret of it: "Without the aid of an architect," says one of them, "I have transported Athens to Rome,"<sup>5</sup> and he promises countless Attic jokes.<sup>6</sup> The higher praise that Cæsar gives to Terence is to call him a demi-Menander. Instead of a picture of national life and manners there is nothing, except in some rare allusions, but a weak representation of the vices and follies of mankind, where art loses both force and genuineness. And still now and then Plautus remembers that he is at Rome, and the senator; hastening to the senate house, because offices are there distributed; the poor devil who goes to receive his share of a *congiarium*; the young fop who does not hesitate to bilk a courtesan while waiting his opportunity to plunder a province; these women whose

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Persa*, i. 2.

<sup>3</sup> To appreciate the superiority of Menander over the Latin comic authors, his imitators, see Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Plautus was born in Sarsina in Umbria, about 254, and died in 184; Terence at Carthage, and being taken by pirates in his childhood, was sold to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. He died by shipwreck at the age of thirty-five.

<sup>5</sup> Plaut., *Trucul.*, in the *prologue*.

<sup>6</sup> *Persa*, III. i. 67.

luxury exasperates Megadorus as much as it does Cato—wives



Menander.<sup>3</sup>

with ten-talent dowries,<sup>1</sup> faithful but termagants, as a good number of those matrons must have been, whom their husbands could not hinder from making a riot on a question of toilette; the client who will not dishonour his station by carrying on business, but sells his testimony and lives upon his perjuries; the old bachelor whose sensual egotism displays itself so complacently; and the precocious profligate who threatens his slave-tutor with the whip—all these characters must indeed have lived in Rome.<sup>2</sup>

We may add another, the parasite, lately arrived from Athens, henceforth to be found in swarms around those

groaning boards;<sup>4</sup> Plautus shows him to us reading over, in

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Trucul.*, v. 80-90: *Pamulus*, 659. For other allusions of Plautus, see the *Captivi*, *Asinaria*, *Casina*, and in *Curculio* (IV. i. 478-500) his description of Rome: "Do you require a perjurer, go to the *comitium*; a liar, seek him beside the temple of Venus Cloacina . . . ; in the Tuscan quarter you will find people ready to sell themselves; in the Velabrum, diviners and profligates haunting the house of Leucadia Oppia." See also in the *Menæchmi*, scenes of villainy in which the two heroes of the piece, though young men of good family, allow themselves to figure. At the court of Louis XIV. it was common to cheat at play, at that of Augustus a man put his hand in his neighbour's pocket (*Catull.*, *Carm.*, xii. 25), and the usage was of considerable date then.

<sup>3</sup> Statue in the Vatican.

<sup>4</sup> Epicharmus first, and then Alexis, introduced the parasite in the Athenian theatre. See p. 206, the words of one of the parasites of Alexis.

preparation for the next supper, his old store of jokes, or fretting about the recent importation of sun-dials so slowly marking the hours as they advance towards the appointed time for the feast. "May



A Banquet (*Symposium*).<sup>1</sup>

the gods confound who invented hours and was the first to place a sun-dial in this city! The traitor has cut my day up into morsels!

<sup>1</sup> Painting from Pompeii; illustration drawn from Nicollini, *Museo Borbonico*.



In my boyhood the appetite was a much more correct guide. Never did it fail to give me notice in time, and never was it mis-



The Goddess Chastity.<sup>2</sup>

are liable to rapid change. Every day we see this in the case of individuals. Rome saw it in the case of many for whom

<sup>1</sup> Fragment of "the Boeotian woman." These words of Plautus would put Pliny in the wrong (*Hist. Nat.*, vii. 60), who says that the first sun-dial was brought to Rome by Papirius Cursor twelve years before the war with Pyrrhus. See vol. i. p. 547.

<sup>2</sup> Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 124 of the Clarac catalogue.

taken, unless indeed there were nothing to eat. Now, however much there may be, there is nothing to be had till it please the sun!"<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered that the comic poets who profess to paint society, really depict only its eccentricities, its follies, and exceptional vices; that a single verse of theirs, well turned, makes more noise in the world than the virtue of a thousand women, because that virtue, not having the theatre for its dwelling place, is hidden from the public view. In spite of all the *Graculi*, therefore, we must believe that there were honest people in Rome, as there doubtless were, notwithstanding Epicurus, many devout ones. The every-day life of a people only alters with extreme slowness. It is the manners of those who have lately made fortunes that

the passage from poverty to wealth was a sudden transition. But amidst conspicuous profligacy certain families still retained all the early austerity of Roman manners. There were still *Virginii*, who chose for their children death rather than shame.<sup>1</sup> There are still matrons who can enter with head erect the temple of Chastity, and upon the tomb of more than one can be inscribed, as in the case of Claudia, "Gentle in words, graceful in manner, she loved her husband devotedly; she kept her house, she spun wool" (*domum servavit, lanam fecit*).<sup>2</sup> Plautus himself puts these words in the mouth of Alemene. "My dowry is chastity, modesty, and the fear of the gods; it is love to my kindred; it is to be submissive to my husband, kind towards good people, helpful to the brave." Lucretius, so severe upon love, grants to the wise man that he may also find happiness in a virtuous marriage, as was the case in early days, and is still possible at the present time. This Alemene of Plautus reappears in Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio and mother of the Gracchi.

We have not a single play remaining by Cæcilius, a native of Cisalpine Gaul, who has been compared with Terence, and may have aided that author's early work, but does not merit the honour of being likened to him, if we may judge by the quotations of Aulus Gellius.

Two other poets, one preceding Plautus, the other following him, Nævius, a soldier in the first Punic war, of which he sang in a poem admired by Cicero, and Lucilius, who was with Scipio Æmilianus at the siege of Numantia, had, if not more talent, at least more courage and originality. Nævius wrote in the old national rhythm, in Saturnian verse, and the Latin titles of many of his pieces show that he took pleasure in representing the manners of the lower classes at Rome.<sup>3</sup> We know also that he did not scruple to attack the most powerful citizens. Twice his poetry gained him the honour of persecution. History must give him credit for the position he took so audaciously against the nobles,

<sup>1</sup> Pontius Aufidianus and Atilius Philiscus slew their daughters; Fabius Maximus Servilianus, his son; Menius, a favourite freedman. For a breach of morals a tribune of the people is condemned, and none of his colleagues interpose; a centurion dies in prison; adulterers are put to death, and no punishment is meted out to the slayer, etc. (*Val. Max.*, VI. i. 3-13.)

<sup>2</sup> Orelli, 4848.

<sup>3</sup> *Agitatoria, Ariolus, Bubulcus, Cerdo, Figulus, Fullones, Lignaria, Tunicularia.*

and associate the name of the poor Campanian with the great struggle waged by Cato against the Scipios. Unfriendly towards the Greek influence, whose beginnings he saw, he left this inscription for his own tomb: "If the gods could weep for mortals the muses would weep for Nævius the poet. When he went down into the treasure-house of Pluto the Latin language was forgotten at Rome." He had reason to dread this invasion of Greek ideas and forms; the Athenian comedy (*palliata*) effaced the Roman (*togata*), and time has left almost nothing of the works of Nævius save a few verses, among which is this one, which does him honour: "Always have I preferred liberty to wealth." Those who like himself have devoted themselves to the painting of national life had no better fortune.<sup>1</sup>

But Lucilius was a rich knight, friend of Æmilianus and grand-uncle of Pompeius,<sup>2</sup> protected by his rank, who wrote with impunity thirty satires, a style created by himself, and, thanks to Horace, Perseus and Juvenal, one which remained very Roman. In these satires he rails at the rich and the poor, the people and the nobles, "who from morning till night run up and down the Forum, occupied with but one anxiety, to feign honesty and to deceive each other." Consuls, triumphant generals, the Metelli, Carbo, the rude Opimius, Cassius, Cotta, who would not pay his creditors, Torquatus Tuditanus "the coward," Calvus "the bad soldier,"—no man escaped his keen wit, neither Lupus, prevaricating and impious judge, nor Gallonius, the glutton, nor even "the nose of the prætor elect."<sup>3</sup> "They believe that they can commit all crimes with impunity. They are of noble rank; that is enough to shut the mouths of all objectors." "To-day," he says, elsewhere, "gold holds the place of virtue; by what thou hast thy worth will be measured." Whether

<sup>1</sup> Afranius, Fabius Dossennus, Titinius, Quinctius Atta, and the famous farce writer (*Atellane fabule*), Pomponius of Bologna.

<sup>2</sup> According to Eusebius, he was born in 148 at Suessa Aurunca, but the true date is probably earlier. The longest of his 800 fragments has only thirteen verses. (*Lucil. reliq.*, edit. Douza.) It has been said, but without reason, that he was the first Roman of noble condition who gave a part of his life to literary pursuits. He at first gave much of his time to business; later he made a fortune in the public farms, and both Cato and Fabius Pictor had written much before his time.

<sup>3</sup> *Nec designati rostrum prætoris*. He spared only virtue, says Horace: *uni æquus virtuti*. (*Sat.*, II. i. 70.)

it be by chance or the result of the poet's intention, there is to be found in his fragments neither the name of Nævius nor that of Plautus, while the imitators of Greece, Ennius, Pacuvius, Cæcilius, are rudely scourged. The world loves to laugh at itself. This satire on the men of his time gave Lucilius immense popularity. At his death the citizens of Rome paid, it is said, the expenses of his funeral.



Terence.<sup>1</sup>

Of Terence, who, says Montaigne, has the manners of a gentleman, we have nothing to say. He is a correct poet who never "boils over," as was said of Nævius, who addresses Lælius and Scipio rather than the



Scene of a Comedy.<sup>2</sup>

crowd. He paints the characters of all time, and if he delights the scholar by the elegance of his language, he furnishes the historian with no useful fact except this, that there had at last

<sup>1</sup> Medal (*unique*) in the Museum of Gotha. (Visconti, *Iconog. romaine*, p. 148, No. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. p. 60-61, pl. 123. It seems that the artist has borrowed the design for his fresco from the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus or the *Eunuchus* of Terence. The man with the lance may well be the swaggering bully who calls himself the *Taker-of-Cities*. In this case the actor who is speaking to him would be the slave *Palestrion*, one of the ancestors of the French Mascarille. The two old men seated at the right and left appear to be statues representing two authors, as we now place in the entrance halls of our theatres the names or busts of writers whose pieces are played within. Theatrical masks, originally used in Athens, were first employed by actors in the *Atellane fabule* (see vol. i. p. 539); they seem to have been introduced into comic representations by Roscius about the year 100. (Rutschius, *Gramm. Latine auct. ant.*, vol. iii. p. 486.)

been formed at Rome a society of wits. And here we have a feature of the new Rome.

We shall only mention the dramatic attempts of Nævius and Ennius, the *Education of Romulus* of the former and the *Siege of Ambracia* of the latter. The Greek Melpomene never crossed the Adriatic Sea. In tragedy an ideal was needed, which the Romans did not possess. Æschylus and Sophocles lived near the gods and heroes, but the gods of Rome, shut up in the Capitol near the place where grave senators deliberated, were themselves too serious to have adventures, and her great men, soldiers of duty, wore indeed the civic crown, but had not upon their brows the aureole of

Thalia.<sup>1</sup>

heroes. Neither could supply a great poetic inspiration.

The general tendency of the Roman literature of this period is, like that of the Greek at the same epoch, towards impiety. It has already been said that Ennius translated the book of Euhemerus; in his fragments, and in those of Pacuvius, the augurs, aurspices, and soothsayers are seen to mock upon the stage,

<sup>1</sup> *Musée Pio Clementino*, vol. i. pl. 18, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 509, No. 1025. This statue was found in the olive grove at Tivoli, in the place called Pianella di Cassio. Any sitting representations of the comic muse are rare.

amid the applause of the people, says Cicero, those gods whom in the temples they worshipped.<sup>1</sup> Lucilius, who no more spared the denizens of heaven than of earth, represents the twelve great gods seated in council and laughing at mankind who call them fathers; Neptune, also, being embarrassed in a discussion where he was getting the worst of it, saying by way of excuse that Carneades himself could not have argued his way out.<sup>2</sup> Again he mocks at the Romans "prostrate and trembling before those vain images invented by Numa, like children who take statues for living beings, giving life to bronze and marble, taking for truth that which is only a lie." From time to time Plautus is tempted to believe in a supreme being and in divine providence; his *Rudens* has a certain moral and religious tone. The play opens with a prologue recited by a divine personage, the star Arcturus,

Melpomene.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Div.*, ii. 50: *Ennius, qui magno plausu loquitur, adsentiente populo: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam cœlitum, sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus.* Elsewhere he says, in the character of Telamon (*Cic., de Nat. deor.*, iii. 32): *Cur di homines negligent: nam si curent, bene bonis sit; male malis; quod nunc abest.* Cicero assures us that in his time it was the opinion of many philosophers: . . . *nec irasci deum, nec nocere.* (*de Off.*, iii. 28.) He speaks of the oracles with very little respect (*de Div.*, ii. 56), and believes that the representations that have been made of the Elysian Fields are *somnia optantis, non probantis.* Caesar openly professed atheism. (Cf. Martha, *Lucretius*, p. 130, *seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> *Cic., de Rep.*, iii. 6. He also derided the worship of images: *eorum stultitiam qui simulacra deos putant esse deridet.* (*Lact., Inst. Div.*, xiv. 22.)

<sup>3</sup> Colossal statue in the Louvre, believed to have adorned the theatre of Pompeii; No. 348



appearing on the stage in the midst of clouds, his forehead surrounded with a starry aureole, and saying to the spectators: "I am a dweller in the sky, one of those genii who rule the night

Anubis.<sup>3</sup>

amongst the stars, whom by day Jupiter sends to earth to watch the actions of men and report to him faithfully thereon.<sup>1</sup> He revises the sentences of the judges and of those in authority; if a man gains his cause by intrigue and fraud, the amends which Jupiter inflicts sooner or later greatly exceed the unjust gain. By his orders crimes and virtues are inscribed upon the eternal registers. It is I who have to-day called down a tempest upon the traitor, whom you will see dragging himself upon the shore."<sup>2</sup> But all these gods, reciters of prologues, are not equally respectable, his Jupiter is of scandalous behaviour. And what must the devout have thought when Plautus represents the father of gods and men inhaling the odour that

arises from the frying-pans of a chattering cook, or going to bed

of the Clarac catalogue. Rome had some translations or imitations of the Greek tragedies, especially of those of Euripides. The writings of Accius, some of which were on Roman subjects, have been lost. Cicero (*pro Plancio*, 24; *pro Sestio*, 56) speaks of him with high praise; there remains from his *Prometheus* a monologue not unworthy of Æschylus. (Egger, *Lat. serm. vet. reliq.*, p. 197. Cf. Neukirch, *Diss. de Fab. togata ac de L. Afranio*; Bothe, *Poet. scen. latin.*, and Maittaire, *Oper. et fr. vet. poet. lat.*)

<sup>1</sup> *Est profecto deus qui quæ nos gerimus auditque et videt.* (*Capt.*, 242.)

<sup>2</sup> Naudet, vol. viii., p. 233 of his translation of Plautus.

<sup>3</sup> Anubis (*Musée Capitolin*, iii., pl. 85). A Roman statue found at Porto d'Anzio (Antium)

without his supper when this cook did not work for him, or when Sosia explains that the day is late in appearing; because Apollo is lazy after drinking too much the night before.<sup>1</sup> A little later than this buffoons exhibited daily to the people "Anubis, the adulterer, Diana beaten with rods, and three starved Herculeses."<sup>2</sup>

A poet of the next age, but in style and thought kindred to the time of which we speak, Lucretius, has developed with eloquent audacity the materialistic doctrines of Epicurus. He has come, he says, to free men's minds from the chains of superstition,<sup>3</sup> to lift up the hearts that are bowed with fear, to put an end to those offerings of victims that men in their terror are constantly bringing to the altars. In his magnificent invocation in the first book he addresses Venus, but he means the Venus who is Nature herself, repairing with her mighty forces the ravages made by death. The gods he relegates to some distant abode where they repose in idleness, no longer concerned with the affairs of men, and

Venus Anadyomene.<sup>4</sup>

in 1749, showing the blending of Roman and Egyptian ideas. Instead of the head of the jackal, which the Egyptians give to their Anubis, leader of souls, we find a dog's head; the caduceus of Mercury, also the leader of souls into the infernal regions, takes the place of the sceptre with greyhound's head, and the left hand holds a sistrum. This sacred instrument was made of bronze, silver, or gold, and consisted of three or four metallic rods, loosely inserted in an oval frame; it was shaken at the festivals of Isis, giving forth musical sounds. Plutarch (*de Iside et Osir.*) maintained that it symbolized the four elements composing the world, by means of which all things are constantly destroyed and recomposed.

<sup>1</sup> *Pseudolus*, 854 and 860.

<sup>2</sup> Tertull., *Apol.*, 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Religionum animus nodis exsolvere pergo* (i. 931), and he terminates the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the famous verse:

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

<sup>4</sup> Or Venus rising from the waves. Museum of the Vatican, *nuovo braccio*, No. 90.

the very thunder-bolt itself is no longer the weapon of divine vengeance. He speaks of it as "that blind flame which falls upon the temples of the gods, which wastes itself in deserts or upon the sea, and passes by the guilty man to smite an innocent head." In the creation all things are explained for him by physical causes, and he clothes this empiricism in the most magnificent poetry. "The thunder is the wind taking fire from the rapidity of its motion; life is the rapid succession of beings dissolving and re-forming;<sup>1</sup> death, the unalterable calm of the sweetest sleep; and hell, an invention of poets or of the timorous conscience



of the guilty. This Tantalus chilled with terror, under the rock which threatens him, is only the human being alarmed at imaginary threats of the gods, and believing himself overwhelmed by their anger, under the woes which a blind destiny brings upon him. What being could suffer eternal pains and furnish eternal food to

<sup>1</sup> The principle of modern science: nothing perishes, all is transformed.

<sup>2</sup> From a bas-relief engraved in the magnificent edition of the *Aeneid*, published by the Duchess of Devonshire (*l'Enéide di Virgilio recata in versi italiani da Annibale Caro*, 1819; 2 vols., fol., 164 copies only printed). The Greeks were not disposed to represent sad or terrible subjects; we have, accordingly, few representations of punishments. We give those of the three most famous of the immortal sufferers of paganism: Ixion upon his wheel; Sisyphus, bearing his rock to the summit of the hill whence it forever falls back; Tantalus a prey to devouring thirst, and trying with his two hands to bring to his lips the water which forever flows below them. A famous picture of Polygnotus in the *Lesche* at Delphi represented Tantalus, plunged in water, a tree loaded with fruit out of reach above him, and a rock forever threatening to fall upon him. (Pausan., x. 51, § 1.)

his tormentors? To fill one's soul with all good and never satisfy it, is not that the punishment of those maidens who endlessly pour the flying stream into a bottomless vase? Like man, the world also will die. Some day, and perhaps you yourself may behold it, this great vault, battered by the shocks of doom, will give way, and then burning fragments will be scattered through space. These verities," he dares to add, "are surer than the oracles from Apollo's tripod."<sup>1</sup>

Presently, Caesar in the open senate declares that death is the end of all, and Cicero, the man who wrote the *Dream of Scipio*, will treat as an idle fable the doctrine of a life to come.<sup>2</sup> ". . . . What harm can death do us, unless, believing in childish stories, we think the wicked may suffer punishment in hell. If, however, these be chimeras, as no one doubts,<sup>3</sup> what is it that death takes from us? The feeling of pain." And notwithstanding all the hypocritical worship that the official world lavished upon them in the temples, the gods were none the less dead; people's minds in growing more enlightened saw the folly of those fables created by the imagination of childish days, and as they became older, they had less and less need of the gods.

But not alone did the old religion vanish away; the very earliest virtue of Rome, patriotism, began to lose itself in that immense empire, where it was no longer clear where the affection should be directed. Lucilius satirizes that Albutius who "preferred to be at Athens rather than at Rome, and those who in the very Forum salute with the Greek *Xaîpe*;" in vain does he say that "a man should subordinate his personal interests to those of his neighbours, and the interest of his neighbours to that of his country;" here is Lucretius writing a poem of 7,000 or 8,000 lines, and never, save once, and by chance, introducing the Roman name.<sup>4</sup> And yet Rome had more than ever need of resolute and devoted citizens; but it is not the poetry of Lucretius, splendid as it was, that could give them to her: "Sweet is it when the tempest raises the

<sup>1</sup> Virgil also believed that there would be an end to the world, but he hoped for its renewal.

<sup>2</sup> *Pro Cluentio*, 61: . . . ineptiis ac fabulis.

<sup>3</sup> *Quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt . . . (ibid.)*

<sup>4</sup> The line where he supplicates Venus to beg from Mars an end to conflicts:

. . . petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.

mighty sea to contemplate from the shore the mariner tossed by the waves . . . to look upon perils which one does not incur, to be a spectator of battles waged in the plain and have no share in the danger. But sweeter yet it is to dwell upon the serene heights of science, in the inviolable sanctuaries which the thoughts of the wise have constructed, whence one sees afar off men wandering to and fro in life, striving for the rewards of genius, disputing for precedence, and exhausting themselves night and day with infinite efforts to seize upon power and fortune. O miserable human beings! blinded minds, who do not understand what is needed for the soul, namely, to be delivered from cares and from superstitious fears."

This is fine rhetoric, but the poem can never be a lesson in patriotism. Before the time of Lucretius, another author trained in the school of Greece, Pacuvius the Apulian, had said, "Your native country? it is the place where you live most at your ease."<sup>1</sup>

Heaven and hell correspond; he who denies one denies the other. It was no longer believed that there were rewards and penalties beyond the grave. Men of letters ceased to speak of that sad and silent life of the shades so dear to the Roman of early days.<sup>2</sup> Panaetius, the Stoic, a friend of Æmilianus, maintained, with most of the rhetoricians gathered in Rome, that the soul perishes together with the body.<sup>3</sup> Catullus repeats it in much imitated verse: "The sun may be set and rise again; but we, whence once the fugitive light of our days is gone, must sleep in an eternal night."<sup>4</sup> It is needless to ask Lucretius what he thinks on this subject; we know it already. But a poet, born before the second Punic war, more allied consequently to the earlier manners, ends human destiny at the grave as the play ends at the theatre, with the call for applause, *plaudite, cives*. In the epitaph which he composed for himself, he says: "Young man, passing by so quickly, this stone calls to thee: look and read.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Tuscul.*, v. 37. Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, was born at Brundisium about 220, and died at Tarentum in 132. He cultivated the two arts, painting and poetry, thus following the example of Fabius Pictor.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i., p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Amic.*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Carm.*, v. 4-7. [Adapted from Moschus].

Here are the bones of Pacuvius, the poet. I have nothing else to teach thee. Farewell."<sup>1</sup> Lucilius says no more than this.

Of all these adversaries, Roman polytheism found Lucretius the most formidable; for he substituted the immutable laws of nature in place of the caprices of the gods, and followed up sarcasm which had made men laugh by a system which made them think. Everybody read his poems and borrowed from them, even Virgil, who at least pays him homage in these noble lines: "Happy he who has known how to penetrate the first causes of things, and tread under foot puerile terrors, inexorable destiny, and the vain sounds of greedy Acheron;"<sup>2</sup> no one, however, quotes him; the religious hypocrisy of official society forbade the mention of the illustrious reprobate.

The direct influence of Greece is not visible in Roman prose. Fabius Pictor, whom Polybius regards with but little respect, had probably read neither Herodotus nor Thucydides; at least, nothing of the grace of the one, or the depth of the other appears in the little we have left of his [Greek] writings.<sup>3</sup> Cato was even purely Roman in his treatise, *de Re rustica*, which we have, and in his *Origines*, which is one of our greatest losses. There remain to us the names of a great number of annalists, whose works would be precious for the historian, but doubtless not so for the man of literary taste. One of them, however, Cassius Hemina, seems to have been a scholar, for Sallust has not disdained to borrow from him this thought: *Omnia orta occidunt et aucta senescunt*, "all that has been born must die; all that has grown must decay."<sup>4</sup>



Isocrates.

<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of these lines has been disputed; if they are not by Pacuvius, they belong, however, to his age.

<sup>2</sup> *Georg.*, ii. 490. (Strangely enough, Cicero says, he writes: *Majore cura quam ingenio*.)

<sup>3</sup> See vol. i., p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Jug.*, 2. Hemina's words are: *Quae nata sunt ea omnia denasci aiunt*. (Nonius, s.v. *denasci*.)



44 In a Republic, the platform is a battlefield, where he who can conquer wins all honour and power. Often enough eloquence even takes the place of wisdom and experience, words having more value than action. At Rome, where certainly men were capable of action, the art of persuasion was also cultivated. These assemblies of senate and people, these tribunals in the open air, this custom of funeral orations and military harangues, had formed great orators at Rome before men had read by the banks of the Tiber a *Philippic* of Demosthenes, or one of the elaborate discourses of Isocrates.

All the harangues that we read in Livy were constructed by himself, and we dare not quote them as specimens of the early Latin eloquence. But in the time of Cicero, certain addresses had been preserved, which he greatly admired. The last century of the Republic was fruitful in great orators; at their head stand Cato and Caius Gracchus, of whom we shall speak later. After them two men eclipsed all others in the Forum. Antonius and Crassus. Thanks to Cicero the first has great renown as an orator; we willingly add to this another distinction, for he was the finished type of the advocate who considers himself above all an artist in the use of language, to whom success is the one thing desired, whatever be the means employed to obtain it or the nature of the cause for which he pleads. For this reason he would never write any of his public addresses, so that he could always deny his words, if he were at any time charged with contradicting himself. This able man, who boasted of owing nothing to Greece, had then no need to study the sophistries of Athens, having them all within himself.

Crassus, his rival, possessed true eloquence; we will quote some of his burning words, which show, besides, a scene in the Roman Forum. Pleading one day against a profligate young man, M. Brutus, who dishonoured his rank by an idle life, he perceived the funeral procession of a certain Junia, his adversary's aunt, entering the Forum; upon this he stops, and exclaims: "What will you, Brutus, that this woman should recount to your father, to the illustrious men whose statues you see carried there, to that Brutus who delivered the Roman people from the tyranny of the kings? What will she say of your occupations? To what duties, what

honour, what virtue will she represent you as devoted? Is it to augmenting your patrimony? None remains to you; your excesses have devoured it. To the study of law? That has been handed down to you by your father; but she will say that in selling your house you did not even reserve from the paternal furniture the consulting chair of the jurisconsult. To military science? but you have never seen a camp. To eloquence? but you have prostituted whatever talent of this kind you may have to the infamous trade of calumny. And you dare to look your judges in the face! you dare to present yourself in the Forum before the eyes of your fellow-citizens! And you do not tremble with shame in the presence of this dead woman, and before the pageant of your ancestors!"<sup>1</sup>

Men capable of speaking thus had no occasion to borrow from the Greeks. The latter, however, assumed to give them rhetorical precepts, which never made an orator, and they furnished to them certainly very dangerous examples. The rhetoricians had made an art of language; but they enervated thought while striving to guide it, and the idea was of little importance to them provided the expression had a pleasing melody. Cicero owed to them the excessive luxuriance of his earlier works.<sup>2</sup>

Jurisprudence was also a purely Roman product. Notwithstanding some foreign importations, the decemviral code is truly indigenous in its spirit and as a whole; as a science, however, Roman law borrowed its principles from Greece. The brevity of the Twelve Tables, the confusion introduced into legislation by the diversity of the prætorian edicts (*lex annua*), the difficulty of mastering the formulæ and allegorical pantomimes used in legal proceedings,<sup>3</sup> had already produced a class of men who devoted themselves to the explanation of the laws. Coruncanus, the first

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 55. [He refers to the wax masks worn by mutes in state dress at funerals.]

<sup>2</sup> He himself condemns the turgidity of certain passages, in the *pro Roscio* for example.

<sup>3</sup> There existed no more juridic secrets after S. Ælius Pætus had published, about the year 201, his book of the *Tripartites* or *jus Ælianum*, containing the text of the Twelve Tables, their interpretation, and the *legis actiones*. To establish one's right, it was necessary at first to perform certain acts: *manus injectio*, *manuum consortio*, *pignoris captio*, etc., and to pronounce certain formulæ. The *legis actiones* were abolished except in a few cases, by the Æbutian and Julian laws, whose date is uncertain. (Gaius, iv. 30; Aul. Gell., xvi. 10.) In the *pro Murena* (i. 12 and 13) Cicero ridicules the jurisconsults: "Busy as I am, if you urge me to it, in three days I will become a great jurisconsult;" but elsewhere he renders them full justice.

plebeian who attained, about the year 254, the grand pontificate, had founded the public instruction in jurisprudence, and Ælius Pætus, at the beginning of the second century before Christ had revealed all the secrets connected with the forms of justice. Following their example, a few of the most important citizens devoted themselves to this new cult, and the *responsa*<sup>1</sup> of the juriconsults became a new source and perhaps the most abundant one, of Roman law.

The science thus taking shape from day to day in accordance with the needs of the moment, lacked a rational principle. In Greece, meantime, Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher, had founded a theory of jurisprudence, proclaiming a natural law, "queen and sovereign of all things human and divine."<sup>2</sup> Men, being equal and social, he said, there existed between them necessary relations whence reason should deduce laws. The civil law, therefore, was no longer to be regarded as the effect of arbitrary agreements;<sup>3</sup> tradition, usage, texts, must no longer have an absolute authority, and the strange customs and imperative formulas of a forgotten juridic conflict, must be submitted to the reason. Scævola, the great juriconsult, a Stoic like Chrysippus, whom we shall presently see playing a part in the tragedy of the Gracchi worthy of his eminent character, commenced this revolution in Rome. Cicero continued it in his magnificent definition of moral law. "There is a law which no man has written, but which is born in us, which we have neither learned from our teachers, nor received from our fathers, nor read in books; we have it from nature herself;<sup>4</sup> . . . an immutable law, calling us to goodness by its commands, deterring us from evil by its threats, which neither senate nor people can abrogate. It is not one law at Rome and another at Athens; one to-day and another to-morrow. Eternal, unalterable, it rules at once all nations and all times."<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, he says again: "The law is nature, and nature being such that all the human race are bound

<sup>1</sup> *Justitia cujus merito quis sacerdotes nos appellet.* (Ulpian, in the *Dig.*, I. i. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ὁ νόμος πάντων ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων.* (*Dig.*, I. iii. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> *Cic., de Fin. bon.*, iii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Pro Milone*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> *De Rep.*, iii. 22.

by a sort of civil right; he who respects that right is just; he who violates it is unjust."<sup>1</sup>

These were indeed novelties. The patricians, who had defended with such jealous zeal the evil laws of early days, might have shuddered in their tombs at such utterances. The Twelve Tables still remained a monument venerable for its antiquity; Ælius Pætus had just prepared an edition of them with commentaries; but the study of the pontifical law, that is to say, the religious part of the civil laws, had fallen into disuse,<sup>2</sup> to the great profit of jurisprudence, properly so called, for it was freed from the bonds which all religions seek to render immutable, and answered the developments of life by enlarging the narrow circle of legal precepts, and bringing into them at once more justice and more humanity.

Cicero reproaches Scævola with bringing legal advantages within reach of those who sought to withdraw themselves from the obligations of the *sacra gentilitia*.<sup>3</sup> The absolute authority of the father and of the husband was breaking down. The *remancipatio* permitted the woman to ask for divorce; and the *diffarreatio* broke even unions which the pontifex Maximus and the *flamen* of Jupiter had solemnized.<sup>4</sup> Finally, by successive developments of the theory of *peculium* (private property), and by the institution of the dowry, they went on to authorize the son and the wife to hold property independently of the head of the family, thus rendering possible what early Rome had never seen, a son summoning his father to appear in court.<sup>5</sup> If, however, the family tie was in a degree relaxed, it was not broken, and neither the son nor the wife were excused from any of their obligations of respect and obedience. With the increased liberty for individuals came also liberty in

<sup>1</sup> *De Finibus*, iii. 20 and 21. In chapter i. 5, he says again: "We must seek in the breast of philosophy the source of right, *penitus ex intima philosophia*."

<sup>2</sup> *Cic., de Orat.*, iii. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *De Leg.*, ii. 19-21; *de Orat.*, i. 56; and *Topic.*, 4, 6, where Scævola's definition of *gentiles* is found.

<sup>4</sup> See in Cicero (*ad Fam.*, viii. 7) the piquant letter of the clever Cælius. Marriages by *confarreatio* were growing rarer every day; and unions by simple consent took their place.

<sup>5</sup> They introduced also a new kind of guardianship, *genera tutorum que potestate feminarum continentur* (*Cic., pro Mur.*, 12), the testamentary tablets (Gaius, ii. 119; Ulpian, fr. 28, 6), and the *trustee*, until this time unknown to the Roman jurisprudence. To evade the Voconian law, an heir was appointed capable of inheriting legally, who made an agreement to transmit the inheritance to the person whom the law excluded.

respect to property: parallel with Quiritary ownership was placed *bonitary*, destined eventually entirely to supplant the former.<sup>1</sup>

Religious duties required that there should always be an heir established, so that the family sacrifices be never interrupted. On the other hand, the Twelve Tables had left the citizen the right to dispose of his property freely by gift or legacy. The Furian law (183) and the Voconian law (169) restricted this right, and the Falcidian law later (40) established the rule that not over three-fourths of an estate could be left as legacies. The Plætorian law protected against himself the citizen under twenty-five years of age,<sup>2</sup> establishing a severe penalty for creditors who had taken advantage of his inexperience.<sup>3</sup> The old law, *horrendum carmen*, did not contain these paternal precautions.

These serious juriconsults, lovers of the past, but also lovers of justice, attained, by the influence of historic circumstances, much more than by the doctrines of Stoic philosophy, a more humane conception of law. The growth of the Republic had brought with it the development of ideas, and new social relations had called for new legal rules. The edicts of the governors of provinces, more especially those of the *prætor peregrinus*, founded necessarily upon the maxims of the *jus gentium*, which were more equitable than those of the *jus civile*, contributed much to this infiltration of the law of nations into the civil law. Those versed in law, and the magistrates themselves, favoured unconsciously the process of evolution, which was to substitute the broader spirit of universal citizenship for the narrow and jealous spirit of the Roman city.

This evolution is marked everywhere by the same sign, a breaking away from old methods. In legislation we see usage, *mos majorum*, formerly so powerful that it took the place of law, forced to yield more and more to logical deductions from new principles. Philosophy does not concern herself with public affairs,

<sup>1</sup> See in the Code (vii. 15) how scornfully Justinian speaks of Quiritary ownership, which he considers an *antiquæ subtilitatis ludibrium*, and in the *Digest* (xxxviii. 1, 3, § 2) the definition which Ulpian gives of *bonorum possessio*. Cf. Giraud, *Histoire des droits rom.*, and in the *Journal des savants*, of 1879, the treatise on *les Successions en droit romain*.

<sup>2</sup> The date of this law is uncertain, but was anterior to the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, in which it is mentioned (I. iii. 69).

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, *de Nat. deor.*, iii. 30. There was at this time *judicium publicum* against the creditor, while, twenty-five years earlier, the debtor complaining of a fraud had against his adversary only the *actio de dolo malo*; it was a private quarrel.

her business is with morals; vainly does comedy wear the pallium or the toga, in truth, she is neither of Athens nor of Rome; even when she copies characters and depicts manners, there is something general about her which cannot be shut in a city's walls. A slave in Plautus dares to say to his master the words which revolted serfs in the Middle Ages will repeat: "But I am a man like yourself;"<sup>1</sup> and Lucilius, a Roman of the old school, honours one of his slaves with a tomb and an epitaph: "Here lies a slave, faithful to his master, who never did harm to



The Games of the Circus.<sup>2</sup>

any person, Metrophanes, the dependent of Lucilius." Observe that where the citizen ceases, the man begins. By degrees, humanity comes in. Cicero utters the word later, and already Terence has written his famous line [received with acclamations]:

*Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*

Thus we find, in this Roman transformation, together with the dissolution of the morals and religious faith of early times, those forces of renewal which were to make Rome the second and glorious stage of classic civilization. Unhappily, this transformation was not general. Whilst the nobles became Hellenised, the people remained in their native rudeness. They interested themselves little in these new arts, this dawning literature, which remained as it were a foreign importation, useful

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Tam ego homo sum quam tu.* (*Asin.*, II. iv. 83.)

<sup>2</sup> From a sarcophagus in the museum of the Vatican, No. 456. See vol. i., p. 541, a bas-relief from the Louvre representing the same subject.



merely to amuse the minds of the great. Instead of that intelligent and vivacious people, which crowded the marble seats of the theatre of Dionysus, under the shadow of the Parthenon, and which caught the most delicate points, the Roman *plebs*, standing up in their wooden theatres, lent attention only to loose pantomime, to the coarse mimicry, which was the only debt of the poet to those whom Horace disrespectfully calls

Boar Hunt.<sup>1</sup>

asses. Twice the *Heccyra* of Terence was deserted by the spectators for a boxing match or a combat of gladiators.<sup>2</sup> "If Democritus were yet alive, says Horace, he would laugh to see the audience playing him a better comedy than the actors. And the author might as well relate his fiction to an ass—nay, to a deaf ass. And indeed, what stentor's voice could sound above the noises of our theatres? It is like the roar of the forests of Mount Garganus, or the waves of the Tyrrhenian Sea."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a painting on the tomb of the Nasos, in the Flaminian way.

<sup>2</sup> The usage of gladiatorial combats was brought from Greece in 186 by Fulvius Nobilior. At the funeral games on the death of Valerius Laevinus in 200, twenty-five couples of gladiators fought. (Livy, xxxi. 50.) These games lasted four days, those of Fulvius Nobilior and Scipio Asiaticus continued for ten days. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 182, a law fixed the maximum of expense allowed for these games. But it shortly fell into disuse. Æmilius Scaurus exhibited, in 58, five crocodiles, a hippopotamus, and 150 panthers. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 40, and Val. Max., II. iv. 6.) About the year 198, there was an ostrich race. As with us at the present day, dramatic acting on the stage was overlaid with all the effects of scenery. Of this Horace complained sharply. Before his time, Cicero had asked why, at the representation of *Clytemnestra*, an immense number of mules should be on the stage, and thousands of bucklers in *The Trojan Horse*, etc., etc.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, *Epist.*, II. i. 194, *seq.*

Among the nobles themselves, some, it is true, either retained, or affected to retain, the primitive rusticity of Roman manners. After the sack of Corinth, Mummius, seeing Attalus offer a great sum of money for a picture on which his soldiers were throwing dice, believed that the canvas had some mysterious virtue, and required it to be given up to him. When he sent his precious booty to Rome, he notified the pilot that any pictures or statues lost or damaged on the voyage must be replaced.<sup>1</sup> Anicius, the

Musicians.<sup>2</sup>

conqueror of Illyria, had no more refinement in his taste for music; he had called together upon one stage the most celebrated musicians of Greece; but, as they played the same air all together, he regarded this as a very unsatisfactory performance, and called

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Pat., i. 13. What is said of the barbarism of the Roman soldiers is but too true; Polybius (xl. 7) saw them throwing dice on the famous picture of Aristides, which represented Dionysus; but is the ignorance of Mummius equally well established? There were scholars in his family; his brother wrote from the camp of Corinth letters which a century later were valued for their cleverness, and Mummius himself gained the esteem of the Greeks by the respect he showed for their gods and their customs.

<sup>2</sup> Mosaic of Dioscorides at Pompeii. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii., pl. 124.)

out to them to play different airs, in order the better to earn their wages.<sup>1</sup>

Rome, therefore, in respect to art remained a semi-barbarous city,<sup>2</sup> notwithstanding the immense number of pictures and statues heaped in her temples and public squares and porticos. In vain did her consuls adorn her with the spoils of the world; in vain did they covet for her the beauty of Athens and Corinth; art,<sup>3</sup> brought home as part of the plunder, with the baggage of the army, became, on the banks of the Tiber, a mercenary labour, abandoned to the freedmen; and its nature is too noble to endure servitude; like poetry, it requires a lofty soul and free hands.



Sun-dial or Gnomon.<sup>4</sup>

The Romans were even less capable of science than of art. When a sun-dial was brought from Catana to Rome, in the year 263, no one ever suspected that the difference of three degrees in the longitude of the two cities ought to set the dial back at Rome, nor was it until a century later that this error was corrected. In 158, Scipio Nasica brought home the first water-clock by which the time of day could be

<sup>1</sup> See the account of this grotesque scene in Polybius, xxx. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The city was not even paved until 174, the time when Fulvius and Postumius Albinus were censors.

<sup>3</sup> The artists and architects of the time were all of them Greeks. (Pol. xxx. 13; Livy, xxxix. 22.)

<sup>4</sup> Gnomon brought from Pergamus. Museum of the Louvre, No. 800 of the Clarac catalogue.

when he sees the flash of lightning. Furthermore, it was an easy task for the Roman religion to deter its believers from scrutinizing that world whose conquest the moderns have undertaken. And even if rebels against the gods of the Capitol did exist in Rome, still their early education had given their minds a bias on the subject which was never removed. These conquerors of the world used, moreover, to say to themselves that science and art were the share of the conquered, nay, even the cause of their defeat; and Virgil expresses a characteristically Roman sentiment when he says: "Let others make the bronze breathe and draw living forms from marble; let them plead eloquently, and expound the celestial motions, and the rising of the stars; but thou, Roman people, forget not that to govern the nations, to impose peace upon them, to humble the proud and spare the lowly, these are thy arts."<sup>2</sup>



Faunus with the Child, or Silenus and Bacchus.<sup>1</sup>

None ever knew as Rome did, how to conquer and to preserve

<sup>1</sup> We have no reason to doubt that this famous group, found in the sixteenth century in the place where were formerly the gardens of Sallust, and regarded as a work belonging to the school of Praxiteles, was brought to Rome among other spoils. (Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 250, and Clarac, No. 600.)

<sup>2</sup> *Aeneid*, vi. 847-853.

her conquests, but in the matter of civilization she was always superficial. The higher portion of society alone became enlightened, and this very enlightenment, not penetrating to the lower strata, merely widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. Hence this mingling in the same people of elegance and coarseness, or scepticism and superstition, of lofty studies and of savage amusements, of austerity in some, and nameless debauchery in others. To-day in the social body the plebeian blood for ever rises and renews the impoverished vitality of the governing classes. In Rome, at the time which we are now considering, this was no longer the case; between the great and the humble there was, as we shall show, an abyss, into which the Republic was destined to fall.

<sup>1</sup> Rome armed with the regis, and seated upon the Capitoline rock, a symbol of the solidity of her power. (Museum of the Louvre, Nos. 1 and 2 of the Clarac catalogue.)



Rome, Mistress of the World.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### CHANGES IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

#### I.—APPARENT STABILITY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

IN the preceding pages we have examined the influence that Greece and the East and the new conditions of Roman life exerted upon private morals and manners, upon religion, literature, and jurisprudence. We shall now consider the effect of all these wars and conquests upon the social and political condition of Rome.

Two centuries of battles, in giving to Rome Italy and ten provinces, had constituted an empire that could no longer be governed by the orators of the *conciones* or the crowd of the Forum. The wider the sway extended the more centralized the government necessarily became, and it had passed naturally from the *comitium* to the *curia*, from the people to the senate, without abdication on the one hand or usurpation on the other. It cannot be too often repeated that historic circumstances end by creating a force which drives societies towards a future they had not dreamed of. Thus it happened at Rome. What would have been the astonishment of the founders of republican equality if they could have seen these plebeians, for whom they had fought so often, becoming a debased multitude, indifferent to public affairs, and these patricians, whom they had condemned to the division of their rights, recovering a power and a fortune well-nigh regal.

And yet, on the surface, all things seemed to remain in their former condition. "The second Punic war," says Sallust, "had put an end to civil discords."<sup>1</sup> Peace and union prevailed in the city; the people were docile, the senate moderate, the

De Brosses. *Hist. de la Rép. rom.*, vol. i. p. 260.



tribunes pacific, and the powerful and peaceful Republic seemed advancing towards a long and brilliant future. The sovereignty still was vested in the people, assembled in *comitia* by centuries and by tribes, the centuries appointing the higher magistrates and exercising jurisdiction in grave criminal cases, the tribes electing the inferior magistrates and judging in causes of secondary importance, both making laws and *plebiscita* equally obligatory upon all citizens. The rich had the majority in the centuries, and if the city tribes, where the common people and the freedmen had the majority, escaped from their leadership, the possession of vast domains restored to them their influence in the rural tribes, so that unless some popular feeling united all the poorer classes in one opinion, the rich disposed of thirty-one out of thirty-five votes. But these popular excitements, destined later to become formidable, were at the time of which we speak becoming every day more unfrequent. Vainly did Flaminius and Varro, at the beginning of the second Punic war, seek to reanimate the old disputes. The tribunes, formerly party chiefs, were now members of the government, and respected in the senate, which they could convoke by their own authority, like a consul.<sup>1</sup> Therefore they were upon the side of order, justice, and morality. In 198 Porcius Lecca compelled a prætor to renounce an ovation which he had unjustly obtained from the senate.<sup>2</sup> Flaminius offered himself as a candidate for the consulship on the expiration of his term of office as quaestor; the tribunes opposed this in the name of the law, and later, when he had justified the confidence of the people by his services, they caused him to continue in the command that he held, notwithstanding the opposition of the consuls. Two generals, long left in Spain, instigated a *plebiscitum*, which recalled them.<sup>3</sup> A consul was anxious to recommence the war with Philip immediately after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, and the tribunes opposed their *veto*;<sup>4</sup> many times they humiliated the consular authority, and once they went so far as to threaten with imprisonment the two censors then in office.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not known in what year they gained possession of this important right, *jus referendi*, but they were in possession of it as early as 216. (Livy, xxii. 61.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxi. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxxiii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, xliii. 16. Twice they imprisoned consuls.

Their power was great, for they could by the *plebiscita* and by their *veto* do or stop anything. Their authority was not contested because they who had been chiefs of the plebeians sat now among the rulers of the entire people, and the Voleros of an earlier day had become nobles in this. Thus we see the most illustrious persons held the office of tribune—Marcellus, Fulvius, Nobilior, Calpurnius Piso, who was afterwards twice consul, Semp. Gracchus, censor, twice consul and general honoured with a triumph, Metellus Numidicus, Ælius Pætus, and Scævola, the great juriconsult. Rendered illustrious by names like these, the tribuneship of the time had no longer the revolutionary character it once possessed. It was a high magistracy to which were due the best laws of the time—the *Villia* (180), the *Vocunia* (169), the *Orchia* (181), the institution of permanent tribunals (149), the establishment of the ballot and of constant accusations against *prevaricators*.<sup>1</sup> Faithful to their origin and to the policy which had rendered Rome so strong, they asked in



Porcius Lecca.<sup>2</sup>

188 for the right of suffrage for Fundi, Formiæ, and Arpinum, the future birthplace of Marius and of Cicero. For the soldiers of Scipio and for the veterans of the second Punic war the tribunes obtained grants of land;<sup>3</sup> they caused the sale of corn at a low price to the people;<sup>4</sup> and in the space of twenty years they were instrumental in founding twenty-three colonies.<sup>5</sup> At their instigation the ædiles prosecuted the farmers of the public pasture lands, the usurers and their Italian confederates.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the

<sup>1</sup> [Prevaricating was collusion with an adversary in a suit.—Ed.] For all these laws, see in § iii. of the thirty-seventh chapter, on the censorship of Cato. In the year 142 a prætor, allowing himself to be bribed by men accused of murder, was prosecuted by the tribune Scævola and compelled to go into exile, where he soon after put an end to his life. It was also a tribune, Scribonius, who proposed the law to restore their liberty to the Lusitanians sold by Galba. (Livy, *Epit.* xlix.)

<sup>2</sup> PROVOCO. Magistrate extending his hand over a Roman citizen; behind, a licitor armed with rods. Reverse of a coin of the Porcian family.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxi. 4, 49, xxxii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxx. 26, xxxi. 4, 50, xxxiii. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, *passim*, beginning at xxxii. 29; let us remember that the citizens paid no tax while they were under the flag (*ibid.*, iv. 60, v. 10), and that even the priests were subject to the war-tax. (*Ibid.*, xxxiii. 52.)

<sup>6</sup> *Multos pecuarios damnarunt* (Livy, xxxv. 10); *multos pecuarios ad populi judicium adduxerunt* (xxxiii. 42). See (xxxv. 7) the *plebiscitum* of the tribune Semp. Gracchus, which extended the Roman laws upon usury to citizens of the allied towns.

Valerian law was again solemnly renewed, the tribune Porcius Lecca obtaining a decree in 198 that no citizen should be beaten with rods.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, as the constitution was not written, it yielded according to circumstances to the encroachments of the senate, as well as of the tribunes, and the people sometimes saw the power of their chiefs checked by a *senatus-consultum*. In the year 190 Livy tells us of a tribune whose opposition was annulled by the senate.<sup>2</sup> This uncertainty of the magistrates and the great governing bodies as to the limits of their authority, this facility which all possessed of verging upon the arbitrary, was a danger for liberty. During a century it was the wisdom of the one side, the moderation of the other, and mutual concessions, which saved public order.

The senate indeed, notwithstanding the kind of dictatorship with which the dangers of the second Punic war had invested it, preserved a respect for the popular body which deluded men into the belief that the early constitution was yet in force. Two consuls being rivals for the command in Africa before the battle of Zama, the Conscript Fathers referred the question to the people.

In 209 a plebeian solicited for the first time the office of grand curio; repulsed by the patricians, he appealed to the tribunes, who far from supporting him, referred the affair to the senate. The higher assembly declined, and the tribunes, conquered in this new kind of strife, were compelled to let the people decide. On their part the people, in the affair of the Campanians, after Capua had been recovered from Hannibal, had made the following decree: "That which the senate, by a majority of votes, has determined, we also will and decree."<sup>3</sup> Finally, in the election of Flaminius, the senate, extending the popular rights in spite of the tribunes, maintained that the power which made the laws

<sup>1</sup> Livy, x. 9: *Virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit.* (Cic., *pro Rab.*, 3, 4. Cf. *de Rep.*, ii. 31.)

<sup>2</sup> *Senatus tribunum plebis auctoritate sua compulsi ad remittendam intercessionem.* (Livy, xxxvi. 40.) In regard to the *auctoritas patrum*, Cf. Livy, xxxix. 39; after the battle of Cannæ it was the senate who appointed the dictator. (Livy, xxii. 57.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, 8, and xxxvii. 8. On the subject of this good understanding, see also xxxvii. 86, and, in general, from xxvi. to xlii.

could excuse from the keeping of them. A few years later, after the conquest of Macedon, the senate declared that the treasury had no longer need of the citizen taxes.<sup>1</sup>

The senators filled all judicial offices, but they were only anxious as yet to render exact and speedy justice. Rather arbitrators than judges in the *judicia privata* or civil cases, they could be changed at will by the parties to the suit.<sup>2</sup> In respect to jurisprudence, if it was no longer a mystery, it remained at least a science rendered difficult by the multiplicity of laws and edicts. The schools opened by juriconsults were not enough to popularize the study of the law, but the pleader was no longer at the mercy of his judge.

The people, therefore, did not seem to have been deprived of any of their prerogatives; they preserved, as in the past, the right of sentencing to death, exile, or banishment, of appointing to public offices, of determining peace, war, and alliances. In seeing the extent of their rights and the boundless authority of their tribunes, Polybius was led to say that some day this people, abusing their power, would overthrow the State, and that the Roman republic would end in a demagogy.<sup>3</sup>

The constitution was so little changed in its external forms, a few years before the time of the Gracchi, that in the eyes of the same writer who prophesied its destruction it appeared still the most perfect government the world had known. There existed even, in spite of a good deal of scepticism, an apparent respect for the early religious forms. Prodigies were as numerous and grotesque as ever, that is to say, the people and the soldiers were as ignorant and credulous. The generals vowed temples, but like Sempronius Gracchus, in order to engrave upon them the story of their exploits or to paint their victories. They sacrificed a great number of victims before the action, but like Paulus Æmilius, in order to restrain the impatience of the soldiers and to await the favourable

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 17. The payment of a twentieth upon sale or enfranchisement of slaves was still, however, retained, and the *portorium*, or customs tax, was not abolished till the year 62.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *pro Cluent.*, 43, § 120. The *judicia privata* dealt also with certain crimes: . . . *reliati si quis furtum fecerit, bona rapuerit, damnum dederit, injuriam commiserit.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, iii. 182.)

<sup>3</sup> Pol., vi. 57, 9.  
VOL. II.

moment.<sup>1</sup> They gravely watched the sky before the comitia met and during the session, but in order to reserve to themselves the means of dissolving that assembly, *obnuntiatio*, if the votes seemed likely to oppose the senate's designs. "When Paulus Æmilius," says his biographer, "had obtained the office of augur, he studied the ancient rites thoroughly, and then allowed himself no innovation or omission however trivial. Even although the divinity might be indulgent, he said, and willing to pardon these negli-



A Sacrifice.<sup>2</sup>

gences, yet it would be fatal to the Republic to authorize them." The tribunes even now took auspices, and later Cicero invoked, like Paulus Æmilius, reasons of State for legitimating the augural

<sup>1</sup> At Pydna, the legions having the rising sun in their eyes, Paulus Æmilius made twenty-one sacrifices until the day had turned.

<sup>2</sup> A sacrifice of two bulls. The ten personages are clothed in Roman style; the *linus*, a sort of shirt worn by the assistants at sacrifices, is bordered with fringe, and the girdle, *licium*, goes many times around the waist; a *camillus* holds the *acerra*, or box of perfumes; the priests wear wreaths on their heads, one carries a torch to light the fire upon the altar. Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 772 bis of the Clarac catalogue.

science, reduced to an instrument in the hands of politicians. This people of formalists remained attached to the outward signs of things rather than to their true meaning; in the time of Caesar a certain Metellus caused an assembly to be broken up by lowering the flag on the Janiculum.

Thus the Republic lasted, and yet liberty was dying. The people were not oppressed, and yet they were in a state of frightful distress; the census indicated a larger population than ever, yet soldiers could not be obtained in sufficient number. The social conditions had changed, while the laws remained the same, and the constitution was but a hollow form whence the life had departed; the Roman people was already, as Catiline said later, a body without a head, a head without a body—an immense crowd of poor whom the old law refused to admit into the legions, and far above them, a few nobles, richer and more haughty than kings. A century of wars, of pillage, and of corruption had devoured the class of small proprietors to whom Rome owed her strength and her liberty. This is the great fact of this period and the cause of all the tempests that were to follow; for, with this class disappeared patriotism, discipline, and the austere morality of early days; with it perished the equilibrium of the State, which henceforth, given up to the sanguinary vicissitudes of parties, oscillated between the tyranny of the multitude and the tyranny of the great, until the day when all, nobles and proletariat, rich and poor, found rest under a master.

## II.—NEW SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

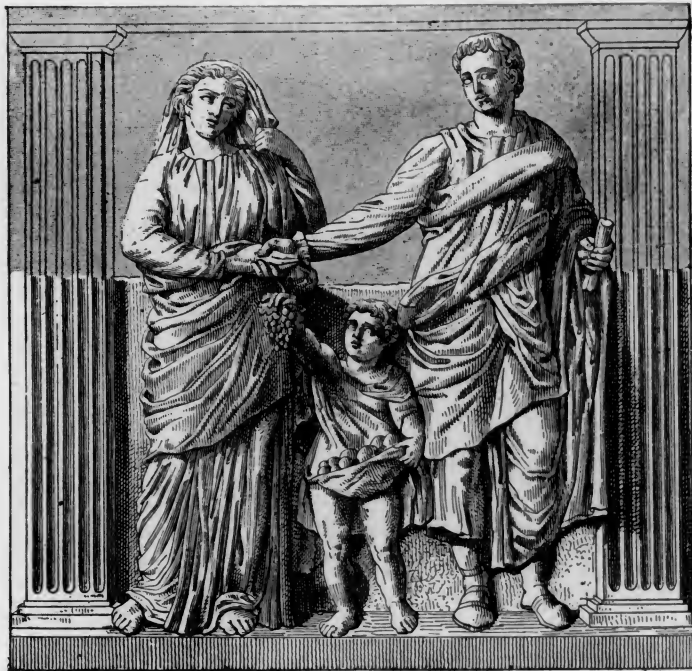
Many facts reveal this disappearance of the middle class. It alone furnished soldiers to the legions, and from the year 188 Livy<sup>1</sup> confesses that there was much difficulty in completing nine legions. In 151, Lucullus, had it not been for the devotion of Scipio Æmilianus, could not have made the levies required for the army in Spain,<sup>2</sup> and a few years later C. Gracchus was obliged to

<sup>1</sup> xl. 36: *is ipse exercitus agere explebatur*: Cf. *ib.*, xli. 21: *delectus consulibus difficilior*.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, xxxv. 4



forbid the enlistment of soldiers less than seventeen years of age.<sup>1</sup> The census of the year 159 gave 338,314 citizens;<sup>2</sup> it was not the number of legionaries that had increased, but of *proletarii*, whom a well-founded distrust kept out of the army.<sup>3</sup> The census itself



Roman Marriage.<sup>4</sup>

diminished; in 131 it indicated only 317,823 citizens,<sup>5</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, in his *Life of Caius Gracchus*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xlvii. The censors prepared lists, first of those who might be called active citizens, that is, who served or could serve in the legions, then of inhabitants not comprised in the tribes, the *orbi*, *orbæ*, and *viduæ*, represented by their *tutores*, and lastly, the *ærarii*, or citizens *sine suffragio*, which were inscribed upon the *tabulæ critumæ*.

<sup>3</sup> The *proletarii* were never regularly enrolled till the time of Marius. Before that time they were armed only in exceptional cases. (Orosius, iv. 1; Cass. Hemina, *ap. Non.*, s.v. *proletarii*; Aulus Gellius, xvi.; Justus Lipsius, *de Mil. Rom.*, i. 2.) In the time of which we are writing those had less than 400 drachmæ served in the fleet. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

<sup>4</sup> Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 492 of the Clarac catalogue. The woman is half veiled with her ample *palla*, or mantle. The *leena* that the husband wears over his tunic suggests that he is a flamen. (Cic., *Brut.*, 14.) The child offering a bunch of grapes is doubtless an emblem of prosperity.

<sup>5</sup> According to Livy, in the year 200 there were but six legions; from 199 to 195, eight;

censor, Metellus, alarmed, proposed in a singular address to compel all celibates to marry;<sup>1</sup> "Romans," he said, "if it were possible to do without wives great cares would be spared us, but since nature has so arranged that we cannot live comfortably with a wife nor live without her, we ought to regard the perpetuity of the State more than our own satisfaction." It would seem from the concluding words of his discourse that he regarded this resignation to marriage as a virtue, which the gods did not give, but would recompense;<sup>2</sup> and he was right in believing it. Later, in consequence of many concessions of the right of citizenship, the census enumerated 540,000. But it was then that Livy makes the sad avowal: "Rome, which levied twenty-three legions for war against Hannibal, could to-day arm only eight."

The class of small proprietors was, then, disappearing, but what were the causes of this revolution, which went on without exciting notice? Since the day when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, war had unremittingly decimated the military population; 40,000 Romans at least were always on military service, that is to say, an eighth of the whole population and a fourth part perhaps of those liable to be enrolled. In recent years, among modern powers, the proportion has been one soldier to every 100 inhabitants, and he even serves but five or six years. At Rome the proportion was one in eight,<sup>3</sup> and like Ligustinus, the soldier might be twenty-three times enrolled.<sup>4</sup> So active a service must have been extremely destructive, and the losses falling upon a limited class, this class must of necessity have decreased rapidly. In this way the long wars of Charlemagne contributed to exhaust the class of free men in the empire of the Franks. After his time there remained only feudal lords on the one side and serfs on the other, as at Rome

in 195, ten; in 194, eight; in 192 and 191, twelve; the two years following, fourteen; then thirteen, ten, and eight, until the war with Perseus. Then each legion consisted of *senæ millia peditum, trecentos equites*. (Livy, xlv. 21.)

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lix.

<sup>2</sup> *Immortales virtutem approbare non adhibere debent*. (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, i. 6.)

<sup>3</sup> The consuls, having the right to choose the legionaries, selected them by preference from the rustic tribes. In estimating at 160,000 or 180,000 men, the number of the inhabitants among whom the consuls made their levies, it is believed we are above the truth rather than below it.

<sup>4</sup> Even more; from the age of seventeen to that of forty-five the Roman could not refuse his name for enrolment. A man could present himself as candidate for an office only after having served in ten campaigns. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

after the conquest of Africa, Greece, and Asia, there were only nobles and proletarii.

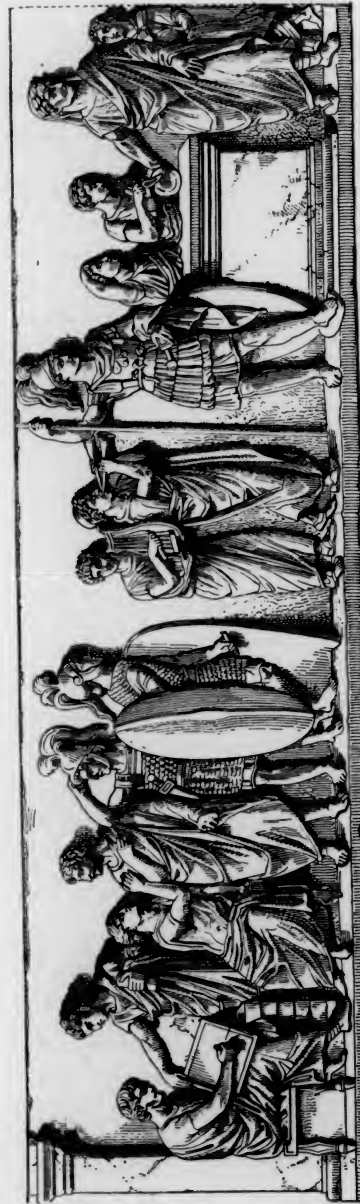
A thing more murderous, however, than battles or forced marches, than privations and abrupt changes of climate, than diseases even, or the enemy's sword, was the destructive effect of camp life upon the morals of the soldiery. To the eyes of many, military service had become no longer a civic duty, but a lucrative trade. When the expedition promised booty the consuls always found plenty of volunteers.<sup>1</sup> Men who were poor one day become rich and prosperous the next; naturally they preferred to the rude labours of the peasant and his dull, monotonous life the sudden changes in the terrible game of war, its privations, but also its pleasures, and the excesses following upon victory. The State furnishing them with provisions, clothing,<sup>2</sup> and food, they substituted a careless prodigality for the prudent and sparing habits of the husbandman. In case of being disbanded and obliged to resume the spade and return to daily labour and a life of sobriety, they were alarmed and decamped to Rome to join the servile crowd of clients hanging about their former chief. In vain land was offered to them; they would not have it. The senate sent them out as colonists to Antium, Tarentum, Locri, Sipontum, Buxentum, and many other places; after a few years they had all run away.<sup>3</sup> Even the Gracchi found no supporters in this idle crowd, who left them to perish without attempting a rescue. When the enemy was

<sup>1</sup> When it was known that Africanus would accompany his brother into Asia, 5,000 volunteers at once presented themselves. (Livy, xxxvii. 4.) In 171 there was a crowd of them: *quia locupletes videbant qui priore Macedonico bello aut adversus Antiochum in Asia stipendia facerant.* (Ib., xlii. 32.) War was so truly now become a trade that the plays of Plautus are full of the military braggarts, certainly not altogether borrowed from Greece. Not a soldier does he bring upon the stage who is not of this species. "If I were not overbearing," says Simmia in *Pseudolus*, v. 908, "would they take me to be a soldier (*stratioticus homo*)?"

<sup>2</sup> This was regularly established for the first time by Caius Gracchus.

<sup>3</sup> A consul found Sipontum and Buxentum completely deserted. (Livy, xxxix. 23.)

<sup>4</sup> From the Louvre, No. 751 Clarac catalogue. This great composition contains twenty-one personages and three animals; it shows the details of the ceremonies accompanying the census. The *suovetaurilia* are about to be performed; the assistants lead and restrain the bull, the ram and the boar. The *censor*, seated in a curule chair, receives the declarations which a scribe writes down; the citizen, who is in the act of being registered, holds in his hand the tablet on which is the statement of his property, determining the class to which he belongs. Further on are two soldiers and a warrior, who by his rich armour and his ample *paludamentum* may be regarded as a military chief. Near the altar are musicians, always present at ceremonies of this kind, a young girl who covers her head with a veil, and a young man who pours lustral water into the *patera* which the priest holds out to him.



The Census (Sacrifices).



The Census (Registering). See note on last page.

near Rome campaigns were short, and the soldier, becoming quickly a citizen again, after a few days of absence, returned to his wife and children and to his work. Now the legionaries, who a little later will resent being called citizens, *Quirites*, pass from fifteen to twenty years in camps or far-off garrisons; they have no families, they live unmarried, and if their general does not bring them



Hero, called the Fighting Gladiator, found at Antium.<sup>1</sup>

with him on his return to Rome, they remain in the province, soon losing whatever of Roman virtues they may yet possess.<sup>2</sup> What a number of these did Mithridates find in Asia!

In the case of those whom the service restored to Italy, other causes were efficient in driving them from their fields into the city. The progress of luxury and the abundance of the precious

<sup>1</sup> Louvre, 262, Clarac catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> All the army of Gabinius remained in Egypt. (Cæs., *de Bello civ.*, iii. 110.) See further Cæsar's war in Africa, and in Livy (xliii. 3) the enlistment of 4,000 men established in Carteia.



metals having suddenly raised the prices of things,<sup>1</sup> the same amount of money which once gave a respectable competence now was not enough to save from poverty. When Cnaeus Scipio, at the beginning of the second Punic war, desired to be recalled from Spain for the purpose of giving his daughter in marriage, the senate assumed the responsibility of providing a suitable husband for her, and gave her a dowry of 11,000 *ases*.<sup>2</sup> A few years after the battle of Zama twenty-five talents had come to be regarded as a very small dowry, even in a family of the old school, because many no longer took account of the virtues of the bride.<sup>3</sup>

Thus every day wants increased, and every day also—at least for the poor, who had the perils, but not the durable profits of conquest—the means of satisfying these wants diminished. Whatever [Polybius and] Tacitus may have said<sup>4</sup> upon this subject, Italy was not, except in certain districts, remarkably fertile, or rather it was exhausted by long cultivation and lack of manuring; at all events, in the period with which we are concerned, if exception is made of certain favoured districts in Etruria, Magna Graecia, and the plain of the Po, the harvest produced not more than four or fivefold. Moreover, a bad system in respect to fallow ground, expenses of culture that were enormous on account of the imperfect methods

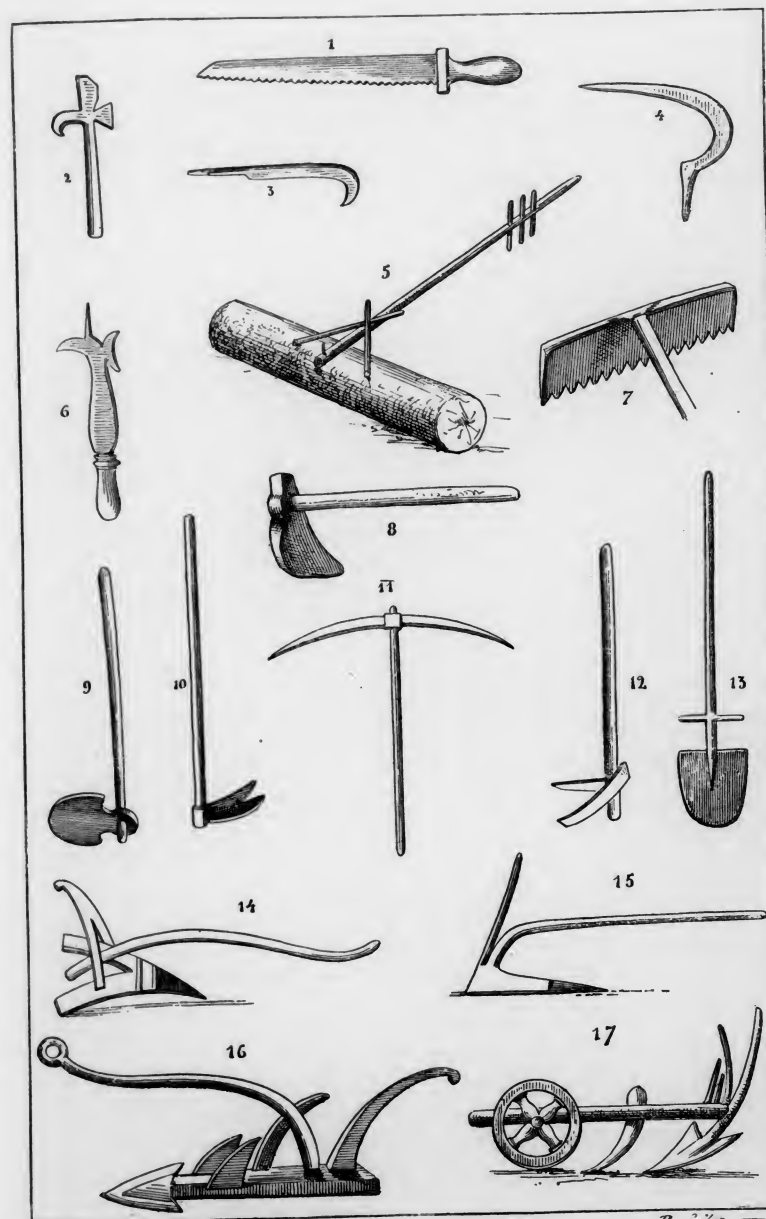
<sup>1</sup> Ταχὺ τὰς τούτων τιμὰς εἰς ἄπιστον ὑπερβολὴν ἤγαγεν. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οἶνου τὸ κέραιον ἐπωλεῖτο δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ Ποντικῶν τὰρίχων τὸ κέραιον δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων. (Diod., xxxvii. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Seneca says that in his time this sum would not have sufficed the daughter of a freedman to buy herself a mirror.

<sup>3</sup> *Dum dos sit, nullum vitium vitio vertitur.* (Plautus, *Persa*, v. 387.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ann.*, xii. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Agricultural implements:—1. Hand-saw, from a bas-relief. (*Serrula manubriata*.) 2. *Dolabella*, a kind of axe, from a funeral marble. (Mazocchi, *de Ascia*, p. 179.) 3. *Falc arboraria sylvatica*, a common bill-hook, from a model found at Pompeii. 4. *Falc stramentaria et messoria*, sickle, from a model found at Pompeii. 5. Roller to level the ground. (Fellows, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 70.) 6. Pruning knife (*falc vinitoria*), from an old manuscript of Columella. 7. Rake, from a model found in the catacombs of Rome. 8. *Ascia*, a short-handled hoe, from the column of Trajan (the *zappa* of the Italian peasants). 9. *Sarcolum*, a lighter and smaller hoe than the *ligo*, from a Roman bas-relief. 10. *Bidens*, or two-toothed *ligo*, a heavy hoe, from an engraved stone. 11. *Securis*, a pick-axe resembling our own, from a funeral bas-relief. (Stat., *Syl.*, ii. 2, 87.) 12. *Capreolus*, an implement to stir and break up the soil (Columella, xi. 3, 46), from an old Florentine carving. 13. *Bipatium*, a spade with cross-bar (Cato, *de Re rust.*, 45, 2; Varro, *de Re rust.*, i. 37, 5; Columella, xi. 3, 11), from a bas-relief. 14. Plough-share with forked back (*dentale duplici dorso*), from a model still in use in Italy. 15. Simple wooden ploughshare, from an engraved stone. 16. Improved plough (*aratrum*), from a bas-relief discovered in the peninsula of Magnesia. 17. Wheeled plough (*currus*), from an engraved stone. (Fig. 438 of Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*; Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiq.*, vol. v. pl. lxxxiii. 6; Cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiq.*, passim.)



Agricultural Implements (see p. 298, n. 5).

employed, the use of tools requiring four times the number of labourers we employ, the miserable condition of the country roads, which were nothing more than bridle-paths, impassable for wheeled vehicles, reducing the transportation to such loads as could be carried on the back of a horse or ass to the city or the sea, and finally, the prohibition of the export of corn out of Italy rendered

Goat-herd.<sup>1</sup>

this tillage burdensome, and led those who had grain-lands to regard themselves as unfortunate.

Cato places this kind of property in the sixth rank, and classes above it vineyards, olive trees, and grass-lands. These latter became more extensive every year, for the reason that the holders of public lands having no real ownership, were not willing to build or plant, and because, moreover, the return was very considerable. The pastures supported a great number of sheep, furnishing wool, of which all garments were made, milk, cheese, and lambs, which with pork, made then, as now, the staple of the Italian cuisine for fête days.

<sup>1</sup> Miniature in the MS. *Virgil of the Vatican*.

Their habitual diet was vegetable—corn, barley, and millet, with the addition of figs, grapes, olives, radishes, and garlic; upon the coast, shell-fish; in the interior, salt-fish; upon rich farms, goats, chickens, pigeons, and hares; everywhere they consumed much wine and oil, so that we may say that these two staples, with wool, were the chief products of Italian industry, and as such they were long protected by a law forbidding the Transalpine nations to



A Shepherdess and her Flock.<sup>2</sup>

plant vines or olive trees.<sup>1</sup> But the manufacture of wine and oil are agricultural industries which require capital and labour in order to be productive. The rich alone possessed these, and the petty farmer, who once fed the city of Rome, had no longer anything to bring to that vast market whence his corn was driven out by the African, Sicilian, and Sardinian harvests, cultivated to better advantage by the help of droves of

slaves in more fertile soil, a market whence his other produce was undersold by that of the great landowners.

In modern times the equilibrium is preserved by diversity in the sources of fortune, no single class having a monopoly of them. Farmers, manufacturers, merchants, constantly replenish that middle class, which is the surest guardian of liberty. At Rome, where mercantile affairs were in the hands of great companies served by armies of slaves, and manufactures were carried on by a multitude

<sup>1</sup> *Transalpinas gentes oleam et vitem serere non sinimus, quo plures sint nostra oliveta nostræque vineæ.* (Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 9.)

<sup>2</sup> From a Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 5, 5th Series.)

of foreigners and freedmen, there was for the individual only one path open, the ownership of land and the pursuit of agriculture, but the land was diminishing in value every day, and the farmers' industry becoming less, and hence the comfort of the people diminished also. From narrow circumstances to actual want the step is but short. If a man would have recourse to borrowing money the rate charged was enormous,<sup>1</sup> in spite of the surveillance of the *ædiles*: we shall see that Brutus lent money at 48 per cent. Since the year 169 citizens had been, it is true, relieved from the land-tax, but this tax falling chiefly upon the rich, it was they who chiefly profited by its suppression.

Moreover, these rich did not always respect the possessions of the poor. After having, as prætors or consuls, pillaged the world in time of war, the nobles in time of peace pillaged as governors their subjects, and returning to Rome with vast wealth<sup>3</sup>

employed it in changing the modest heritage of their fathers into domains vast as provinces. The *lex Claudia* forbidding mercantile pursuits to senatorial families, a great amount of capital was thrown



Olive Gathering.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cicero says that in his time the interest demanded at Rome was as high as 34 per cent., and in the country 48; in his *Ep. ad Fam.*, v. 6: "There is a fortune to be made only by those who lend at 50 per cent." (Cf. Plautus, *Cureul.*, v. 516; *Epidicus*, v. 52: *In dies minasque argenti singulas numis.* Cf. also Cic., *ad Brut.*, 31.)

<sup>2</sup> From a gem. The vintage is similarly represented in a bas-relief of the Ince-Blundell collection and in a Roman mosaic. (*Pict. cript.*, tav., 24, published by Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*.)

<sup>3</sup> Cicero himself, who was by no means one of the richest men in Rome, purchased a house for 3,500,000 *sesterces*. (*ad Fam.*, v. 6.) P. Crassus possessed £4,000,000. (Corn. Nep., *Att.*, 5.) Sallust (*Cat.*, 12-13): *Domos atque villas in urbium modum exædificatas . . . a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constrata.* Cornelia's house at Misenum had cost her 75,000 drachmæ; the price of country-houses went up so rapidly that Lucullus paid for the same 500,000. (Plut., *Mar.*, 35.)



into landed property, and the formation of the *latifundia* was stimulated. These "landlords" were eager to enclose within their grounds lakes, forests, and mountains. Where a hundred families had once lived in comfort, one now found itself cramped. To add to his park, the ex-consul bought the old soldier's field or the lands of the impoverished peasant, and soldier and peasant alike hastened to squander in the taverns of Rome the trifling sum received for the sale. Not infrequently the great man took, and paid nothing.<sup>1</sup> An old writer represents an unfortunate man at law with a rich neighbour because the latter, annoyed by the bees of the poor man, had destroyed them. The poor man protested that he had been willing to change his place of abode and establish his hives elsewhere, but that nowhere could he find a small piece of land without having some rich man for a neighbour. "The powerful men of our time," says Columella, "have estates so large that they cannot make the circuit of them in a day on horseback;" and an old Italian inscription shows that an aqueduct nine miles in length traversed the domains of only six proprietors.<sup>2</sup> In the whole territory of Leontini, in Sicily, there were only eighty-three proprietors; in that of Herbita, 257; of Agyrium, 250; of Motye, 188.<sup>3</sup> Rabirius found no difficulty in lending on a sudden to a fugitive prince 100,000,000 *sesterces*, and another publican said, "I have more gold than three kings."<sup>4</sup> It was with private fortunes as with States, a vigorous centralization brought all the land into the possession of a few powerful men.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Parentes aut parvi liberi militum ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 41.) Cf. Seneca, *Ep.*, 90; the spurious Quintilian, *Decl.*, 13; and Horace, *Carm.*, II. xviii. 26: *Pellitur paternos in sinu ferens deos.* See remarks, vol. i. p. 397, on the effects of the withdrawal of the *jus commercii* from the Italians.

<sup>2</sup> Dureau de la Malle, ii. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *II in Ferr.*, iii. 51. Cæsar relates (*de Bello civ.*, i. 16) that Domitius, who had thirty-three cohorts, *militibus pollicetur ex suis possessionibus quaterna in singulos jugera.*

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *pro Rabir.*, and Hor., *Sat.*, II. i. 6.

<sup>5</sup> The same is to-day the evil of Rome. Prince Borghese possesses 55,000 acres in the Roman country, the Duke Sforza Cesarini 28,000, the princes Pamphili and Chigi 15,000, the Chapter of St. Peter's and the hospital Spirito Santo still more. A hundred and thirteen Roman families hold 315,000 acres, and sixty-four corporations divide amongst them 180,000. (Fulchiron, *Voyage dans l'Italie méridionale.*) [It is very much worse in Calabria, where absentee nobles own whole tracts of country. In fact, nowhere in Europe are the evils of the *latifundia* more patent, leading to the misery of the lower classes, and consequently to such crimes as brigandage, and to wholesale emigration. Cf. on this the instructive recent travels of M. F. Lenormant, *l'Apulie et la Lucanie*, ii. p. 58.—*Ed.*]

This extended ownership, having its origin in the pillage of the world, would never have attained its ultimately dangerous development, had it not been for an article in the treaties which the murderous skill of the senate imposed upon the vanquished, namely, the depriving the latter of the *jus commercii* outside their own territory, a measure apparently inoffensive [?], but in reality one which was to bring about an economic revolution, of which the consequences were felt for ages. When the senate forbade the allies and the subjugated nations to carry on commerce among their neighbours, it was simply as a matter of political expediency to divide their interests for the sake of preventing coalitions. But, at the same time, the senate depreciated



(1) An *apiarum* (bee-hive). (2)

the value of land among all these nations, and facilitated to Roman citizens the acquisition of vast domains, since they alone could buy everywhere, and almost without competition. *Latifundia perdidere Italiam*, cries Pliny, and not without reason; the great estates have ruined Italy. First, they destroyed Italian agriculture, for mountainous countries like the Apennine peninsula can prosper only by individual labour, which, varying its methods according to the different soils, makes the smallest patch of ground available; and in the second place they changed the manners and institutions of the early Roman republic.

The small landowners vanished, a sturdy, laborious population, devoted to their country, to liberty, and to the gods. Livy quotes with approval the speech of Ligustinus, but this centurion, past

<sup>1</sup> The braided hive is copied from a Roman bas-relief, and is like our own. Under the Empire, hives were made of mica (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xxi. 47), giving a view of the interior, like our glass hives, and at Pompeii has been discovered (Donaldson, *Pompeii*, 2nd Part) an artificial hive (fig. 2) divided into stages (*fori*) to which a great number of little apertures give access. A slave (*apiarius*) in rich families had charge of the hive (*apiarium*). Cf. Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 304-5.

fifty years of age, and having made twenty-two campaigns had nothing for himself, his wife, and his eight children, but an acre of land and a hovel.<sup>1</sup> What will become of his sons after the sharing of this paltry heritage? They will seek employment from rich proprietors. But the latter, like Cato, will only care to have pasture-lands, feeding numerous flocks, without expense and without labour.<sup>2</sup> A few slaves will be quite enough to keep these flocks, and there are so many men to be sold, that with 500 drachmæ<sup>3</sup> you may obtain that human machine which Varro classes with ploughs and oxen, *instrumentum vocale*, "the talking kind of agricultural implement." It works badly and is idle; but it costs so little to keep or to replace, that they use it unsparingly. With all his faults, the slave is preferred to the free workman, more expensive, less docile, and not to be treated with the same contempt. When Paulus Æmilius had sold 150,000 Epirotes, Scipio Æmilianus 55,000 Carthaginians, Gracchus so many Sardinians that it became a phrase for any low-priced commodity "a Sardinian," all the cities were full of slaves, and the free labourer could find employ nowhere except upon the estates of the rich.<sup>4</sup> It is a law of history that there can be no middle class in those States where slavery has been widely established.

Driven away from their inheritance by usury, or by the avidity of their rich neighbours, thrown out of work by the competition of slaves, or else discontented with the frugal life of their fathers by reason of the habits of idleness and debauchery contracted in camps, the poor turned their steps towards Rome. They were attracted thither by the cheapness of the salt derived from the salt works at Ostia, of the corn from the fields of Sicily,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *A Catone quum quæreretur quid maxime in re familiari expediret respondit, bene pascere.* (Colum., *Pref.*, 6.)

<sup>3</sup> Twelve hundred Roman prisoners sold by Hannibal in Achæa were, according to Polybius, redeemed for 100 talents (nearly £21,000). According to Böckh, the price of slaves employed in the mines of Attica was only from 125 to 150 drachmæ; according to Plutarch, for a capable slave the price might run as high as £50. (*Cat. maj.*, 6.) Horace, at a period when prices were higher, had paid for one but 500 drachmæ. (*Sat.*, ii. 7.) A proof of their paltry value is that M. Scaurus, worth only 25,000 *nummos* (250 dollars) had six slaves. (Meursius, *de Luru Rom.*) After a victory, they were sold for four drachmæ apiece [drachmæ may be counted as a little less than francs].

<sup>4</sup> *Ὡς ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ὀλιγανδρίας ἰλευθέρων αἰσθίσθαι, δεισμητηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἰμπεπλῆσθαι δι' ὧν ἐγιώργουν οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία τοὺς πολίτας ἐξελάσαντες.* (Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, 8.)



View of the Island and Harbour of Chios.

fifty years of age, and having made twenty-two campaigns had nothing for himself, his wife, and his eight children, but an acre of land and a hovel.<sup>1</sup> What will become of his sons after the sharing of this paltry heritage? They will seek employment from rich proprietors. But the latter, like Cato, will only care to have pasture-lands, feeding numerous flocks, without expense and without labour.<sup>2</sup> A few slaves will be quite enough to keep these flocks, and there are so many men to be sold, that with 500 drachmæ<sup>3</sup> you may obtain that human machine which Varro classes with ploughs and oxen, *instrumentum vocale*, "the talking kind of agricultural implement." It works badly and is idle; but it costs so little to keep or to replace, that they use it unsparingly. With all his faults, the slave is preferred to the free workman, more expensive, less docile, and not to be treated with the same contempt. When Paulus Æmilius had sold 150,000 Epirotes, Scipio Æmilianus 55,000 Carthaginians, Gracchus so many Sardinians that it became a phrase for any low-priced commodity "a Sardinian," all the cities were full of slaves, and the free labourer could find employ nowhere except upon the estates of the rich.<sup>4</sup> It is a law of history that there can be no middle class in those States where slavery has been widely established.

Driven away from their inheritance by usury, or by the avidity of their rich neighbours, thrown out of work by the competition of slaves, or else discontented with the frugal life of their fathers by reason of the habits of idleness and debauchery contracted in camps, the poor turned their steps towards Rome. They were attracted thither by the cheapness of the salt derived from the salt works at Ostia, of the corn from the fields of Sicily,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *A Catone quum quæreretur quid maxime in re familiari expediret respondit, bene pascere.* (Colum., *Pref.*, 6.)

<sup>3</sup> Twelve hundred Roman prisoners sold by Hannibal in Achæa were, according to Polybius, redeemed for 100 talents (nearly £21,000). According to Büekh, the price of slaves employed in the mines of Attica was only from 125 to 150 drachmæ; according to Plutarch, for a capable slave the price might run as high as £50. (*Cat. maj.*, 6.) Horace, at a period when prices were higher, had paid for one but 500 drachmæ. (*Sat.*, ii. 7.) A proof of their paltry value is that M. Scaurus, worth only 25,000 *nummos* (250 dollars) had six slaves. (Meursius, *de Luru Rom.*) After a victory, they were sold for four drachmæ apiece [drachmæ may be counted as a little less than francs].

<sup>4</sup> *Ὡς ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ὀλιγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων αἰσθίσθαι, δεσποτηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἰμπεπλῆσθαι δι' ὧν ἰγνῶργουν οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία τοὺς πολίτας ἐξέλασαντες.* (Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, 8.)



View of the Island and Harbour of Chios.



Sardinia and Spain, and by the meagre profits of the more or less honest industries which grow up under the stimulus of city life, lastly by a new sort of clientage, mendicancy at the doors of the great. "Now," says Varro, "that fathers of families, abandoning the sickle and the plough, have nearly all crept into Rome, and had rather use their hands in the circus or the theatre than in the fields and vineyards, we are compelled, that we may not die of hunger, to buy our corn of the Africans and the Sardinians, and gather the vintage in ships from the islands of Cos and Chios."

Thus the famished crowd grew who called themselves the Roman people, and were ready to be bought by the highest bidder. Cæsar ascertained that out of 450,000 citizens, 320,000 were living at the public expense, that is to say, three-fourths of the Roman people



Coin of the Island of Chios.<sup>1</sup>

were paupers. Even more formidable is the saying of the tribune Philippus: "There are but 2,000 individuals in Rome who own anything."<sup>2</sup> This social fact explains another upon which we cannot too strongly insist: the population of Rome goes on increasing, and at the same time the recruiting for the legions becomes more difficult, because the number of citizens having the required property qualification for military service diminishes every day. And yet Marius is reproached with having admitted Italians and the proletarii to the legions. But this proletariat produced soldiers attached to a man, to Marius or Sylla, to Pompeius or Cæsar, to Octavius or Antony, and no longer soldiers of the Republic. The connection of cause and effect is clear in all this history; equally clear is it that man is often the unconscious cause of the revolutions which his ideas, his passions and his acts prepare.

Driven from the fields, the free men found but slender profit in the city as artisans, for the rich had reserved to themselves all

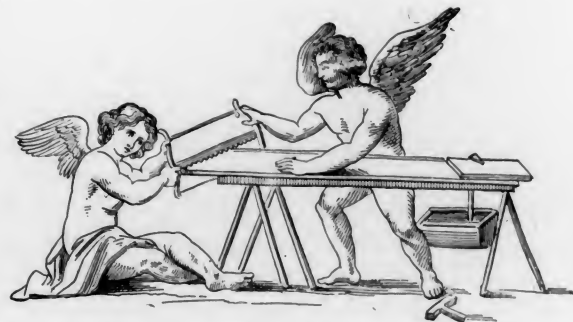
<sup>1</sup> XION. Bacchus and Apollo standing; between them, an altar. On the reverse, ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ (of the value of three assaria). Sphinx, the fore-foot on a ship's prow. Bronze coin of the island of Chios.

<sup>2</sup> *Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent.* (Cic., *de Off.*, ii. 21.)

the profits of the more important industries, and frequently even those of the more humble.<sup>1</sup> They had established workshops for

Blacksmith.<sup>2</sup>Stone Cutters.<sup>3</sup>

the employment of slaves, and had caused them to be taught all

Woman weighing out Wool.<sup>4</sup>Carpenters.<sup>5</sup>

kinds of trades. Crassus employed them as cooks, masons, and

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Crass.*; Cic., *pro Cœcina*, 20; Remnius Palæmon, the celebrated grammarian, had been a slave; on obtaining his freedom, he established a workroom of slave tailors (Suet., *de Ill. gr.*, 23); Atticus employed copyists (Corn. Nep., *Att.*, 13), Malleolus, work-people of all sorts (Cic., *in Verr.*). Appius, Cicero, and a thousand others had *præfecti fabrum*; the consul Balbus held this office in the household of Cæsar.

<sup>2</sup> Blacksmith using the sledge hammer; from the Virgil of the Vatican.

<sup>3</sup> Stone cutters (*lapidarius*); from the Virgil of the Vatican.

<sup>4</sup> *Lanifendia*, woman weighing wool to give the slaves the quantity used for their daily task; from a bas-relief of the forum of Nerva.

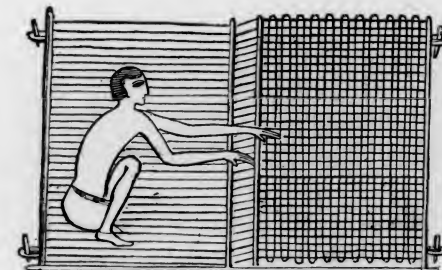
<sup>5</sup> From a painting in Herculæum.

scribes. Every rich family had among their slaves, weavers, carvers, embroiderers, painters, gilders, and even architects, phy-



Shoemakers (Pompeian painting).

sicians, and tutors for their sons.<sup>1</sup> Augustus never wore any other stuffs than those woven in his house. Every temple, every

Calculator.<sup>2</sup>Weaver.<sup>3</sup>

corporation held slaves. The government had swarms of them for

<sup>1</sup> Varr., *de Re rust.*, i. 2 and 6. Suet., *Oct.*, 73. There were even *servi fanatici*. (Grut., 312, 7.)

<sup>2</sup> *Calculator*. The ancients counted by means of small stones (*calculi*). The mathematician represented here, from a gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1858 of the Chabouillet catalogue, arranged the *calculi*, while the reckoning tablet, covered with Etruscan characters is in his left hand. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, under the word *Abacus*.

<sup>3</sup> Egyptian weaver, carrying the threads of the wool through the warp stretched in a frame fixed to the ground. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 610, under the word *Sublignen* or *Sublignen*.)

the lower offices of administration and the police, for the guardianship of the aqueducts and public buildings, for public works, in the arsenals, in the harbours, and as rowers on board ship. At one time Scipio sent to Rome 2,000 of them as armourers. The roughest work, as well as the most delicate, being entrusted to them, there remained but very few ways for the poor of free condition to earn his bread. Moreover, the incessant holidays, the triumphs, the days of supplication for victories, the frequent distributions made by the ædiles, by patrons, by candidates, and the prejudice which branded the small trader with infamy, all tended



Procession of Suppliants.<sup>1</sup>

to idleness. To listen to the orations in the Forum, to frequent games which lasted sometimes for a week at a time, to be present at the *levée* of the great, and accompany them as they went out; also to sell one's vote, one's testimony,<sup>2</sup> in case of need, one's strength,—these were the day's employments. It was said to them, and they reiterated it loudly: "The people-king has a right to

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 261 of the Clarac catalogue. Preceded by magistrates, the suppliants advance towards a goddess, who is perhaps Juno Acrea, to whom goats are sacrificed. All these persons are clad in the pallium, the goddess, the magistrates and the people being represented of different heights, in accordance with the dignity of each. This usage was frequent with the Greek sculptors.

<sup>2</sup> The legal methods of the time in respect to the employment of witnesses had created a new trade, the sale of false oaths and false testimony. Cf. Plautus, *Pœnulus*, 581; *Curculio*, 478.

live at the expense of a conquered world." And was this populace, indeed, in any sense the Roman people?

Formerly, to fill the gaps made by war in the ranks of those plebeians whom the nobles had learned, to their cost, to respect, the senate had been accustomed to bestow citizenship upon the bravest of the Italian peoples; but, since the close of the first Punic war, not one new tribe had been formed. Who then filled



Client.<sup>1</sup>



Client.<sup>2</sup>

the places of those taken prisoners in the second Punic war,<sup>3</sup> of those left upon the battlefields of Cannæ, Thrasimene and Zama, or in the Spanish mountain-gorges, or in the marshes of the Cisalpine, or in Greece, or Asia, and to the very foot of Mount Atlas? Freedmen, Sicilians, Greeks, Africans, who brought to Rome their corrupt habits and all the vices of slaves.

Between the years 241 and 210 B.C., an immense number of freedmen made their way into the Roman world. When, in the midst of the war against Hannibal, the senate emptied the *sanctius ærarium*, in which was contained that *aurum vicesimarium*, produced by levying a tax of a twentieth upon the value of every enfranchised slave, it was found to be 4,000 pounds weight of gold.

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette from the museum of Naples.

<sup>2</sup> From the Virgil of the Vatican.

<sup>3</sup> The Romans lost 20,000 prisoners at Drepanum alone, 6,000 at Thrasimene, 8,000 at Cannæ, etc., and if they set free 20,000 in Africa, 4,000 in Crete, 1,200 in Achæa, etc., how many must we suppose had perished before deliverance came?



During the first Punic war it had been found necessary to resort to this expedient, the necessity of the case being no less urgent; the treasury at that time contained only the income of thirty or forty years, which amounted, however, to £150,000. Now Cato paid for a healthy slave about £50, and the Achæans redeemed the legionaries sold by Hannibal at a price of about £18; taking



*Congiarium.*<sup>1</sup>

the mean, we should have about 3,000 enfranchisements yearly. These figures are uncertain, not so the fact that every successful war brought in great numbers of slaves, many of whom quickly passed into the condition of freedmen, for it was an advantage to have people of this kind. In return for his liberty, the freedman pledged himself to his former owner, whose client he now became, to pay

annually a certain sum, to give his master a portion of what he received in the *congiaria*,<sup>2</sup> and finally to leave to him his property, for the master often required of the slave whom he liberated an oath not to marry, that the property might legally fall to him, an oath which was not prohibited until the time of Augustus.<sup>3</sup>

In conclusion, as the *manumissio* made the *libertus* a citizen, to have many *liberti* was to possess means of action in the comitia, and a guard in case of popular tumults. In Cicero's time it was customary to enfranchise the honest and industrious captive after six years of servitude. Rome thus had so many freedmen, that Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the Gracchi, made an attempt during his censorship to expel from the tribes the *libertini* whom his predecessor had enrolled in them. Upon meeting with opposition from Appius Claudius, his colleague, he consented to leave those who had a child over five years of age, or who possessed property of 30,000 *sestercies* in value; the others were incorporated in one of the four urban tribes. This measure was not long enforced, for Scipio Æmilianus regarded the Roman people as only

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a large bronze of Trajan. COS V. (consul for the fifth time) CONGIAR SECYND (second *congiarium*, or public distribution of money or food). The *congius*, a measure of liquids was an eighth of the amphora, that is, not quite six pints.

<sup>2</sup> Dion., xxxix. 24. On the question of slavery, the standard work is that of M. Wallon.

<sup>3</sup> Dion., xliii. 14. Cf. Giraud, *Acad. des sc. mor.*, 1870, p. 320.

a crowd of former captives, and the method most useful to demagogues to render themselves masters in the comitia was to scatter the freedmen through all the tribes, where, according to Cicero, they formed the majority in his time, even in the rural tribes.<sup>1</sup>

Thus Rome, sending her own citizens into the provinces as soldiers, publicans, agents for the governors, stewards for the rich, or adventurers seeking fortune, received in return slaves,<sup>2</sup> whom she soon converted into freedmen, the Greek slave bringing to her the vices of an effete society, and the Spanish, Thracian, or Gallic slave, those of a barbarous community. There existed between the capital and the provinces an uninterrupted circulation, so to speak. The blood flowed from the heart into the extremities, and returned vitiated and corrupted.<sup>3</sup> Sallust says, with his habitual energy: "All was lost when there arose a generation of men who neither had patriotism themselves, nor could suffer others to have it."

From the political point of view, these results were menacing; from the economic they were disastrous. The concentration of landed property and capital in the hands of a small oligarchy, the system of pasture-lands instead of grain-lands, and all farming left in the hands of ignorant slaves upon whom the eye of the master no longer kept watch, were so many causes of ruin for agriculture.<sup>4</sup> As early as the time of Cato, it had begun to decline, and soon became so unproductive, that being unable to supply their own food, "the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves." Nor are these the sole dangers; the fields deserted by free labourers become depopulated, and at a thousand points, the malaria seizes upon them, drives away its last lingerers, or extends its murderous sway over them. Before the close

<sup>1</sup> *De Orat.*, i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> During the first Punic war, Duillius made 8,000 prisoners; Manlius and Regulus, 40,000; Lutatius, 36,000. We may, therefore, reckon the number of African slaves brought into Italy at this time as a fifth of the whole population of Rome. The names—Afer, Poenus, and Numida occur rarely, it is true, in the comic poets, but it is for the reason that the latter copied chiefly from the Greek, and spoke only of domestic servants, while the Africans, speaking an unknown language, were probably despatched into the fields.

<sup>3</sup> *Romam . . . mundi facie repletam.* (Lucan., vii. 404.)

<sup>4</sup> Pliny says: *Coli rura at ergastulis pessimum est, et quidquid agitur a desperantibus*; and Columella, in his preface: *Nostro accidere vitio qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum, velut carnifici, noxæ dedimus, quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque optime tractaverit.* Upon the rapid progress of malaria, see vol. i., pp. xxiv., seq.

of a century, a part of the Latin plain had become uninhabitable.<sup>1</sup>

We have seen the disastrous effects on the old Roman people of the sudden increase of wealth, and the introduction of countless myriads of slaves. It should be said in advance that much of this wealth will soon be dispersed; that internal order will bring to an end one of the most prolific causes of slavery; that to respond to the needs of a higher civilization, industry and commerce will make prodigious strides, by which the free artisan will profit, finally, that in the shelter of a peace of two centuries, 100,000,000 men will enjoy a prosperity which had never hitherto been known. We have been examining that work of destruction which will continue till republican Rome has perished; in the history of the Empire we shall see the work of reconstruction going forward, notwithstanding the bloody tragedies of senate-house and palace.

### III.—POLITICAL CHANGES.

By the disappearance of the class of small farmers, Roman society lost a conservative force which would have retarded the rapid march of the inevitable revolution. The nobles, set free from all restraint when they no longer saw before them those plebeians whom it had been necessary to treat with a certain consideration, now abandoned themselves to the license of the new time. They regarded simplicity of life as a folly, and the idea of equality as an insolent pretension. True it is that the fears and the adulation of the world did indeed place them on a very high pinnacle compared with the immense extent of the empire and the myriads of its subjects. Rome with her inhabitants was but a speck, and as they daily determined the destinies of nations and beheld kings waiting at the doors of the senate-house for their decisions, these republican senators assumed a [more than] royal arrogance, from which liberty was soon to suffer. We will examine in detail the powers which they possessed.

It is through their financial element that, in modern times,

<sup>1</sup> It became necessary to procure every year from Umbria and the Abruzzi the labourers necessary for the season's work. (Suet., *Vesp.*, i.)

governments are made dependent upon the representatives of the country. The annual vote of supply, or at least of new expenses, is a guarantee for the liberties of the people, and a safeguard for the governments themselves, whom this necessity deters from useless expenses. At Rome, there was nothing of this kind. The popular assembly did not at all concern itself with public expenses, and but one tax is known to have been established by law, and this in a time almost of revolution.<sup>1</sup> Receipts and expenses were regulated by the Censcript Fathers; they alone managed the exchequer, as the consuls disposed of the spoils of war, and the ædiles of the moneys received as fines.<sup>2</sup> Hence it occurred that when certain senators committed public frauds, they found their colleagues ready to share, or at least to wink at, their dishonesty. This abandoning to the senate of the entire charge of the finances was, by the license which it authorized, a cause of ruin for the Republic, as in later times the absence of all financial control brought ruin on our old French monarchy.

Masters of the public finances, the senators were also masters of the administration of justice. In civil cases suits were brought before the prætor, who, leaving the decision upon facts to judges selected for important cases from the senate, and for the rest from the centumvirs, took part in the case only by indicating the particular law applicable to the questions. The same is done in French criminal courts, in the contrary order of sequence; the decision of the jury on the nature of the crime precedes the judge's declaration of the article of the penal code which bears upon the case.

In criminal cases, the people gathered in the centuriate assembly was the judge. In early times crimes had been rare. But the extension of the empire, the prodigious growth of the city itself, the temptations of every kind offered to evil-minded persons

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 288, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Legally, the general was required to pay into the treasury, or else to abandon to his soldiers, the products of the booty obtained in war; this was the *donativum*, a deplorable custom under the empire, but one derived from the Republic, and springing from the deepest convictions of the nation, for the Roman wars had pillage for their object much more than conquest. As to the ædiles, they were expected to employ the sums received as fines in keeping the public edifices in repair, but we never hear of any account being required from them any more than from the censors for the great public works that they carried on. Both, doubtless, fulfilled all that was expected of them by keeping the senate informed as to their proceedings.

to attain to sudden fortune, multiplied breaches of public order. The Romans were not men like the Athenians, who were willing to leave their personal affairs and sit all the year long listening to arguments in court. The aristocracy, moreover, took care not to establish the rule of salary for such services. Hence it resulted that the consuls were obliged to exercise the old royal right of referring a criminal case to a commission, *questio*, and the number of crimes increasing, this exceptional jurisdiction soon came to be a permanent one.

The people did not make a good judge, for in the first place, having made the law themselves, they were easily tempted to set themselves above it, or to put their own interpretation upon it, and, further, the multitude does not weigh reasons, but decides after the passion or interest of the moment, confounding these with true justice. So it came about that those accused before this tribunal sought rather to touch the feelings than to convince the reason. Hence the mourning garments, the tears, the supplications of relatives and friends, and moving appeals of advocates, hence the exhibition of scars received in battle and of rewards for valour.<sup>1</sup>

In an established government, which had interests of such magnitude to protect, and in a case where the people was no longer anything but a venal crowd, such justice was the very height of injustice, most harmful to the public weal. Calpurnius Piso was therefore a useful citizen, when, in the year 149, he proposed the establishment of a permanent tribunal to take cognizance of cases of extortion and malversation, now grown scandalously frequent.<sup>2</sup>

Five years later three permanent tribunals, *questiones perpetue*, were created, having cognizance of crimes of high treason, and embezzlement of public money, and their jurisdiction was finally extended to all crimes against the State. The veto of the tribunes

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, the case of Manlius (vol. i. p. 279). In the year 98 Manius Aquilius, the pacificator of Sicily, having been accused of embezzlement, Marcus Antonius, his advocate ended the argument for the defence by tearing the tunic of Aquilius to show the breast of the veteran covered with scars. The multitude was moved to tears, and Aquilius was acquitted, although the evidence had been very clear against him. (Cic., *Brut.*, 62; *de Off.*, ii. 14; *de Orat.*, ii. 28, 45, 47.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Brut.*, 27. The Calpurnian law was renewed and rendered more severe by the Junian law in 126, the Acilian in 101, the Cornelian in 81, and the Julian in 59.

could not arrest their action, nor the comitia set aside their decisions. A citizen condemned for extortion lost for ever the right of speaking in the assembly of the people.<sup>1</sup> Theoretically the *questiones perpetue* were an encroachment upon popular rights;<sup>2</sup> politically, they were an inevitable institution, and as good public policy is that which gives satisfaction, not to theories, but to the needs of the time, this usurpation, or rather this change, was legitimate because it was necessary.

The importance of the institution arises from the fact that the members of the new tribunal were selected from the senate. That assembly did not form a court of justice until the time of the emperors, but all the judges of the *questiones perpetue* being senators, the great political body of the State thus became also its great judicial body, "and this function," says Polybius, "was the firmest support of the authority of the senate."<sup>3</sup> We shall find that the appointment to these judicial positions became an object of the most violent contests.

We may note in passing that the Roman world having never known what we call the government prosecutor, private individuals took this duty upon themselves. The *delatio* was therefore a recognized procedure, and Cicero considers it admirable;<sup>4</sup> any individual might present himself as prosecutor or accuser on behalf of the State, and this became an industry having its risks and also its profits. A man might gain reputation in this way by an eloquent argument; and many young nobles began thus to make themselves known; money even might be gained, since the prosecutor received, as recompense for the service he had rendered to society, a fourth part of the property confiscated or the fine imposed. A Macedonian inscription<sup>5</sup> offers a reward of 200 denarii to the *delator* who should bring to justice the profaners of a tomb; in England the same custom yet obtains. These informers, whom

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *ad Herenn.*, i. 11. The prætors continued to judge in civil cases, and the ædiles in mercantile disputes.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 223, the conferring by the Twelve Tables of criminal jurisdiction upon the comitia centuriata alone.

<sup>3</sup> vi. 17. Whenever, he says, the suit is at all important, even in the *judicia privata*, the judges are senators.

<sup>4</sup> *Accusatores multos esse in civitate utile est ut metu contineatur audacia.* (*pro Roscio Amer.*, 20.)

<sup>5</sup> Heuzey, *Miss. archéol. de Macédo.*, p. 38.



the empire inherited from the Republic, will come to have a very bad name; they had it, indeed, since the time of Plautus. One of his parasites scornfully declares that he would not change his vocation for that of the man who makes a legal prosecution "his net wherein to catch another man's goods."<sup>1</sup>

What was the legislative importance of the *senatus-consultum*? There was much discussion upon this point; in a constitution the work of time, like that of Rome, there was no definite rule upon the subject. At first the senate legislated freely in the triple sphere of religion, finances, and foreign relations, but there exists quite a number of *senatus-consulta* relating to other questions, especially concerning internal order and the direction of public affairs. Pomponius in the *Digest* says:<sup>2</sup> "As it was difficult to bring the people together, the necessity of the case caused the care of the State to pass into the hands of the senate, and all that the senate decreed was obeyed. These decrees were called *senatus-consulta*."

The senate assumed the power of dispensing with the observance of laws. Having declared that in their judgment the people could not be bound by such or such a law, *ea lege non videri populum teneri*,<sup>3</sup> the magistrate charged with its execution felt authorized to omit it. But the demagogue tribunes, no less ingenious than the Conscript Fathers in distorting the law, will later insert in certain of their revolutionary *rogations* a clause requiring the senators to swear under pain of exile that they will obey the same. In this way Saturninus put exceptional authority into the hands of Marius.

With this two-fold right of making the *senatus-consulta* obligatory, and of dispensing with the observance of a law, the senate had no longer need of the dictatorship, and this office disappears from history.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Persa, v. 63, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 4. (*Digest*, I. ii. 9.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Domo*, 16; *Philipp.*, xii. 5. After the time of the Gracchi the senate took upon itself to release from a law in express terms, *legibus solveretur*, but that this decree be valid the presence of 200 senators was required, and then the approbation of the people, after which the tribunes could no longer oppose their veto. (Ascon., in Cic. *pro Cornelio*, p. 57-8.)

<sup>4</sup> The dictatorship of Sylla and of Cæsar have nothing in common with the earlier office of that name.

The dictatorship was really permanently established in the curia, and the senators made it operative by the formula, *Caveant consules*, which was equivalent to the modern declaration of martial law, and gave full powers to the consuls. Later, however, agitation will spring up again in the Forum; the tribunes will refuse to acknowledge the power of suppressing the appeal to the people, *provocatio*, and the decisions of Opimius, Rabirius and Cicero will break this weapon in the senate's hand.

The senate was accustomed to interpose in yet another way in legislation. The Publilian and Hortensian laws had taken from it the initiative and the sanction of the laws;<sup>1</sup> it recovered these prerogatives by indirect means. The senate decided, for example, that there should be presented to the popular assembly a plebiscitum invested in advance with the senatorial approval, which would thus ensure its passage,<sup>2</sup> and also caused it to be established by the *lex Ælia-Fufia*,<sup>3</sup> that an assembly could not be held, or valid decisions made, if a magistrate should announce to the president of the comitia his intention of observing the heavens. This was the suspending veto hidden under a religious form and a method of putting a stop at once to any revolutionary *rogation*. Cicero owns it frankly: "This law," he says, "is our secure defence against the fury of the tribunes."<sup>4</sup> Yes, but only so long as men shall continue to respect the law, the scruple upon which it was founded, and the senate by whom it was dictated.

In the elections the action was more discreet, but no less real. By the senate was decided the list of candidates to be submitted to the people's choice by the president of the assembly.

With the Conscript Fathers rested the charge of public worship, the right of prohibiting certain ceremonies, and of giving or refusing citizenship to foreign gods; lastly, all the foreign policy, the calling out of the legions, the disposition of armies, the resources placed at the general's disposal in money and in native or auxiliary

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. pp. 290 and 294.

<sup>2</sup> Thus: *Attilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in hæc verba rogavit.* (Livy, xxvi. 33.)

<sup>3</sup> These two laws, or this law, probably belongs to the middle of the second century, before the Christian era.

<sup>4</sup> . . . *Subsidia certissima contra tribunicios furores, propugnacula murique tranquillitatis et otii.*

troops, the conditions imposed upon the vanquished, the relations with allies, and if the senate had not in so many words taken from the people the right of making war and peace, it acted habitually as though this sovereign prerogative no longer belonged to the popular assembly,<sup>1</sup> and the question was very soon asked whether for a declaration of war the *senatus-consultum* was not sufficient.<sup>2</sup> In a word, the senate, originally merely a council assisting the king and the consuls, now governed and administered, and the magistrates were, in a sense, only its executive: *quasi ministros gravissimi consilii*.

This concentration of power in the hands of the senate was inevitable in the new conditions of Rome's existence. Recruited from men who had filled the highest offices, carried on the most difficult wars, administered the government of provinces vast as kingdoms, this assembly was the most experienced, the most skillful, and at once the boldest and the most prudent body which has ever ruled a State. The Grand Council of another powerful city, Venice, was but a pale image of it. Venice, however, restrained her aristocracy as well as her subjects, while the Roman senate knew not how to rule it, but was itself ruled by those whom Sallust calls the faction of the great.

The senate, in truth, was only the head of a new aristocracy, more illustrious than the earlier one because it had done greater things, prouder, because it saw the world at its feet. Of the former *gentes* there now remained but a few,<sup>3</sup> and since the time

<sup>1</sup> When the senate undertook a war without having asked for the people's authority, either it was represented as a continuation of earlier hostilities, for instance, in Lusitania, under Cæpio, or else it was a case where allies, like the Massiliotes, implored instant succour. The usual plan was to drive its adversaries to desperation, and then, on pretext that they had broken the peace, send forth the legions. Thus Carthage, in attacking Masinissa, had been guilty of an infraction of the treaty, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, iv. 30; Cic., *pro Sestio*, 65.

<sup>3</sup> In the senate of the year 179, M. Willems (*Sénat. de la répub. rom.*, p. 366) finds but eighty-eight patricians to 216 plebeians; noble families became extinct very easily. In England (Doubleday, *True Law of the Population*, chap. iv.) there remain very few Norman nobles; two-thirds of the peerage (272 out of 394) date since 1760. Of 1,527 baronetcies, created since 1611, there remained in 1819 but 635, of which only 30 date from 1611. Of 487 families admitted into the citizenship of Berne from 1583 to 1654, in 1783 only 108 remained. During the century from 1684 to 1784, 207 Bernese families became extinct. In 1623 the sovereign council was composed of 112 families; in 1796 only 58 remained. The author cites similar observations made on the nobility of France, the Netherlands, and Venice; in about 100 years the number of Venetian nobles fell from 2,500 to 1,500, and this in a time of peace and

of the second Punic war a majority in the senate had been plebeian. Thus in the year 172 there were, notwithstanding the law, two plebeian consuls, and in 131 two censors of the same order. Hence a fact of the greatest importance had taken place in the Roman society at the epoch with which we are now occupied: the aristocracy and the people were altogether renewed. But other



Chariot with Four Horses (*quadriga*), p. 324.<sup>1</sup>

men bring other ideas; this second aristocracy, although itself coming up from the people, held the people in no less sovereign contempt. It was no longer a question of keeping out the plebeians from office, but the *new man*. Uniting by marriages and by

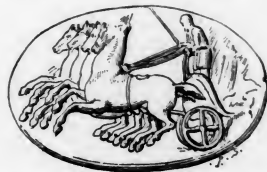
notwithstanding the ennobling of several new families. Finally, he recalls a passage in which Tacitus (*Ann.*, xi. 25) makes the observation that in the time of Cæsar there were but a few patrician families, and that of all those created by Julius and Augustus, none remained in the time of Claudius. At Paris, the average of children in rich households is not over two. The special rights of the patricians at Rome at this time were merely honorary offices. (Cic., *pro Domo*, 14.) The *interrex*, when one was required, the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamens*, the *salii*, half the other priests and all of the vestals, the presidents of the *comitia centuriata* and *curiata*, must be patricians. On this account Cæsar and the emperors were forced to create them. The emperors themselves became patricians on the day of their accession.

<sup>1</sup> From a bas-relief in terra-cotta. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Auriga*.)

adoptions their blood and their interests,<sup>1</sup> the noble families of the time formed an oligarchy which made the magistracies their patrimony, nor could it have been otherwise. The profitable offices

Gladiator.<sup>2</sup>

of the consulate and the prætorship were always elective. To obtain them one must secure the favour of the electors, and this favour could be obtained in two ways, either by buying a sufficient number of the electors with money, or the entire populace with entertainments. Thanks to the spoils of war brought home from the provinces, and to the revenues of the immense domains that the proconsuls had reserved for themselves, the sons of those who had obtained from the conquest of Italy no more than a farm of seven acres were able to multiply public shows, chariot-races, and combats of gladiators, dramatic representations and shows of wild beasts, games of all sorts, and gratuitous distributions. The

Charioteer standing in a Quadriga.<sup>4</sup>

venality of the people, and the necessity of incurring first the ruinous expenses of the ædileship,<sup>3</sup> closed the access to public honours against all those who were not able to sacrifice immense sums upon an election, by which we see that a man must be rich to obtain office, and must be in office in order to be rich, a vicious circle, from which escape seemed impossible, but one which explains how public offices remained perpetually in those families to which they had once

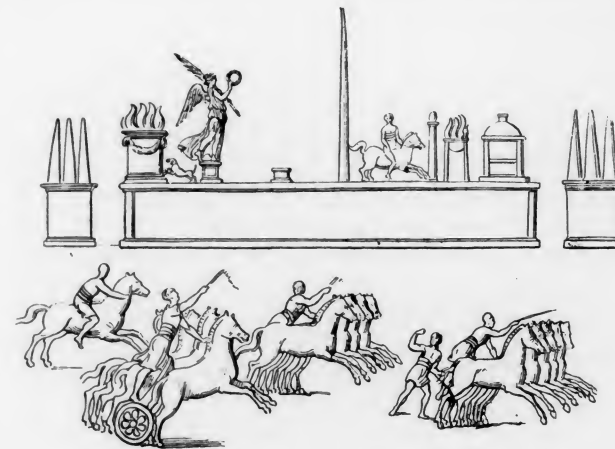
<sup>1</sup> Thus a sister of Paulus Æmilius had married Africanus; he himself took for wife a Papiria. His eldest son was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus, and his second by a son of Scipio Africanus. His two daughters entered illustrious plebeian families, one marrying Ælius Tubero, and the other Cato's son.

<sup>2</sup> From a terra-cotta lamp. A Thracian gladiator, so called because he has the same armour, a knife with broad, curved blade (*sica*) and the small buckler (*Festus*, s. v.) with square corners and convex surface. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Thrax*.)

<sup>3</sup> Since the time of the first Punic war the ædiles had been obliged to celebrate at their own expense the *ludi maximi*. From a passage in Livy (xxiv. 11) it is plain that all the senators must have been possessed of great wealth.

<sup>4</sup> Gem from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1866 of the catalogue.

brought fortune. The law, indeed, said that the magistracies were annual, but Cato wasted his time when he reproached the people for bestowing them year after year upon the same man.<sup>1</sup> In the consular lists certain names perpetually reappear. From 219 to 133, a period of eighty-three years, nine families obtained eighty-six consulships.<sup>2</sup> Thus the number of obscure citizens who rose to eminence was very small indeed—the pontifex Maximus Coruncanus, Flaminius, Varro, Cato, Mummius, and Acilius Glabrio,

Chariot Race.<sup>3</sup>

and of these parvenus a few owed their promotion to the patronage of some great family, like Cato, the client of the Valerii, and Lælius, protégé of the Scipios.

The movement which, raising to office all competent citizens, perpetually renewed the aristocracy and ensured its permanence by legitimating its existence—that movement, commenced two centuries earlier, was about to be arrested. Shut up, so to speak, within its

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cat.*, 12.

<sup>2</sup> These are: the Cornelii, twenty-one; the Fulvii, ten; the Sempronii, nine; the Marcelli nine; the Postumii, eight; the Servilii, seven; the Fabii, seven; the Appii and Valerii, six each.

<sup>3</sup> From an engraved stone. In the centre the *spina* around which the chariots must go seven times; it is ornamented with an obelisk and a Victory; at the extremities are the posts around which the chariots are driven. (See in vol. i. p. 541, and in the present volume, p. 279, two bas-relief where Genii are the runners.)



public honours and its wealth, the nobility broke all ties connecting it with the people whom it despised, even when soliciting their votes, like Scipio Nasica, who, taking a peasant's callous hand, said, "Well, my man, do you walk on the palms of your hands?" Another, Servilius Isauricus, being on foot in some road, saw a man pass him on horseback. He was exasperated that anyone should presume to remain mounted while he was on foot, and awhile later, recognizing the poor fellow as a defendant before some tri-



Combat of Gladiators (p. 325).<sup>1</sup>

bunal, he denounced the offence to the judges, who, without hearing another word, unanimously condemned the disrespectful rider.<sup>2</sup>

We must make clear to ourselves how the oligarchy could be with impunity so scornful towards the populace, and why the poor should bear with so much resignation the insolence of the great. The people, such as it was, heard constantly of the exploits of the aristocracy, of their wealth, and of their high descent. Before the populace the nobles always appeared with a train of clients and slaves; they were courted by the magistrates of foreign cities,

<sup>1</sup> From a mosaic engraved by Winckelmann. (*Mon. inéd.*, pl. 197.) The *retiarius* has thrown his net (*rete*) over the head of his adversary, and attacks him with his trident, the only weapon he has, while the *secutor* has a buckler and a two-edged knife. The man who stands behind the *retiarius* is a *lanista*, that is to say, a trainer of gladiators.

<sup>2</sup> Dion., xlv. 16.



P. SELLIER, del.

Imp. Fraillery.

POMPEIAN WALL DECORATION

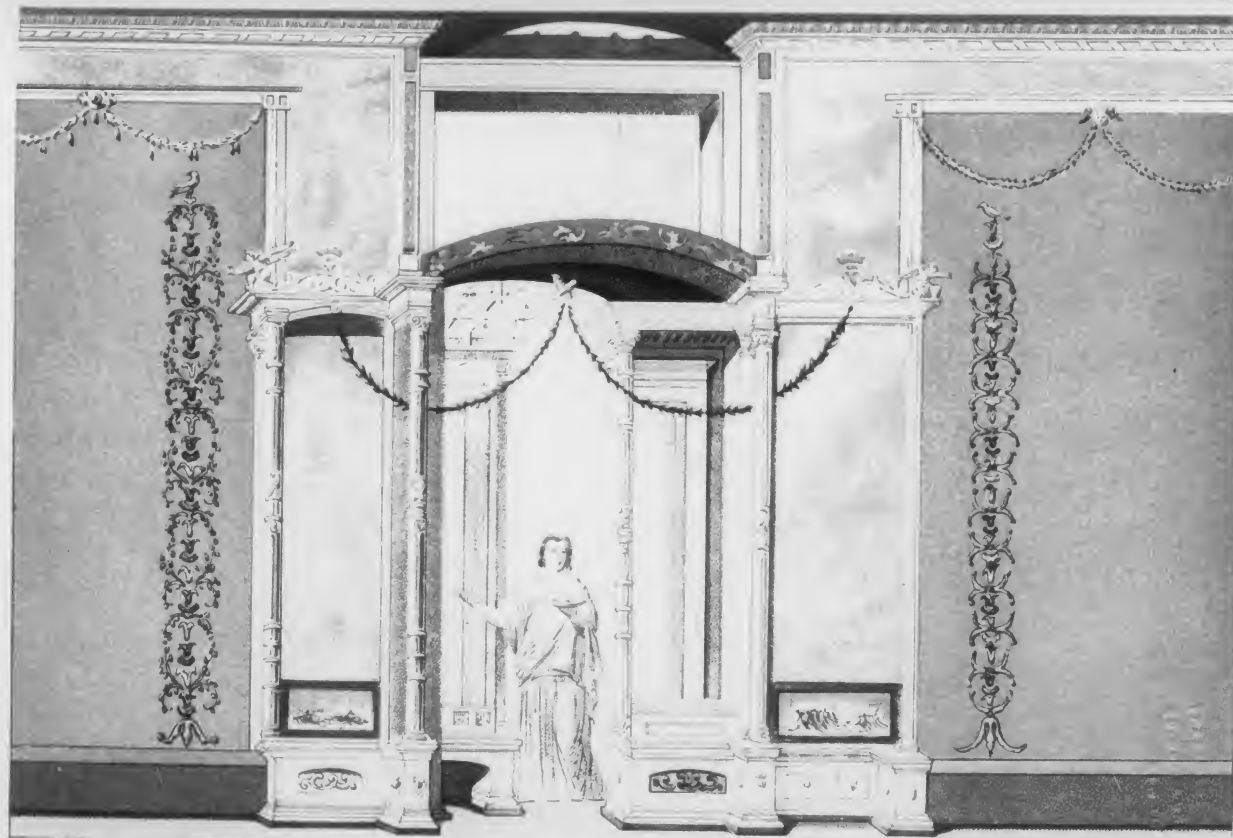


PLATE 101

PLATE 101

THE HISTORY OF HOME



by ambassadors of kings, even by kings themselves; at the theatre they were seated apart,<sup>1</sup> wrapped in that toga with the wide purple border that betokened the senator, the man who was, we may say, the master of this sovereign people. Daily the city rang with the name of this or that man of rank returning from his province so loaded with spoils that after adorning his own palace and villa, he had still enough for the Forum, the Campus Martius, and the temples. Yesterday may have been a triumph,<sup>2</sup> and all Rome



Combat of Gladiators (p. 325).<sup>3</sup>

crowding the Via Sacra to see the spoils, the captives, the conqueror himself going up to the Capitol, and the army in warlike pomp marching behind his chariot. To-day a consul displays his own statue in some public square, or with imposing sacrifices consecrates a temple vowed during a battle. To-morrow there is to be solemn thanksgiving to the gods for the success of some absent general, or it may be the funeral of some illustrious man crossing the Forum followed by a procession of relatives [and some of his ancestors in State robes represented by mutes], and the nearest of kin

<sup>1</sup> This right was given them by Scipio Africanus during his second consulate (194).

<sup>2</sup> These triumphs had become so frequent that about the year 181 a law required as a condition for obtaining one, that at least 5,000 of the enemy should have been slain in one battle.

<sup>3</sup> From Winckelmann (*loco. cit.*), combat between two gladiators armed with round buckler and short sword; a *lanista* stands behind each.

will pronounce a funeral oration over the deceased from the same place whence the magistrates make known to all the world the decisions of the people and the victories won by Roman arms. A Metellus is carried past borne upon his bier by his four sons, who are, or have been, prætors or consuls. This Metellus was called Macedonicus; Scipio had assumed the title of Africanus, Mummius that of Achaicus, and these glorious *agnomina* kept forever before the people that these men had made the greatness

Sacrifice.<sup>1</sup>

of Rome, as the exploits of these men's ancestors engraved upon their coins perpetuated the memory of those who in difficult days had saved the fortunes of the Roman people. Before the splendour surrounding these great names, the plebeians, for the most part of servile origin, felt their low condition more than ever.

Masters of the senate, of public offices, of the tribunals, and when they were crafty enough, of the Forum, the nobles regulated all things after their own good pleasure; even the senate often

<sup>1</sup> From a bas-relief. The bull is held by the assistants, and the *popa* is preparing to slay it with an axe.

saw its authority scorned by them. Against the senate's and the people's will, Appius Claudius triumphed, after a victory over the Salassi; Popilius Lænas made an unjustifiable attack upon the Statielli, razed their city, and sold 10,000 of them into slavery. A few voices were raised in behalf of this unhappy tribe, the only one among all the Ligurians who had never attacked the legions, and a decree was passed that they should be restored from slavery; upon which Popilius slew 10,000 more of them, and being cited before a tribunal, he obtained from the prætor an adjournment of the case, and it was never heard of again. Scipio in his operations had rarely consulted the senate, and the generals following his example forgot in their provinces that they ought to be the docile agents of a superior authority. Thus, without waiting for the senate's authorization, Manlius attacked the Galatians; Lucullus, the Vacceans; Æmilius, Palantia; Cassius, the mountaineers of the Alps. This same Cassius was desirous of leaving his province, the Cisalpina, to penetrate through Illyria into Macedon, where the other consul commanded, though at the risk of leaving Italy and Rome unprotected.

Law and custom alike forbidding the nobles to seek legitimate gains by commerce or manufactures,<sup>1</sup> there remained to them only the profits of dishonour, and these they freely sought; towards the allies and the provincials they allowed themselves every license. It was proposed to send Marcellus into Sicily: "Let Ætna rather bury us beneath its lava!" cried the Syracusans. Sicily must pay the penalty of its fruitfulness, Spain of its mineral wealth. Besides a permanent tax,<sup>2</sup> the Spaniards furnished corn, for a part of which they were paid; but the prætors fixed a very low price for the corn they bought, and a very high price for that which the Spaniards were bound to furnish; then they converted this due into money, and thus levied a heavy tribute. These exactions became so notorious that in the time of the war against Perseus the senate judged it prudent to show some justice.<sup>3</sup> Two prætors

<sup>1</sup> The *lex Claudia tribunicia* (218) had forbidden senators or their sons to possess vessels of more than 300 *amphoræ*. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 8; Livy, xxi. 63; Cf. Dion., LV. x. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Spain owed also since the consulate of Cato, *vectigalia magna ex ferrariis argentariisque*. (Livy, xxxiv. 21.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xliii. 2. Other prætors were accused and condemned in the year 154. (*Epit.*, xlvii.)

were accused, and exiled themselves before sentence was pronounced, the one to Tibur, the other to Præneste. Others were suspected, but the magistrate, whose duty it was to examine the case, set off suddenly for his government, and the senate, anxious to end this annoying affair, made certain rules with the intention of giving a show of satisfaction to the Spaniards.

In Greece during this time consuls and prætors vied with one another in pillaging the allied cities, and went so far as to sell their citizens by auction; this they did at Coronea, at Haliartus, at Thebes, and at Chalcis. The sterile country of Attica was required to furnish 100,000 bushels of corn, Abdera gave 50,000, and 100,000 denarii beside, and as the city ventured to send complaints to the senate, Hostilius gave it up to pillage, decapitated the principal men, and sold the entire population. Another prætor, Lucretius, still more culpable, was accused at Rome. It would be unjust, his friends said, to receive complaints against a magistrate absent in the service of his country, and the affair was adjourned. Lucretius, meanwhile, was employed in decorating his villa near Antium with the product of his rapine, and turning the course of a river to lead it through his park. A second time he was less fortunate; he was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000,000 *ases*, then the senate gave the envoys of the complaining cities a few sesterces and so the matter ended. But decrees quickly fell into oblivion, and the abuses recommenced, only they were less conspicuous, that the scandal of them might not so readily reach Rome.

Many of these nobles were full of indulgence for faults that they felt themselves very capable of committing, and the successors of the offending officials did all in their power to suppress the accusations made against their predecessors. In his orations against Verres, Cicero shows Metellus, a man of considerable moderation, threatening the Sicilians with his displeasure if they should send deputies to Rome, and detaining by force the most material witnesses against his predecessor.<sup>1</sup> But on the other side, when Cicero is for the defence, how arrogant he is, and how contemptuous of the provincials! Notice, for example, how he treats Induciomar in the oration *pro Fonteio*, and the peasants of

<sup>1</sup> *Minari Siculis, si decrevisset legationem . . . , minari, si qui essent profecti . . . gravissimos . . . testes . . . vi custodiisque retinere.* (II in *Verr.*, ii. 4.)



Cadmeia and the Plain of Thebes (from Baron de Staelberg's *la Grèce*).



Tmolus in his *pro Flacco*: "Can anyone compare," he says, "the most important person in Gaul with even the meanest citizen of Rome? Does Induciomar even understand what it is to testify in your presence?"<sup>1</sup> It was only a very heavy oppression indeed which could decide a people to incur, by entering a complaint at Rome, the anger of these very powerful personages. In order to



Wreath of Gold.<sup>2</sup>

appease Marcellus, whom they had accused of rapine, the Sicilian deputies were seen in presence of the senate to fall at his feet to implore pardon for themselves and to beg him to receive them, themselves and all the Syracusans, as his clients. Upon their return, Syracuse instituted annual festivities in honour of the man

<sup>1</sup> *Pro Fonteio*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> This wreath, of the most delicate workmanship, was found in 1813 in a tomb at Armento (Basilicate). The inscription beneath the winged figure is a formula of dedication and a proper name, written in characters believed to be of the fourth century B.C. Some of the flowers are covered with turquoise-blue enamel; insects hover over it, attached by very slender threads of gold. Was this a triumphal or simply a funereal wreath? Are the winged figurines Victories, or are they Genii, emblems of immortality? (See on this subject Saglio's *Dict. des ant. grecq. et rom.*, p. 800.)

who had almost destroyed the city; and later, the divinity of these celebrations was Verres.

Another kind of exactions weighed upon the allies. After each victory the general required golden wreaths from them.<sup>1</sup> The consuls commanding in Greece and in Asia between the years 200 and 188 caused to be given to themselves 630 gold wreaths, ordinarily of the weight of twelve pounds. If during the battle they vowed games or temples, they never failed to levy in their province the needful funds. With money furnished by the allies, Fulvius and Scipio celebrated games which lasted ten days.<sup>2</sup> Even the ædiles were wont to compel the provinces to pay for the spectacles their office required them to furnish to the populace, and a *senatus-consultum* vainly sought to put a stop to these exactions.<sup>3</sup>

There is preserved for us from Cato's discourse *upon his expenses* a lively picture: ". . . I directed the tablets to be brought which contained my discourse. My ancestors' services and my own were read out, and then followed them these words: 'Never have I expended in securing votes either my own money or that of the allies.' But No, I cried to the clerk, do not read that; they will not listen to it. He then went on: 'Have I ever established in the cities of your allies rulers capable of ravishing their goods, their wives, and children?' Pass over this also; there is nothing they would be more reluctant to hear. Go on. 'Never have I given to my friends commercial letters that they might derive great profits from the sale of the same.' Erase this at once. 'Never have I divided between my friends and my agents sums of money under pretext that wine was due them for their table, nor ever enriched them to the public detriment.' Ah! scratch that out into the very wood [of the tablet]. 'See then, I beg you, the sad condition of the Republic; I dare not recall the services I have rendered to

<sup>1</sup> Later this became a regular tax, *aurum coronarium*, exacted without victories or triumphs, as in the case of Piso. (See Cic., *in Pis.*)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxix. 22. Athenæus, brother of Attalus, gave to the senate in the year 186 a wreath of gold worth 15,000 gold pieces. The Ætolians offered to Fulvius one worth 150 talents. (Polyb., xxii. 13.) See in Cicero's *Verrines* the statues that Verres caused to be erected throughout Sicily and even in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> *Decreverat id senatus propter effusos sumptus factos in ludos T. Sempronii ædilis, qui graves non modo Italia ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam provinciis externis fuerant.* (Livy, xl. 44.)

the State for fear of exciting ill will. To what have we come that one may do evil with impunity, but cannot with impunity do well?'"

Thus, to satisfy the new needs born of luxurious habits the nobles pillaged at once the treasury and the allies, and the senate condoned all extortions in advance by allowing the principle to be openly asserted that self-interest being the rule of conduct, whatever method was successful was justifiable. We cannot admit the assertion of Livy that up to this time the senate's policy had been extremely upright; but rather we must complain with the older senators that artifice has been substituted for bravery,<sup>1</sup> that to their unquestioned strength they had added perfidy, that having deprived the nations of their independence, it was now the design to deprive them of their wealth.

These lessons from so high an authority were not lost upon the populace, nor, above all, upon the army. It is evident that the extortions practised by the generals, and their independence of all authority, must have had a tendency to relax discipline in the ranks. The soldiers imitated their leaders, and the latter closed their eyes to excesses which their own conduct authorized. During the second Punic war the rapine of an army set Sardinia in insurrection.<sup>2</sup> But in the pleasures which these spoliations afforded, the legionaries lost their military virtues. Then came the shameful defeats of Licinius in the kingdom of Pergamus, of Manilius before Carthage, and of Mancinus under the walls of Numantia. Many deserted, like that C. Mattienus, whom the consuls caused to be beaten with rods in the presence of the recruits, and sold for a contemptible price; or else, if the war were very unprofitable, they imperiously demanded dismissal, like the army of Flaccus in the year 180. The soldiers of Scipio in Spain had already set this dangerous example.<sup>4</sup> During the war with Antiochus the army of Æmilius, notwithstanding their general's efforts and the formal



Phocæan Coin.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlii. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxiii. 32. Mutiny in the army of Sulpicius Galba and Villius in 199 (*id.*, xxxii. 3) difficulty in 192 of raising two legions for Liguria, where there was nothing to be gained, etc.

<sup>3</sup> On the obverse, a seal; on the reverse, a hollow square.

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. p. 684.

agreement to the contrary, pillaged Phocæa, the prætor being only able to save such of the inhabitants as took refuge with him, and in the year 180 the horsemen of Cæpio attempted to burn their general alive in his tent. After having obtained the pillage of the whole of Epirus and 300 denarii apiece, the legionaries of Paulus Æmilius considered themselves ill-used, and endeavoured to have him refused a triumph. Already they had begun to put off upon slaves the burden of carrying their armour on the march; not less than 40,000 servants attended the 80,000 legionaries of another Cæpio. It was therefore great good fortune for Rome that no formidable enemy appeared at that time, and that before the Cimbri, the Social war, and Mithridates, discipline and military spirit had been restored by Marius.

To bring back the army to obedience was no very difficult task; a resolute will was sufficient, and Rome will often find men possessing that energy. But the military condition imposed upon the senate by so many conquests, the obligation always to have legions on foot in some provinces, produced a social phenomenon hitherto unknown. These constantly renewed expeditions were making of the service a profession, and preparing two centuries before the battle of Actium the permanent army of Augustus and of the empire. Formerly the people and the army were one; the long continuance of wars in remote countries effected the separation between the citizen and the soldier. Whilst the former was growing mendicant and venal, the latter forgot in the camp the ways of civil life, and from being a patriot, became a mercenary. Retained fifteen and twenty years under the standard without the opportunity, as in earlier days, of returning each winter to his home, the soldier made the camp his country, finding therein the satisfaction of all his wants.

Thus, under the pressure of events, all suffers change—army and people alike. It was inevitable, but the time was coming when these armies would give to their generals the power that the people formerly gave to its tribunes, and a military revolution was to be the logical sequence of the conquest of the world.

At Rome, a hungry crowd; in the camps, men who above all believe in the power of the sword; above both, an aristocracy very limited in number, who intend to reserve for themselves the

plunder of the world; such was the situation which is hidden from prejudiced eyes by the deceitful words, "the Roman republic" and "Roman liberty."

We have spoken only casually of a class which has been slowly forming below the senatorial aristocracy, that of the moneyed men who were to play an important part in the dissolution of Rome, as did the French financiers and farmers general in the decomposition of the old French society. At Rome, the census or enumeration of citizens and their fortunes taking place every five years, was a State duty, performed with religious solemnities. The State then ascertained what were its resources in men and money, and distributed the citizens in *classes* for voting purposes in accordance with their declared fortunes. This declaration included only property in land and all that appertained to it, *res mancipi*, such as harvests, slaves, cattle, all things attaching men to the soil, to the city. But the declaration did not include the *res nec mancipi*, that is to say, capital and manufactured products, which might easily be removed outside the city, and which the city, on account of their mobility, was not willing to recognize or to cover with the protection of her laws. Thus there grew up at Rome two classes of owners, those to whom their property gave political rights, and those to whom it gave none. These latter were the *æuarii*. It was the same in France in the time of the *pays légal*, when for admission to the great civic function of the electorate account was taken only of those sorts of property which paid a direct tax to the State. At that epoch, in France as in ancient Rome, there were *æarians*, and as at Rome, there were among these persons rich men, and even men of high consideration in the State.

Much has been written on the contempt felt by the ancients for all forms of trade or commerce. What we have just said explains this point by the difference that these little cities, always in danger from their neighbours, felt obliged to make between landed property, which secured them ardent defenders, and that commercial wealth, easily hidden or removed in the moment of danger, which made its possessor not so much a fellow-citizen as a temporary resident. On this account a will or a sale dealing with landed property required originally to be sanctioned by the



people, and later by five citizens, representing the five classes of landed proprietors or true citizens.

But while the old Roman people was diminishing daily in number, those to whom it had refused a place in the State were making for themselves a place of great importance. The law had prohibited business to senatorial families, but, meanwhile, the extent of the empire, the victualling of the city and of the armies, the execution of great public works, roads, aqueducts, temples, basilicas, etc., were giving occasion for an enormous amount of business. All this the State abandoned to private enterprise. Italians and freedmen, enriched by petty traffic, undertook these public works, individually or in companies. The gains being enormous, those of the rich citizens who were not magistrates desired a share, and united themselves to these companies, especially after the conquest of Greece, Asia, and Africa had opened those regions to Roman speculators. In this way there occurred a division in the equestrian order that rated highest in the State. Those who were sons of senators thought only of succeeding to the paternal honours, the others of obscure origin, or, as new men, kept out of public office, undertook the collection of revenues and public works, and were designated *publicans*. Aristocratic pride gave way sometimes before the importance of the advantages to be gained, and it was admitted that traffic on a grand scale was no longer a disgrace.<sup>1</sup> But it was neither trade in any form, nor public works, nor banking which gave the surest profits.

The senate had carefully reserved for the proconsuls and prætors the political and military administration of the provinces, but faithful to the spirit of the heroic days, had not concerned itself with the details of the financial administration, which would have involved the creation of a numerous staff of officials. Every five years the censors farmed out the taxes at public auction, that is to say, for a sum of money paid down they gave over to private individuals, usually heads of companies (*mancipes*), the right to collect for the five years the taxes due to the State. The auction having been held, the higher bidders paid the sums they had offered, and then with a retinue of agents and slaves these publicans set off for the province which had been given up to them. Then

<sup>1</sup> Cicero says (*de Off.*, i. 42) that trade is more or less esteemed according as it is more or less wholesale.

began the most cruel extortions; in one case, instead of the 20,000 talents they were to levy in Asia, they wrung from the province 120,000. The governor, if he proposed to interfere, was bribed to silence, later they intimidated him, and there remained to the victims only the slow and dangerous resource of a complaint at Rome. During the second Punic war the publicans made themselves feared by the senate, and in the time of the conquest of Macedon it was an established opinion that where they were, either the public treasury was wronged or the subjects oppressed. It is curious to see these publicans turning the new ideas to their own profit, and denying in accordance with the doctrines of Euhemerus the divinity of the gods for the purpose of being allowed to levy taxes upon consecrated lands. A priest of Amphiaraus, in Bœotia, claiming the immunity, received answer from the publican, "Pay," he replied, "your god is only a man!"<sup>1</sup>

The conquests made by barbarians are terrible. In three cities Genghis-Khan massacred 4,000,000 men. But when these nomadic invaders have carried their fury elsewhere quiet is restored, and the wounds made by the sword are so quickly stanchd!<sup>2</sup> But a nation of poor peasants, accustomed to make the earth yield all that it can, a people who as yet understood of civilization no more than some new material enjoyments, must revel in its victory and draw every possible advantage from the conquered country. Into the government of the world the Romans carried the habits of their private life. Trained to avarice by poverty, they were greedy, rapacious, pitiless, like Cato their model, like the usurer, who had been, and still was, so severe among themselves. More terrible than war, this spirit of extortion came down upon the provinces; the publicans were its instruments, and public hatred has branded the name. Moralists reproach them also, and usually with reason. At the same time we must remember that this financial power of the publicans was the first appearance in the Roman world of something very important in modern life, to which we can offer no objection, the power of capital, without which there could be

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv. 18; Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, iii. 19: *Negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent.*

<sup>2</sup> [This is only true when a nation is not decaying. The permanent depopulation of Upper Asia was partly caused by these massacres. Thus the plagues in the days of M. Aurelius permanently weakened the decaying empire.—*Ed.*]

neither industry nor commerce, nor the prosperity of the masses. Our army contractors, our financiers on change, our undertakers of great public works, have they always been more honest than the old publicans? The latter had many slaves,<sup>1</sup> it will be said; but they also employed many freedmen and many of free birth, who, together with themselves, made a good living or even a fortune. Who were these overseers of workmen, *præfecti fabrum*, whom all governors of provinces and chiefs of legion gathered around them?<sup>2</sup> Balbus commenced in this way and ended with the consulship. Scipio Africanus said once, scornfully, "The same people has no right to be at once the king and the business agent of the world."<sup>3</sup> Men emerging from shops and counting-houses are destined, however, to become daily more and more important in Rome, since part of their wealth, employed in the purchase of land, will open to them the five classes of true citizens, even the very first. Separated from the patricians by their manners, and from the people by their wealth, this aristocracy of money will have neither the haughty ambition of the great nor the vulgar passions of the crowd; but it will have others, and it is this class which, disturbed in its speculations by the civil wars, will aid Julius and Octavius to re-establish order by converting the government of the many into the government of the one.

<sup>1</sup> This employment of slaves in financial affairs rendered it necessary to create a class of actions at law, *institoria* and *tributoria*, to give those with whom a slave had negotiated in his master's name the right to compel the latter to fulfil the engagements made in his name. (*Dig.*, xiv., under the heads iii. and iv.) M. Pardessus (*Collection des lois marit.*, i. 55) believes that these actions originated at an early period.

<sup>2</sup> In speaking of the great public works executed in Italy by Caius Gracchus, Appian says (*Bell. civ.*, i. 23) that the tribune attached thus to his interests a multitude of workmen and labourers of all kinds.

<sup>3</sup> *Cic., de Rep.*; Festus, s. v. *Portitor*.

<sup>4</sup> De Witte, *Revue numism.*, 1862, p. 107. Reverse of a large bronze coin of Vespasian.



The Senate Personified.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### STRIFE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW.

#### I.—THE REACTION; CATO.

ALL the innovations which we have described irritated the conservative party; the past never disappears without a struggle. Cato made himself the leader of the resistance.

He was born at Tusculum in 233. His sanguine complexion, his piercing gray eyes, his determined air did not betoken an easy-going person, and an incisive use of language at the command of a ready intellect, which was well able to find the weak point in every argument, and to be successful in every undertaking, made him a person not to be overlooked.<sup>1</sup> An epigram current at the time of his death avers that Pluto dreaded to receive this man "always ready to bite." He was never accommodating; when Eumenes came to Rome he refused to see him. "But he is an upright man," they said, "and a friend to Rome." "It may be so," was Cato's answer, "but a king is by nature a carnivorous beast." He was scarcely more civil to the populace. One day, when the crowd called for a distribution of corn, he opposed the measure, and his address began with these words: "Citizens, it is hard to speak to the belly, which has no ears." A tribune suspected of poisoning proposed a bad law: "Young man," Cato said to him, "I know not which is worse, to drink your potions or to ratify your measures."

From his father Cato had inherited a small estate in the

<sup>1</sup> His name was Porcius; he was called Cato (*Catus*) on account of his shrewdness. Some authors place the date of his birth in the year 238. This is a mistake, for he says himself that he made his first campaign "at the age of seventeen, when Hannibal, still victorious, brought fire and sword into Italy." These words can refer to no other than the year 216, but we are forced to admit that both Plutarch and Livy are wrong in representing him to have died at the age of ninety.

Sabine country. There primitive manners still existed, and at the end of his ground he saw the hut and the seven acres which had formed the whole patrimony of Curius Dentatus. Cato was inspired by this great example of a frugal and laborious life. He truly said, "Idleness kills more men than labour does." And so daily he worked with his slaves, eating and drinking with them, in the winter clad in a simple tunic, in the summer stripped under the hottest sun. When field work was over he practised as an



Tusculum. From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.<sup>4</sup>

advocate in the neighbouring towns, exercising himself in those combats which were to be the business of his life.

Economical on his own behalf as well as for the State, he was wont to say that whatever one could do without was dear, even at an *obol*, and so long as he was in command of the legions he took from the public granaries, for himself and his suite, but four and a half bushels of corn a month. During his consulship his dinner never cost him more than thirty *ases*, and on returning

from Spain he sold his charger to save the State the expense of transport. It is true that he auctioned his sick or aged slaves. "For my part," says Plutarch, "I could not have the heart to sell my old ox who had used up his strength in ploughing my field." But this was a refinement which Cato did not at all understand. His calm, precise mind lacked elevation and grandeur. The Roman is, above all things, the man of business, and Cato was more Roman than any of them. Elegance in mind or manners, love of the arts, seemed to him criminal tastes;<sup>1</sup> he so loved the merely useful as even to sacrifice to it the noble. But we must not forget his fine definition of the orator: "The upright man, expert in fine language."

It remained still the custom at Rome for men of rank to seek out and advance to public office young plebeians of promising talent. This was useful to the State and also to the patron, securing to the Republic good servants, and to the aristocracy devoted clients. The English nobility act thus to their great advantage. At times the dependent disappointed the expectations of his patron; thus Marius became the mortal enemy of Metellus, who had opened to him a public career; but Cato attaining the highest honours in the State, remained friendly to the man who had founded his fortunes; this was the noblest patrician in Rome,<sup>3</sup> Valerius Flaccus. Having personal knowledge of the stern virtues and of the talents of Cato, Valerius induced him to come to Rome, and there supported him with his influence, and Cato, though a new man, was able before he had reached the age of thirty to attain the legionary tribuneship.<sup>4</sup> Later he was sent into Sicily



Coin of Cato.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He affected a contempt for the Greek muses: *Quandocumque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxix. 1.) He regarded Socrates as an old babbler; he ridiculed the school of eloquence taught by Isocrates and the pupils who continued for years with him, as if they were waiting to plead before Pluto.

<sup>2</sup> M. CATO. PRO. PR. ROMA. Head of Liberty. On the reverse, the word VICTRIX, engraved beneath a seated Victory. Silver coin of the Porcian gens.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the privileges enjoyed by the gens Valeria, see Dionysius, v. 39; Plutarch *Publ.*, 20 and 23; Livy, ii. 31; Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> As early as this time he manifested the severity of his principles by contributing to the passing of the *lex Cincia*, which forbade judges to accept fees or receive presents. (Livy, xxxiv. 1; Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 7; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 5.)



as quaestor with Scipio. While delayed there by his preparations, Scipio at Syracuse amused himself with studying the brilliant literature of Greece, and lived surrounded by books, luxury, and amusements. Cato, who was not friendly to the Greeks, was irritated by this extravagance and self-indulgence; he expressed his dissatisfaction, but the general replied proudly that he should render account at Rome of his victories, and not of a few sestercies, and that he did not require so exact a quaestor, and thereupon dismissed Cato. The latter returned to Rome to swell the number of



Ruins at Syracuse. (From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.)

Scipio's enemies gathered around Fabius Cunctator, his former chief. This, according to Plutarch, was the origin of that hatred with which Cato pursued Africanus even to the tomb. But Livy says nothing about this quarrel; he, on the contrary, shows us Scipio dividing between Lælius and Cato the command of the left wing of his fleet in the passage from Sicily to Africa. Dislike resulted too directly from the characters and manners of the two

men for us to suppose recriminations to have passed between them. Scipio, who had all the tastes of a superior mind and a refined soul, desired his countrymen to unite to the achievements of war and of state-craft those of the intellect. He had learned to love studious leisure, and the great poets and artists of Greece<sup>1</sup> had opened to his mind those wide horizons in which personal objects disappear, and even the city itself is lost from sight.<sup>2</sup> Scipio, spoiled by successes and by his own genius, forgot that he was the citizen of a Republic whose first law was equality. His former quaestor cruelly reminded him of this.

After filling the office of plebeian ædile, Cato received the praetorship of Sardinia, in which office he gave conspicuous instances



Phœnician *Scarabæi*, found in Sardinia.<sup>3</sup>

of his severity and of his honesty. He banished all usurers from the island, and he refused the money which the province, in

<sup>1</sup> Scipio erected in the Capitol, in front of the street leading to the temple, an arch of triumph ornamented with seven gilded statues, two horses, and four marble basins. (Livy, xxxvii. 3.) His second son wrote a history in Greek. (Cic., *de Sen.*, 35; Brutus, 77.) Lucius Scipio erected his own statue in the Capitol with the chlamys and sandals. (Val. Max., ii. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> *Si quis, illo Pacuviano invehens alitum anguim curru, multas et varias gentes et urbes despicere et oculis collustrare possit.* (Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 9.)

<sup>3</sup> The *Gazette archéologique* has published, with a learned explanatory note (vol. iii. p. 74) by M. Mansell, four Phœnician *scarabæi* found in a necropolis in Sardinia. The intaglios here represented twice their real size are cut in the under side of each of these scarabæi, which were at once a symbol of immortality placed within the tomb to console the dead, and an amulet worn by the living to preserve from harm. The subjects represented show the fusion effected between the different religions of antiquity, and render them specially interesting. Nos. 1 and 2 show those beings called in scripture *satyrs*, in the Septuagint *δαμόνια*, and by St. Jerome *incubones vel satyros*. They are, in fact, very good representations of the Greek and Roman satyr; they carry drinking-cups, and seemed already intoxicated. In No. 3 are four mice surrounding a basket, and in No. 5 an ant; the rat, in the East as well as in Rome, was a prophetic animal. [But there is no word in either Greek or Latin for the rat, which they can hardly have known.—Ed.] The fly in No. 4 recalls the Baal-Zebub or god of flies of the Bible, the great god of Ekron, who had a famous oracle in the country of the Philistines. Chaldean books give a prophetic power to flies, as the Phrygian legend of Midas to ants. No. 5 is taken from Della Marmora's work, *Sopra alcune antichità sarde*, pl. B, No. 94.

accordance with the usual custom, voted him. This conduct and the severity of his morals, exceptional in the corrupt city, combined with his rough eloquence, drew all eyes upon him. The people loved their stern censor. They did not obey him, but they applauded him, and Cato crossing the Forum in his cheap attire or reproving the crowd from the platform and preventing a gratuitous

distribution of corn, was more respected and listened to than the habitual flatterers of the people. In the year 195 the comitia raised him to the consulship with his friend Valerius Flaccus.

Greece was not yet pacified; Antiochus was threatening, and Hannibal had not left Carthage; Spain and the Cisalpine were in insurrection, but Spain and Gaul, Hannibal and the king of Syria, were all for the moment forgotten. Vainly did kings or people demand attention; one subject only occupied senate, consuls, tribunes, and divided the public mind; should Roman matrons be permitted to wear more than half an ounce of gold, or a dress of divers colours, or to ride in a carriage in the city? This was

the question which aroused stormy debates; these were the prohibitions instituted by the Oppian law in the darkest hours of the second Punic war, and they had hardly been obeyed, if we may judge by the luxury which the wife of Scipio Africanus displayed in public. "When she left home to go to the temple," says a family friend, "she seated herself in a glittering chariot, herself



A Matron.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He would never wear a toga costing over 100 drachmæ.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze of heroic size found at Resina in 1745. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vi. 1st Series, pl. 67.) This figure, clad in a long tunic, is also wrapped in an ample mantle, which, falling from the head, is parted on the breast by the hands, in the attitude of prayer.

attired with extreme luxury. Before her were carried with solemn ceremony the vases of gold and silver required for the sacrifice and a numerous train of slaves and servants accompanied her."<sup>1</sup>

Two tribunes now proposed the abrogation of this sumptuary law. The Capitol was thronged with the partisans of the opposing sides, and the matrons themselves besieged the Forum and wearied out the magistrates with their tumultuous solicitations. But in the consul, Porcius Cato, they found an inflexible opponent. "If, Romans," Livy makes him say, "every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the authority of a husband over his own wife, we should have had no trouble to-day with all these women, but now because we are unable to withstand each separately we now dread their collective force.

. . . If then you suffer them to throw off their restrictions, and at last to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you



Silver Vase.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xxxii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The Bernay Collection (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2804). "This beautiful vase belonged to one of those pairs (*paria, synthesis*) that the ancients delighted to put together. (The Bernay Collection alone contains nine pair of vases.) The handle, of silver, is attached to the vase by a tragic mask, and at the top by two Medusa heads; these ornaments, like the other bas-reliefs, are *repoussés*. The egg patterns and leaves which decorate the upper edge and divide the two rows of figures are the only part chased. In the lower row the silversmith has represented Achilles weeping over the body of Patroclus and the ransom of Hector. Around the neck is

imagine that they will be any longer tolerable? . . . Often have you heard me complain that the State was endangered by two



Venus of Cnidus.<sup>1</sup>

opposite vices, luxury and avarice, those pests which have been the ruin of all great empires. These I dread the more as our circumstances grow daily more prosperous and happy; as the empire increases, as we have now passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions, and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures; so much the more do I fear that this riches will end by conquering us. Believe me, those statues from Syracuse were brought into this city to no good.<sup>2</sup> I already hear too many commending

and admiring the friezes of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing

the carrying off of the palladium. The composition on the matching vase represents Achilles dragging Hector's body and the death of Achilles, and upon the neck, Ulysses and Dolon. The elegance of the vase, its perfect adaptation to the use designed, the good taste of the relief and of the composition, seem to place it in the best period of art, but a certain heaviness in the figures, and details rather Roman than Greek, scarcely agree with this theory; we have, doubtless, in this vase an instance of what Roman work could produce, while yet faithful to Greek taste." (Saglio's *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 805-6.)

<sup>1</sup> Ancient copy of the great work of Praxiteles. Museum of the Louvre, No. 59 of the Clarac catalogue. We do not know whether this statue had already been brought to Rome, but Cato had seen enough of the fair divinities of Greece to dread the comparison with the shapeless deities of early Rome.

the earthen images of our Roman gods. For my part I prefer these gods, propitious as they are, and I hope will continue to be, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions."

Plautus also had lately exhibited in the theatre a biting satire on the luxury of the matrons, showing them walking the streets decked out with estates, *fundis exornatæ*,<sup>1</sup> as Du Bellay later said of the courtiers of Francis I., that their mills, their forests,



Greek Frieze brought to Rome, representing Minerva, Argus, and Tiphys.<sup>2</sup>

and farms were upon their backs. But poet and consul both failed; the law was abrogated, as it deserved to be. The new manners born of victory were stronger than this sumptuary law, made in a time of peril and public destitution.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Epidicus*. Notice in the *Aulularia* the long tirades of Megadorus. This play, one of the best works of Plautus, undoubtedly belongs to the time when this question of the Oppian law agitated the minds of all.

<sup>2</sup> In the British Museum. Frieze found at Rome, representing Minerva superintending the construction of the ship Argo; Argus works, while the goddess aids the pilot Tiphys to fold the sails. (Müller, *Monum.*, pl. xxxii. No. 238.)



Cato immediately set off for Spain. Upon his arrival he dismissed all the contractors. "The war shall support the war," he said. Scipio, content with possessing the affection of his soldiers, and sure to find them brave and obedient on the day of battle, often closed his eyes to their pleasures and their excesses. Cato, severe towards others as towards himself, was not the man to tamper with discipline. Continual drilling and indefatigable vigilance gave his army the appearance of the old legions. This campaign, which Cato recorded, did much honour to his military talents, and gave him a triumph; his conduct at the battle of Thermopylæ also added to his reputation.

## II.—CATO OPPOSED TO THE SCIPIOS.

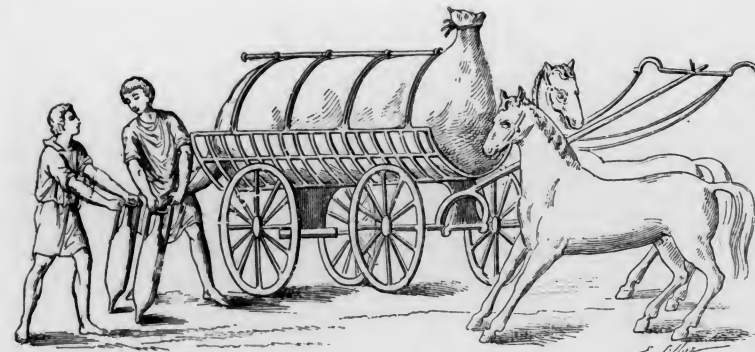
Meanwhile the opposition towards Scipio increased daily in the senate and among the people. Since that apotheosis, after his triumph, which he had refused, envy had marked him for its prey; and Cato, who dared not yet encounter him openly, encouraged the sharp attacks of Nævius and Plautus, the popular poets of the day. Nævius especially, a veteran of the first Punic war, which he sang in Saturnian verses, pursued the great men of Rome with his bitter raillery.<sup>1</sup> "More than gold I love liberty! Submit then; this people submits well; do you know who will soon destroy your fine Republic?" He once dared to rail at the Metelli: "It is luck, not their services, that makes them consuls!"<sup>2</sup> They retorted by a line in the same measure: "The Metelli will bring woe to Nævius the poet" (*Dabunt malum Metelli Nævio poetæ*). And they did so; Nævius was thrown into prison under a law of the Twelve Tables against the defamatory verses. Plautus, his friend, pleaded for him in the theatre; with an assumed comic horror at the punishment inflicted upon the poet, whom he had seen in gloomy confinement, with irons on his feet day and night. Nævius retracted, and composed two pieces to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Klussmann, *Cn. Nævii vita et reliquæ*, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> The line [*Fato fiunt Metelli Romæ consules*] may also mean, "It is for the ruin of Rome that the Metelli become consuls."

disavow his petulant attacks.<sup>1</sup> At this price he obtained from the tribunes his liberty. But he soon recommenced, and this time did not fear to attack the regal power of Scipio. "What!" he says, "that which I applaud in the theatre, shall I not dare to wound therewith the ear of one of our kings?"<sup>2</sup> Alas! slavery now stifles liberty; but at the games of Bacchus we will speak with free voice." In another of his pieces he attacked the austere reputation for morality, which the hero had so skilfully secured; upon this Scipio became exasperated, and the incorrigible poet was sent into exile and interned at Utica.

Plautus, warned by this example, no longer dared to mention



Wine Cart.<sup>3</sup>

names, but there are few of his pieces in which he does not deplore the loss of the early simplicity and attack the manners of the times. Notice his picture of the rhetoricians and philosophers, Scipio's favourite friends: "Those Greeks who, under their long

<sup>1</sup> *Cum in his . . . fabulis, delicta sua et petulantias dictorum, quibus multos ante læseret diluisset.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, iii. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> *Quemquam regem rumpere.*

<sup>3</sup> From a fresco found at Pompeii in a *thermopolium*. (See also on next page the drinking scene from the same source.) The first of these represents a cart containing an immense skin for the transportation of wine; the second, a tavern scene: two of the party (perhaps women) have their heads covered with a kind of hood worn at the present day upon parts of the Italian sea-coast by sailors and fishermen. The drinkers have evidently exhausted their supply, for two cups or drinking-horns are inverted, and a young *poecillator* is bringing fresh ones. Along the wall are hung provisions—sausages, vegetables, etc.; characters are traced upon the wall, as in the pot-houses of our time. (Cf. Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pp. 65–7, and Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities* under the words *Carnarium* and *Caupona*.)

cloaks stuffed with books and with the provisions they have begged, assemble, confer, and walk together, all bristling with maxims. At all hours you will find them encamped at Thermo-polium, intoxicating themselves with long draughts. When they steal something, they quickly run away with veiled heads, drink it hot, then return gravely trying to steady themselves upon their drunken legs."<sup>1</sup> And elsewhere of a slave meditating some rascality: "Behold him, about to philosophize!"

But Plautus does not venture very far upon the dangerous ground of political allusions; he had rather paint the manners of



Drinking Scene.<sup>2</sup>

the lower classes—the knavish valet, the profligate and deluded old man, the usurer of the Forum, the parasite, and the young slave-girl, inevitably declared free in the denouement. [All this was borrowed directly from the Greeks.] By this discretion Plautus only gained the advantage of being overlooked. The favour of the

<sup>1</sup> *Curcul.*, II. iii. 13, *seq.* *Thermopolium*, wine shop, properly a place where heated wine is drunk. The Latin word is retained in the translation to preserve the ironical allusion to *Thermopylae*. The Romans were fond of mulled wine. Cf. also *Pseudolus*, IV. iii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding page, note 3.

aristocracy was reserved for Ennius, for Andronicus and Terence, elegant copyists of Greece and supple worshippers of fortune. Ennius was buried with the Scipios; Terence lived in intimate relations with them.<sup>1</sup> As for the poets of the people, Nævius<sup>2</sup> died in exile, and if Plautus was not reduced to turn a mill, as he had begun, it does not appear that his favour with the people was ever a compensation for what he lost by satirizing the great men.

The party of the old Romans was defeated in the persons of its poets. Cato avenged it.

In a republic, whoever ceases to rise begins to decline. Scipio could not remain at the height where the victory of Zama had placed him. It was in vain that he obtained the offices of prince of the senate and of censor, showed in the latter office extreme indulgence, accused an extortioner, L. Cotta,<sup>3</sup> and finally caused himself to be sent into Africa to allay the strife between Carthage and Masinissa, which he did not allay;<sup>4</sup> his popularity was waning. Flaminius, Cato even, were the heroes of the day. To recall the attention of the people he solicited in 194 a second consulship; this was an error on his part, for this second tenure brought him no distinction,<sup>5</sup> and he gave offence to the people by assigning to senators particular places in the theatre.<sup>6</sup> When, therefore, in 192, he solicited the office of consul for his son-in-law, Scipio Nasica, and for his friend Lælius, he met with a double refusal. His brother, however, was elected two years later and entrusted with the command in Asia, whither Africanus went also, but this campaign, more brilliant than difficult, added nothing to his fame and cost him the repose of his later life. From that

<sup>1</sup> Whatever has been said to the contrary, Terence had some fortune, for he married his daughter to a Roman knight, and left her twenty acres of gardens along the Appian Way.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero and all commentators following him represent Nævius to have died in 204. But the verses against Scipio could not have been written till after the battle of Zama. In 204 Scipio could not be spoken of as accused and almost deprived of his command, as Nævius speaks of him; the satire at that period would have had no echo; the exile to Utica could not have taken place until after the second Punic war. Varro, moreover, makes the date much later: *vitam Nævii producit longius* (Cic., *Brut.*, 15), to 190, according to Teuffel in his *Hist. Lat. Lit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cic., in *Cecil.*, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 62. Livy and Plutarch also represent him as going into Asia ambassador to Antiochus; we have already (vol. ii. p. 43) expressed our doubts on this subject.

<sup>5</sup> According to Plutarch he hastened to take Cato's place in Spain; Livy represents him as going no further than the Cisalpine, but both agree in describing this consulship as of little importance.

<sup>6</sup> On the subject of this attack upon equality, see Livy, xxxix. 54, and Val. Max., II. iv. 3. VOL. II. AA

time onward, to quote the energetic language of Livy, Cato never ceased barking at this great citizen. But Cato, hard and dry of heart, though he had been Scipio's quæstor, had not adopted those sentiments of respect and filial piety which, in the opinion of the time, were due from the quæstor to his chief. At Thermopylæ, Acilius, exaggerating the services of Cato, had declared in the presence of the whole army that the victory was due to him, but when Acilius sued for the censorship Cato forgot the consul's noble conduct, entered the field as a competitor, and to make the defeat of Acilius more secure, brought against him an accusation of embezzlement of public funds. For a man who prided himself on his old-fashioned morality this was hardly following the examples of early days, or at least the virtues which all men, himself included, ascribed to those times.

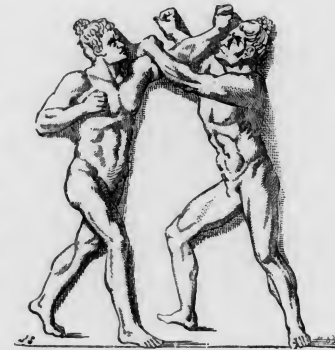
At his instigation the two Petilii, tribunes of the people, summoned L. Scipio to account for the treasures delivered up by Antiochus (187). When he had brought his books into court Africanus seized them: "The details are there," he cried, "but they shall not be seen," and he tore them up; "it shall never be said that I have undergone the affront of being obliged to give account of 4,000,000 sesterces when I have poured 200,000,000 into the treasury."

The senate possessed no means of coercing Scipio, and finance did not concern the popular assembly. But above this unwritten constitution of Rome was the idea of popular sovereignty and the right, in consequence, of the comitia of the tribes to intervene when the established authorities proved inefficient. It was in virtue of this right that the tribunes later became so formidable when they separated from the senate, and when that day did come the Republic was gone.

The Petilii presented to the tribes a proposal, which Cato supported in a violent speech, to insist that the senate should institute a judicial commission to examine whether all the spoils of Asia had been lodged in the treasury. It is likely that there were financial irregularities in connection with the expedition. But Manlius Vulso had certainly been guilty of many worse prodigalities or dishonesties. One of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him endeavoured to have him included in

the prosecution. But Cato, urged by hatred, would have but a single defendant, that his vengeance might be more certain. The senators were obliged to obey the popular decree, and the tribunal, established under the presidency of the prætor Terentius Culleo, declared L. Scipio, his quæstor, and one of his lieutenants, A. Hostilius, guilty of peculation. The restitution demanded was 4,000,000 denarii. "Unless this sum is paid into the treasury, or security be given for its payment," said the prætor, "L. Scipio shall go to prison." Gracchus, one of the tribunes, opposed his veto to this decree. "Long since an enemy of the Scipios," he cried, "I swear I am so still, and I have no desire to seek to gain their favour by my present course. But the prison to which I have seen Africanus lead so many foreign kings and generals shall not close upon his brother." And he directed that L. Scipio should be set at liberty. But Scipio's property was seized and sold, all of which proved insufficient to pay the fine, his poverty proving his innocence. His relatives and friends were eager to make up to him what he had lost, but he accepted only enough for the barest necessities of life (187).<sup>1</sup>

A year later, being sent into Asia to put an end to the disputes between the kings of Pergamus and Syria, he received from these princes and from the cities in alliance with Rome presents enough to enable him to celebrate on his return with great magnificence games that lasted ten days, in which were displayed all the curiosities that Asia and Africa



Roman Athletes.<sup>2</sup>

could offer—athletic combats, hunts of lions and panthers, and scenic representations. The man whose condemnation Cato had procured became again the favourite of the people.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero extols, in one of his orations against Verres, the disinterestedness of Scipio Asiaticus, and in the *de Officiis* that of Africanus. (ii. 22.) [But this evidence, as well as the sale of his (immovable) property, is but poor evidence against the general belief in his embezzlements, nor does his subsequent display to the people seem consistent with the indignation of injured innocence.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Wrestlers at the pancration. (*Museo Pio Clementino*, v. pl. 36, and *Saglio*, *op. cit.*, fig. 520.)  
AA 2



But the rude peasant of the Sabine country was tenacious in his hatred; Asiaticus having escaped him, he set on foot a criminal proceeding against Africanus before the tribes. "We must," he said, "bring down to the level of republican equality this proud citizen, whose example encourages contempt of the laws and magistrates and disdain for the customs and institutions of the country." The tribune Nævius accused Scipio of having sold peace to the king of Syria.

On the appointed day Africanus appeared, surrounded by a

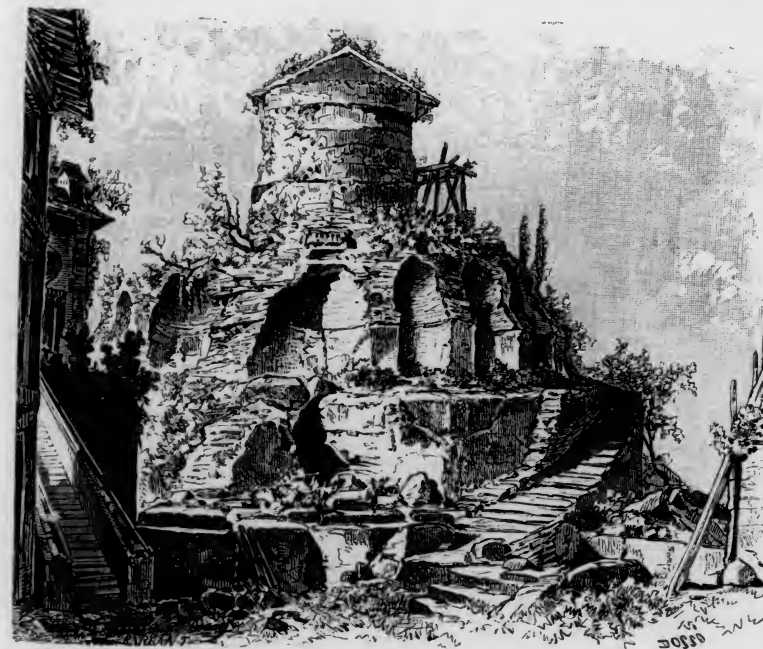


Scenic Representation.<sup>1</sup>

numerous crowd of friends and clients. "Tribunes of the people and you, Romans," he said, with splendid arrogance, "on the anniversary of this day I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. As therefore it is but decent for this day to adjourn

<sup>1</sup> Two female magicians with horses' hoofs, emblem of infernal power. It is possible they are Hippopodes, a Scythian nation, whose country is famous in the annals of magic; one of their cities was an Egyptian colony. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 125 and p. 64.)

litigation, I go now to the Capitol, there to return thanks to the gods. Come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself, since if you have anticipated my years with honours, I have anticipated your honours with services." Accordingly he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol, and the whole assembly followed him, leaving the tribunes alone with their slaves and the crier. Scipio thus attended visited in turn



Ruins of the Tomb of the Corneli (a branch of the Scipios) upon the Appian Way.<sup>1</sup>

all the temples in the city, and the day was more of a triumph to him than that on which he led captive Syphax and the Carthaginians, for he now triumphed over the tribunes and over the people of Rome themselves.<sup>2</sup>

On another occasion he exclaimed, "I have brought back from Africa but a name." And foreseeing nothing but new attacks

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving by Piranesi in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 51. In Aulus Gellius and Polybius (xxiv. 9), words, names, and circumstances are given differently. Livy himself avows that these last years of Scipio are full of uncertainties.

from envy and continual disputes with the tribunes, he withdrew to Liternum, determined not to attend the trial. The day arriving when he was summoned, L. Scipio pleaded the excuse of sickness. This the two tribunes would not accept, and were about to proceed to some violent measure when Sempronius Gracchus again intervened, declaring that the plea of sickness should be accepted, and reproaching his countrymen sharply for their lack of respect for so eminent a citizen. "Will men of illustrious character never," he exclaimed, "through their own merits, or through honours conferred by you, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?" The affair was abandoned, and the senate thanked Tiberius Gracchus for having consulted the public good rather than his personal feelings.

Having thus withdrawn to Liternum, Scipio finished his days there, devoting himself to the muses in a villa which the humblest of Seneca's contemporaries would have despised. Ennius came often to read to him his verses, and to seek from the conqueror of Hannibal inspiration for a poem upon the second Punic war. A monument consecrated the memory of this friendship between the poet and the hero. The Scipios placed a statue of Ennius between those of Asiaticus and Africanus upon the cenotaph erected by them near the Porta Capena. Tradition tells that in the solitude of Liternum pirates landed one day, coming from a remote country. Scipio armed his slaves, but no sooner were the brigands aware whose was the house than they threw down their arms, and approaching placed upon the threshold gifts like those offered to the gods.<sup>1</sup> Polybius places the death of Africanus in the same year with that of Philopœmen and of Hannibal (183). What is believed to be his tomb is shown at Patrica, the ancient Liternum, and the second word of the inscription which was engraved by his own order: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not have my ashes."<sup>2</sup>

Ennius had composed for him another epitaph: "Here lies

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., II. x.

<sup>2</sup> Whatever has been said on this point, we find it impossible to imagine Scipio embezzling the public funds. A man who had done such great things could never have sunk to meanness like this, especially one who, like Scipio, acted the part of the demigod. Notwithstanding the anecdote related by Val. Maximus of the dowry of 10,000 *ases* given to the daughter of Caius

a man whose exploits could never be suitably rewarded," and he makes the hero say: "From the lands of the rising sun, beyond the Palus Mœotis, no man can measure his exploits with mine. If to mortal man it be permitted to ascend into the region where dwell the immortal gods, to me shall open the wide portal of the skies." These words are certainly not modest, but it was allowable for the poet to put them into his hero's mouth. Modesty, moreover, was never a Roman virtue, and men would readily have forgiven the saviour of Rome if he possessed none of it.

### III.—THE CENSORSHIP OF CATO.

Cato was triumphant. The Scipios were humbled, and all the aristocracy with them. After the discovery of the Bacchanalia, the people, notwithstanding the keen opposition of the nobles, gave even the office of censor to this new man, whose hatred for all that was high corresponded with that instinctive jealousy which recurs in every mob when calm and prosperous times return. Cato had not so much sued for this office as demanded it, yet he would not have it except in company with his friend and early protector, Valerius Flaccus (184). "The city needs to be purified," he said, "and it is not the most agreeable physician, but the severest, that she requires." The aristocracy and the *publicani* were roughly handled. He expelled seven members of the senate, among them a consular, the brother of Flamininus, and Manilius, a candidate for the consulship. The examination of the equestrian order was equally severe, but when he deprived L. Scipio of his horse, after having already ruined him, he was suspected of envy, says his biographer; it was thought he did this only to insult

Scipio, the family must have been a rich one, for Asiaticus and Africanus, very young, sought and obtained together the burdensome office of *ædiles* (Polybius, x. 4), but their wealth was that of an early period. Africanus fixed the dowry of each of his daughters at fifty talents, it is true, but he gave nothing while he was alive, and after his death his widow was able to pay to the sons-in-law but half of what had been promised to them. The remainder was finally paid by Scipio *Æmilianus* after the death of *Æmilia*. Nor was this sum of fifty talents an extraordinary dowry, since Plutarch affirms that Paulus *Æmilius* left scarcely enough to pay his wife's dower (Paul. *Æmil.*, 4), estimating the value of his estate at 370,000 drachmæ (*ibid.*, 43), or, like Polybius, at more than sixty talents. As to Scipio's buildings, his villa of Liternum was very modest. (See Seneca's letter dated from that village.)

Africanus and once more to defy the entire nobility in the person of a Scipio. Not content with the official censure, he added violent language<sup>1</sup> or scandalous revelations. Flaminius having impudently asked the reason of the disgrace Cato had inflicted on his house; the censor told the following fact: in going to take command of his province Flaminius had taken with him a favourite boy; this person one day reproaching him during a feast with having taken him away from Rome on the eve of a gladiatorial display; at the moment a Gaul of high rank had just presented himself at the consul's tent imploring protection for himself and family. "Since you missed the show of gladiators," said Flaminius, "would you like to see this man die?" On the boy's approval, the consul seized his sword, struck the Gaul while he was yet speaking, and laid him dead at the feet of his minion. The Flamini, like the Scipios, were therefore humbled; the Galbas were to have their turn, and the Fulvii, often attacked by Cato, escaped his blows only to fall by the censure of one of their own relatives.<sup>2</sup>

The finances at this time were in the worst possible condition. Cato farmed out the revenues at a very high price, and made advantageous contracts for public works. This integrity excited such clamour among the publicans that the senate, gained over by the faction of Flaminius,<sup>3</sup> broke the leases, declared the sales invalid, ordered new assignments, and granted discounts, no doubt for the interest of the State, but certainly also of individuals; some tribunes of this party went so far as to cite Cato before the popular assembly, that he might be condemned to pay a fine of two talents. The censors reluctantly obeyed the senate; they assigned contracts for the revenue at slight reductions, but by way of punishment to those who had broken their first engagements denied all such persons the right to bid. These measures were well meant, but trivial, short-sighted attempts to save the State by an imitation of the severe integrity of earlier times on the part of men who had no conception of the vast and thorough reforms of which the Republic had need.

<sup>1</sup> *Acerbe orationes . . . in eos quos.* (Livy, xxxix. 42.)

<sup>2</sup> In 176, Fulvius the censor degraded his own brother from the senate.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Cat.*, 17.

Cato further took revenge during this censorship for the defeat that he had suffered in the matter of the Oppian law; he included in the enumeration of property owned by the citizens the women's dress, ornaments, and carriages, and ordered further that young slaves bought since the last census should be valued at ten times the price they had cost, and should be taxed one-third per cent. Water at Rome and in its arid neighbourhood was a matter of the first



Sources of the Anio, near Subiaco.<sup>1</sup>

necessity, but most of the aqueducts being then for the larger part of their course subterranean, like the *Aqua Appia*, the *Anio Vetus*, and the *Aqua Marcia*, fraud was easy; a strict examination brought to light many thefts of water, impoverishing the public supply, to the profit of wealthy landowners. These the censors

<sup>1</sup> The Anio, whose head-waters were remarkably cold and limpid, fed two aqueducts, the *Anio Vetus* (271), which began but twenty miles distant from Rome, below the city of Tibur, and the *Anio Novus*, constructed by the Emperor Claudius, who took the water much higher, at a point forty-two miles from Rome and only six from Subiaco (*Sublaqueum*).



suppressed, and they also caused to be demolished within thirty days all buildings or sheds belonging to individuals which projected into public ground; they employed contractors in paving

cisterns with stone, in cleansing the sewers, and in constructing others in quarters of the city where they were required. A road was made through the Formian mountain, and a court of justice, called the Porcian basilica, was erected.

His conduct as censor, so hostile to the rich and to the aristocratic party, procured him violent enmities, but it also gave him a splendid name and the affection of the people, who erected to him a statue in the temple of Hygieia, with an inscription signifying that he had through salutary decrees and wise institutions saved the commonwealth when on the way to ruin. There was, it is evident, a large party who sym-

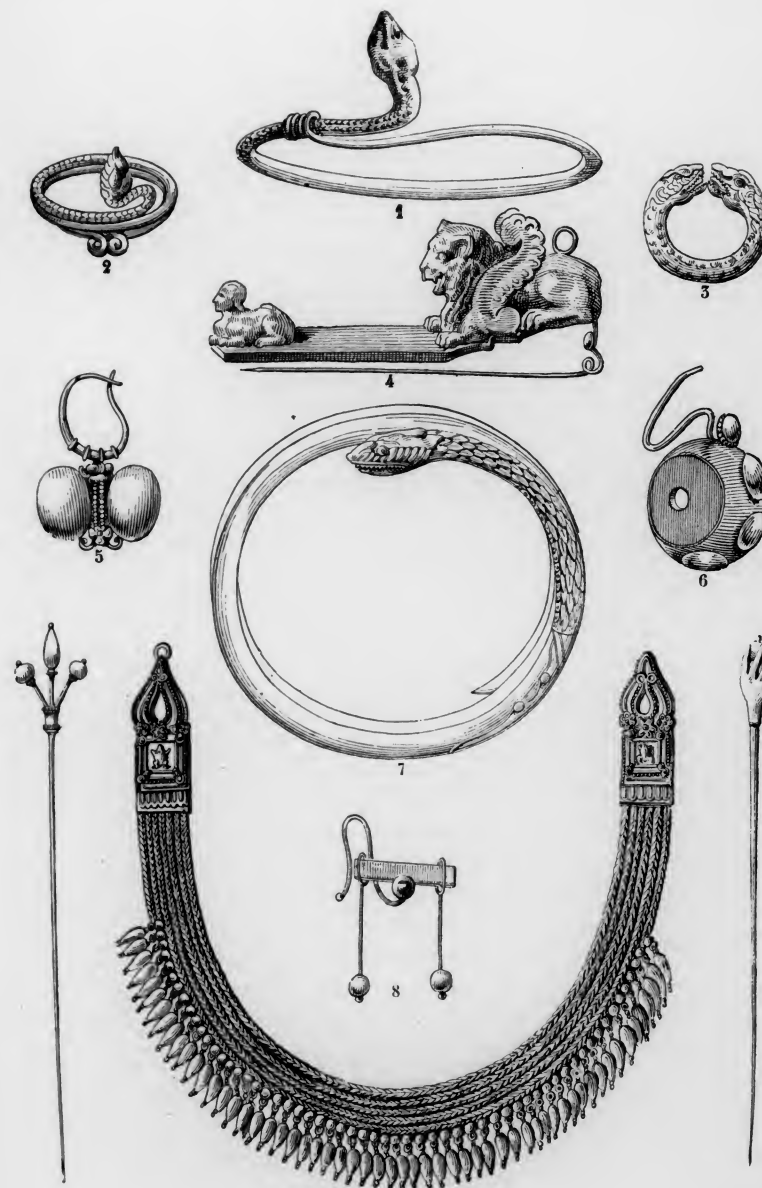


Hygieia.<sup>1</sup>

pathized with the rigid censor. At its head Cato never ceased

<sup>1</sup> Louvre, No. 84 of the Clarac catalogue. Hygieia, one of the four daughters of Æsculapius, was by reason of this reckoned among the tutelary divinities. She is represented in the Louvre offering to the mystic serpent the emblem of health or of life, the cup containing his food.

<sup>2</sup> Women's jewels (full-page illustration):—1. Bracelet. 2. Ring representing a little serpent, the head raised. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vii. pl. 94.) 3. Ring with double-headed serpent. (Roux, *ibid.*) 4. Pin. 5, 6. Earrings. (Niccolini.) 7. Bracelets in the form of a serpent, the eyes a disk of silver. (Roux, *ibid.*) 8. Earring with double pendant of pearls, shape frequently found in excavations. 9. Radiated collar, *monile radiatum*, band formed



Jewels (see note 2, p. 362).

to combat the ambition, avidity, and luxury of the great, sometimes by accusations of individuals, sometimes by enforcing the sumptuary laws, which have never been efficient, and by all those propositions which gave new but useless guarantees to old institutions. Among these are:—

In 181 a law against the custom of soliciting office, and the



Hygieia and Æsculapius.<sup>1</sup>

Orchian law, to limit the number of guests and the expense of feasts.<sup>2</sup>

In 180 the Villian, or *lex Annalis*, repressing the office-seekers' canvass still further by requiring every candidate to give proof that he had made ten campaigns, and by fixing the age requisite before a man might hold office as follows: thirty-one for the quæstorship: thirty-seven for the curule ædileship; forty for the prætorship;

of scales ingeniously interlaced, to which are attached seventy-one pendants; each side of the clasp, decorated with a frog, had a ruby cut pear-shaped; one only has come down to us. (Roux, *ibid.*) 10, 11. Hair-pins.

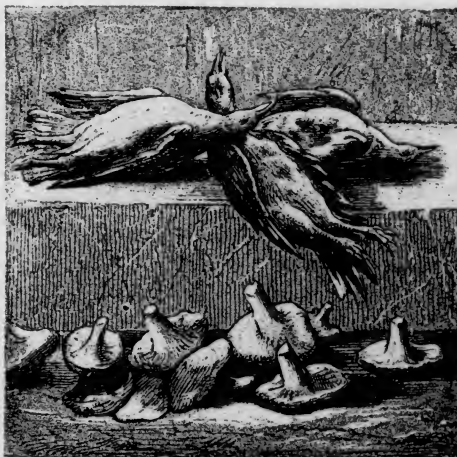
<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in marble from the Pio Clementino Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobius, *Saturn.*, iii. 17. See also Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 9.

forty-three for the consulship; an interval of at least two years being required between holding any two of these magistracies.<sup>1</sup>



No. 1.



No. 2.

Dainties.<sup>4</sup>

law. These prohibitions were extended in 144 to all Italy by the Didian law. See in Macrobius (III. xvii. 4) the untranslatable discourse of an orator supporting the Fannian law: *Si quidem eo res redierat, ut gula illecti plerique ingenui pueri pudicitiam et libertatem suam venditarent; plerique ex plebe Romana, vino madidi, in comitium venirent et ebrii*, etc. These sumptuary laws were many times renewed, but always in vain.

<sup>4</sup> Pompeian paintings. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. v. 4th Series, pl. 49.) Part of

In 169 the *Voconian* law, to prevent, as at Sparta, the accumulation of property in female hands.<sup>2</sup>

In 161 the *Fannian* law, against luxury of the table.<sup>3</sup>

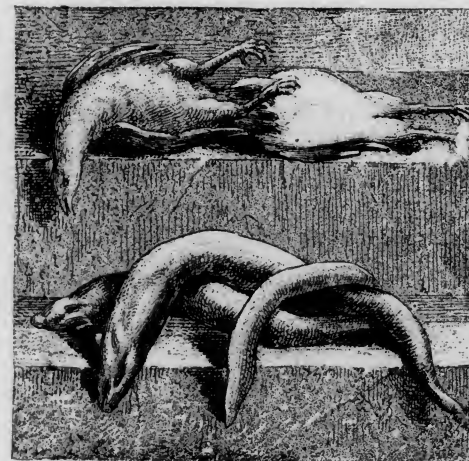
<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Fam.*, x. 25. Other calculations, founded on the necessity of the ten campaigns, which might begin at the age of seventeen, bring the age for the quaestorship lower.

<sup>2</sup> A woman could neither be made general legatee nor could she receive more than 100,000 *sestercies* (Dion., lvi. 10), or a legacy larger than that of the principal heir. (Aulus Gellius, vii. 13, xvii. 6; Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 42, 43; *pro Balbo*, 8; *de Senec.*, 5.) The Furian law (183) forbade to leave more than 1,000 *ases* to any one individual [not the direct heir?]. An attempt was made by these laws to prevent the excess of legacies which parcelled out estates and brought about the extinction or impoverishment of old families. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 40.)

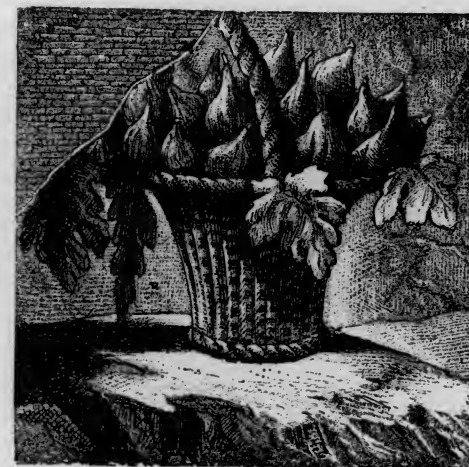
<sup>3</sup> This law limited to 100 *ases* the expense of banquets given during the Roman and plebeian games, the saturnalia, and other of the great holidays; to thirty *ases* for other sacred days; finally to ten for ordinary repasts. Certain meats and drinks it forbade absolutely. (Aulus Gellius, II. xxiv. 2-6; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 50.) Not only the host, but the guests also were liable to the penalties of this

Finally, in 159 a consular law, with capital penalties against office-seekers convicted of bribery.

We may note further, as a symptom of the ideas then prevalent, that four years after this the consul Scipio Nasica caused a permanent theatre to be demolished because such an edifice would have been a standing temptation to a pleasure which the fathers of the Republic had not known.<sup>1</sup> In 169 Cato had instigated the decree that kings should not be allowed to come to Rome, where they always left behind them some of the vices of their courts; later he caused Carneades to be expelled, and sent home the Achæans, who had been detained in Italy. He did not even, after the fall of Perseus, feel willing to encourage a war with Rhodes, whither all generals and soldiers alike would have gone to seek



No. 3.



No. 4.

Dainties.

the decoration of a dining-room, which reveals to us the culinary tastes of the Romans:—No. 1. A fat chicken hanging beside a hare, the latter so highly esteemed that the proverb "to live on hare" had the meaning to live in great luxury.

(Aristoph., *Vesp.*, 709, and the *scholia*.) No. 2. Thrushes and mushrooms. No. 3. Partridges, a lamprey, and an eel from the Ganges (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ix. 3) or from Lake Copais. (Athenæus, vii. 13.) No. 4. A basket of figs for dessert. (Cf. Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. v. pp. 91-94.)

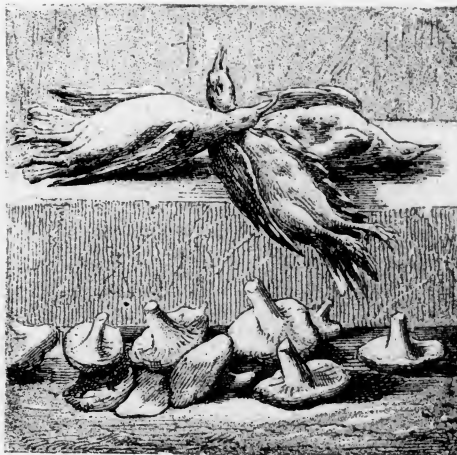
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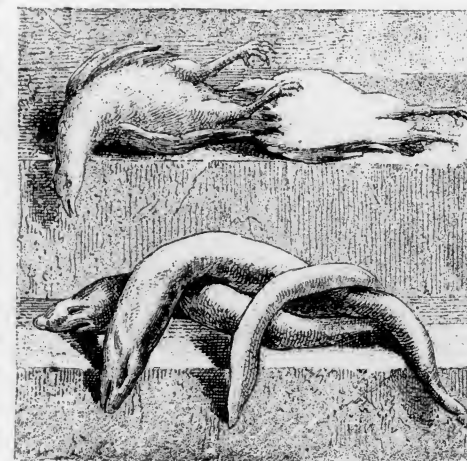
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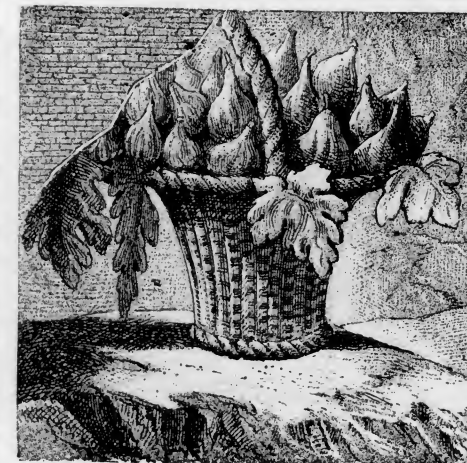
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that which Manlius had brought back from Asia, namely, new wealth and new vices.<sup>1</sup> "I have no doubt," he said, with bitter and cynical eloquence, "I have no doubt that the Rhodians would have been glad to see us less successful in this war. They are not alone in wishing it. . . . Still they did nothing in aid of Perseus. . . . The Rhodians wished to become our enemies, but what law punishes this mere wish? Who will say that if a man wishes to have 500 acres of public land, or if he wishes to possess more flocks than the law permit, he shall for this be fined? Assuredly every one of us wishes to have more than is permitted to him; are we punished for this? Further, it is said, the Rhodians are arrogant; I should in truth be sorry that any one should address this reproach to me or to any of my family; but what is it to us if the Rhodians are arrogant? Is it possible that we take offence because there is a people in the world prouder than ourselves?"



Coin of Cassius Longinus.<sup>2</sup>

He constantly reiterated his demand that Carthage should be destroyed,<sup>3</sup> for the reason that he saw the rapid progress of corruption, and he felt that it was only wise for the Romans to overwhelm with a final and complete destruction their formidable enemy while they yet possessed the strength and resolution to do it. Coming generations, depraved by self-indulgence, would never, he feared, be equal to this task. During his consulate he had obtained the passage of a law, *de provincialibus sumptibus*, to limit the burdensome exactions of the governors. And no doubt he approved, very late in his life, of the efforts of the tribune Calpurnius Piso, the creator of the *questiones perpetuae*.<sup>4</sup> Further reforms of the same nature were the *leges tabellariae* of the tribunes Gabinius and Cassius, establishing vote by ballot in 139 for the election

<sup>1</sup> (*Rhodienses*) *quorum opibus diripiendis possidendisque non pauci ex summatibus viris intenti infensique erant.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, VII. iii. 6, the oration of Cato *pro Rhodiensibus*.)

<sup>2</sup> LONGIN. III. V. A senator about to deposit his vote in the basket, with the letter V (*votum*). Silver coin of the Cassian family.

<sup>3</sup> Cato was not the only man to say, *Delenda est Carthago*: this cry was so popular [especially among the mercantile classes] that Plautus repeats it in closing his wishes for the prosperity of Rome in the *Cistellaria* (I. iii. 54): *Ut vobis victi Pœni pœnas sufferant.*

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 318-319.

of magistrates, and in 137 for the judgments pronounced by the popular assembly;<sup>1</sup> and not long after this all voting was in this way, making bribery more difficult. Montesquieu and Cicero are in favour of open voting in order that the lower classes may be enlightened by the higher, and restrained by the gravity of eminent men. But when corruption is general, what can Brutus or Cato do? Moreover, even with the secret ballot, the people are sure to know what these grave personages advise and desire. Cicero's former opinion is, therefore, to be preferred, namely, that the secret ballot is the silent defender of liberty.



Voting Scene.<sup>2</sup>

This vigorous war made by Cato upon the manners of his time, this attitude of perpetual censure, had created for him too many enemies to leave him in the enjoyment of tranquillity.<sup>3</sup> Fifty times he was cited before the magistrates. The last of these occasions was in his eighty-third year. Nevertheless he prepared and delivered his defence himself, in which occur these noble and simple words, "It is indeed difficult, Romans, for a man to answer for his conduct before the men of a new generation." At eighty-five he cited Serv. Galba once more to appear before the people "for," says Livy, "he had a soul and a body of iron which old age had not been able to impair."

But this persevering hatred had at last called out an aristocratic reaction. Not being able to impose silence of this perpetual censor the nobles had rendered his opposition less dangerous by breaking in his hands the weapon he was using against them. In the year 179 they destroyed the democratic organization of the comitia.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cicero enumerates four of these laws: the *Gabinian* (*de Amic.*, 12); the *Cassian* (*Brutus* 25, 27); the *Papirian*, in the year 131, for the adoption or rejection of proposed laws (*pro Mil.*, 3; *ad Fam.*, ix. 21; *Brut.*, *ibid.*); the *Celian*, in 107, for voting in cases of sentence upon high treason (*perduellonis*). The tribune Cassius (Longinus Ravilla) was, after Cato, the severest and most upright man of the time. In 113 he condemned several vestals whom the pontifex Maximus had spared: we shall hear again of him.

<sup>2</sup> P. NERVA. One of the *pontes*, or narrow passage-ways, through which the voter passed to deposit his vote, an arrangement designed to shelter him from the final and most dangerous solicitations of the candidate. A person presents a voting document to another citizen, while a third is casting it into the basket; above, an obscure symbol. Reverse of a silver coin of the Silian family.

<sup>3</sup> *Nec quemquam sæpius postulatam et semper absolutum.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 27.) In the time of Cicero no less than fifty of Cato's discourses were in existence. (*Brut.*, 17.)

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xl. 51. See our vol. i. p. 560. The old assembly by tribes still existed, however.

Lepidus and Fulvius, who had succeeded Cato in the censorship, had re-established for the centuriate assembly qualifications of property, that is to say, the system of classes, abolished before the second Punic war. Sempronius Gracchus completed this reorganization of the comitia by withdrawing the freedmen from the rustic tribes, and collecting them in one of the city tribes, the Esquiline.<sup>1</sup> Later the institution of the *questiones perpetuae*, although justified by the public interest, again furnished to the nobles, who alone filled these offices, an occasion of seizing upon the right, until that time belonging to the popular assembly, of judging finally in criminal cases.

In this return towards the past, this reaction so favourable to their privileges, the aristocracy were not negligent in the observances of religion, which all the established powers persisted in considering an important means of government. The more the spirit departed the more resolutely they clung to the letter, and the people were terrified by prodigies upon prodigies, the magistrates recalled by severe measures to respect auspices,<sup>2</sup> the sacredness of holy days religiously maintained (the *Fufian law*), and lastly, even the assembly of the tribes placed by the *Ælian law* (167) in dependence upon the will of the augurs.<sup>3</sup>

Thus there came about by means of laws, religion, and judicial authority, as well as through the concentration of property and the degradation of the people, a complete aristocratic reaction. "Rome," says Sallust, "was divided, the nobles on one side, the people on the other, and in the midst the shattered Republic and dying liberty. The faction of the nobles was victorious; the public treasury, the provinces, offices, triumphs, all the glory and wealth of the world was theirs. Without any bond of common interest, without strength, the people was but a powerless multitude, decimated by wars and by poverty. For whilst the legionaries were fighting abroad, powerful neighbours were evicting the fathers and the children of the absent soldiers. The lust of dominion, and an insatiable cupidity, caused all things to be invaded, to be profaned,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xlv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Two consuls were recalled from their provinces and compelled to resign office on account of informalities in their elections. (Cic., *de Div.*, ii. 33.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., in *Vat.*, vi. 9; *ad Fam.*, vii. 30; *Prov. cons.*, 19.

until the day when that very tyranny brought about its own downfall."<sup>1</sup>

This downfall Cato had foreseen, and, to his eternal honour, had made his life one long battle to avert it. During a period of more than sixty years he had striven against the laxity of discipline in the army, against the venality of the people, the extravagance of the women, the new tone in manners and morals. But finally, conquered himself, he gave way before the torrent. His ostentatious simplicity and frugality was lost in the scandal of his later years. Cato also lived a day too long.

"He had many slaves whom he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts, that may be trained at pleasure. . . . When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with anything that was served up at his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterwards, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over he never failed to correct with the whip such of his slaves as had not made good attendance or had suffered anything to be spoiled. He contrived to raise quarrels among his servants and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity; and when any of them were guilty of a capital crime he gave them a formal trial and put them to death in the presence of their fellow servants.

"As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer investments, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, fullers' fields, and estates in good condition, having pasture ground and woodlands. From these he had a great revenue, such a one, he used to say, as Jupiter himself could not deprive him of. He practised usury upon ships, which was considered disreputable. His method



Merchant Vessel.

<sup>1</sup> *Jugurtha*, 41, and *ad Cæsar*, 4. Lucan sums up (i. 167) the causes of the Republic's fall, but with less energy than does Sallust.



was to insist that those whom he furnished with money should form a company. When there were fifty partners and as many ships, he demanded a share for himself, which he managed by one of his freedmen, who sailed and trafficked with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

"He also lent money to such of his slaves as wished it, which they employed in purchasing boys, who were afterwards trained and sold to Cato. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him that to diminish his substance was not the part of a man,



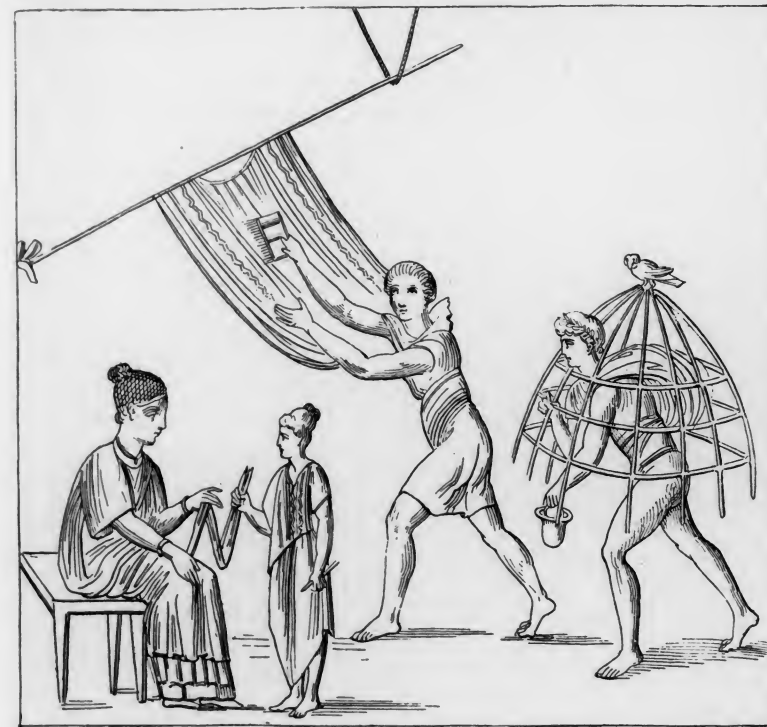
Workshop of Fullers.<sup>1</sup>

but of a widow woman. Yet he carried the thing to extravagance when he hazarded this assertion, that the man truly wonderful and God-like and fit to be registered in the lists of glory was he whose accounts showed that he had increased what he had received from his ancestors. At an unseasonable time of life he

<sup>1</sup> Pompeian pictures. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pl. 127.) The Fuller's workshops were important and extensive establishments, for the reason that all Italy clothes itself in wool. One existed in Pompeii between the street of Mercury and that of the triumphal arch; the two frescoes of pages 372 and 373, decorated its peristyle. In the first of these, workmen placed in something like niches, and standing up to their knees in vats of water, trod the fabrics with their feet. In the second, a slave is carding a white fabric bordered with red, no doubt a senatorial toga. Another, crowned with olive-leaves, is bringing the wicker cage, over which the materials are stretched to expose them to the vapour of sulphur. This object is surmounted by the bird of Minerva, tutelary divinity of manufacturers of stuffs. A woman wearing a collar, a gold net, and emerald bracelets, receives the completed work, and appears to be the mistress, or at least the directress, of the manufactory.

married a young girl, the daughter of his secretary, a union unworthy of him, and at his age even to be called disgraceful."<sup>1</sup>

Cato conquered, Cato the object of scandal, and saying publicly that he could not understand how it was possible for two augurs to look at each other without laughing! Who was



Workshop of Fullers.

left to withstand the torrent? Before abandoning himself to it, the austere censor had seen the flood coming in on all sides. He had caused the Greek philosophers to be driven out; he had sought to close Rome and Italy against them; but against ideas, no laws are strong enough, no walls high enough.<sup>2</sup> The senators

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Cat.*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, in his old age, Cato read the Greek authors much, especially Thucydides, and Demosthenes, and his own writings were enriched with maxims and incidents of history

Julius, Aufidius, Albinus, Cassius Hemina, Fabius Pictor, and others left Cato to write his *Origines* in Latin, themselves composing their histories in the more learned language, and this taste for Greek letters, passing through Italy, penetrated to the foot of Mount Atlas, where a son of Masinissa, Manastabal by name, extolled the muses of Mount Pindus.<sup>1</sup> It had been the aim of Cato to bring back frugality, labour, the dignity of the poor man; but daily the fields were more and more deserted, luxury became more ruinous, and the servility of the people greater; the elections were a market, and the tariff of votes was a public thing. He had given, in command of provinces, the example of a wise and unselfish administration, but never were exactions so numerous and so cruel. He had combated the disorder in the army, and Scipio Æmilianus found the soldiers in Spain in the most frightful state of insubordination. He had sought to bring back the nobles to a recognition of equality, to a respect for the laws, and he had beheld the formation of an aristocracy which dominated the very Senate itself. The space between the nobles and the people had widened, an abyss yawned deeper and more fatal than ever. At the close of his life, Cato, if he had remained himself, would have been a stranger in Rome.

#### IV.—SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.

Roman society, therefore, was hurrying towards revolution. And the movement was legitimate, for it must needs have been that this city in becoming an empire should be itself transformed; that this Italian town, before it could enclose the world within its limits, should renounce its narrow spirit, its local religion, its laws hostile to the stranger; that it should open itself to all ideas and all forms of worship, that it might finally be opened to all peoples of the world. By dint of multiplying gods, they drew near to that idea of divine unity, soon after proclaimed

drawn from Greek authors. Many of his sayings are translated word for word from the Greek. (Plut., *Cat.*, in fine; Cic., *de Senec.*, l.)

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xlix. Masinissa had Greek musicians at his table, Athenæus tells us, and Micipsa established at Cirta a colony of Greeks. (Strabo. xvii. p. 831.)

by Cicero; by destroying municipal patriotism they were to rise to that conception of the universal city, whose laws Marcus Aurelius was to write. And we, are we justified in complaining of the transformation, without which we should have been but disinherited children of the ancient world? If the Romans had conceived for Greek literature that contempt which Alexander's soldiers had for the civilization of Africa, Phœnicia, and Central Asia, the long labour of a race endowed with all intellectual gifts would have been lost for us, as was lost the wisdom of the priests of Egypt and Chaldæa. To-day we strive with difficulty to awaken a few of those sacred echoes on the shores of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges, as we penetrate the ruins of Palenque, or explore the banks of the Ohio, asking from the New World the secrets of its mysterious past. It is fitting, therefore, that we own our obligation to the Romans, in that they showed neither the haughty contempt of the Greeks, nor the savage indifference of the Spaniards for the civilizations they destroyed, but the honest admiration which made of them docile scholars of their captives, and preserved for us so many great works.

Further, we must not regard Rome as falling suddenly and completely into vice and effeminaey. In becoming rich and powerful, she had assumed the modes of living which belong to wealth and fame, as, at an early day, she has been fashioned by poverty and weakness. Many of her citizens abused their opportunities; many, however, were capable of uniting the elegancies of the new life with the virtues of the earlier time, and the necessary evolution which was going on would have had only fortunate results if the movement could have been retained within the limits which certain of the nobler spirits sought to maintain. The severe genius of Latium, slowly fertilized and polished by Greek science and refinement would doubtless have given us the most glorious products, and this it was which the greatest Romans hoped for: Paulus Æmilius, whose life was consecrated by turns to public affairs, his children's education, and the pursuits of literature, who brought home from Macedon, as his sole booty, the library of Perseus;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Paul. Æmil.*, 43, and Polybius, xxxiii. 8. There was not means to pay to his wife the dowry she had brought him, and it became necessary to sell land for the purpose. A son of Paulus Æmilius, Fabius, wrote Roman annals.

Seipio Nasica, declared by the senate to be the most upright man in the State, and his son Coreulum, so modest that he refused the title of *imperator* with the triumph, and so influential that he was

Reader.<sup>4</sup>

able thrice to postpone that destruction of Carthage upon which Cato was determined:<sup>1</sup> Calpurnius Piso, the austere, surnamed *Frugi*, a skilful orator, a valiant leader, a profound lawyer and writer;<sup>2</sup> the Scævolas, eminent at the Forum and the bar;<sup>3</sup> the two Lælii, renowned for their constancy in friendship, especially the second, surnamed "the Wise," who was the friend of Pæuvius and Terence, perhaps also their guide and counsellor; Sempronius, the father of the Gracchi, and the pacificator of Spain; Fabius Servilianus and Manlius, who both punished with death the disorders and extortions of their sons;<sup>5</sup> lastly, the Tuberos, of the Ælian family, who held four consulships during this period. They were so poor notwithstanding their alliance with the Æmilian and Cornelian families, that

<sup>1</sup> In 159, the censors built a theatre with comfortable seats; Nasica represented it was dangerous to public manners to encourage scenic plays too much, and the construction of the theatre was delayed for a time.

<sup>2</sup> He composed Memoirs or annals of his time.

<sup>3</sup> Of this family the most eminent were Publius, the consul during the tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus; Quintus, the guide of Cicero, a man who dared, in the open senate, to resist the all powerful Sylla; another Quintus, son of Publius, whom Cicero calls the greatest orator among lawyers, the greatest lawyer among orators: Cicero relates of the first Quintus, that buying an estate one day, he paid 100,000 sesterces more than was asked, because he considered the price insufficient. (*de Off.*, iii. 15.)

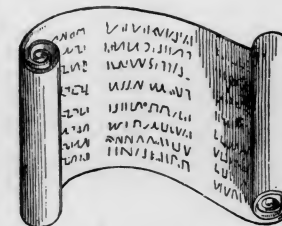
<sup>4</sup> From a bas-relief in marble; a man reading, a *libellus*, a volume formed of pages of parchment bound as our books are. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Libellus*.)

<sup>5</sup> The province of Macedon accused Silanus of extortion. Manlius, his father, judged in the case, banished the son from his presence, and when the latter, in his grief and despair, hanged himself, the father refused to be present at his funeral. (Livy, *Ep.*, liv.; Val. Max., V. viii. 3; Cic., *de Fin. bon.*, i. 7.)

sixteen of them held jointly only one small house and farm in the Veian country. Quintus Tubero, the son-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, never possessed any other than earthenware vessels, with the exception of a little silver cup given him by the conqueror of Macedon.<sup>1</sup>

But the grandest figure of all among these illustrious personages is Scipio Æmilianus, and the grandson, by adoption, of Africanus. His friendship for Polybius is celebrated in antiquity.

"Our intimacy," says Polybius, "began by the conversations that we had together in respect to the books which he lent me. When the Achæans who were summoned to Rome were dispersed through different cities of Italy, Scipio and his brother Fabius urgently desired of the prætor that I should be allowed to remain with them. . . . One day, while Fabius was absent at the Forum, I found myself alone with Æmilianus, who said to me with gentleness, and blushing as he spoke: 'Why is it, Polybius, when you share the same table with my brother and myself, you always address your conversation by preference to him? Apparently you think me, as do my fellow-citizens, indolent and idle, because I am not devoted to legal studies and practice. Why should I be, indeed, when all men say that

Book (*volumen*).<sup>2</sup>Silver Cup.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 50. Paulus Æmilius gave to him as his share of the booty five pounds of silver. In respect to all these eminent men, who sought to blend the virtues of Rome with Greek refinement and elegance, see M. Hinstin's interesting study, *Les Romains à Athènes*.

<sup>2</sup> From a Pompeian painting. A manuscript on papyrus, formed by pasting together pieces so as to form a long roll (*volumen*), which the reader opened as he read.

<sup>3</sup> Guhl and Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, p. 569, fig. 452.



it is not an orator, but a general whom the Scipios should furnish to Rome.' In the name of all the gods, I replied, do not believe that if I do as you say it is for lack of esteem towards you, but only because Fabius is the elder; moreover I greatly admire your sentiments and your enthusiasm, and if my counsels can in any way aid you worthily to sustain the name you bear, I beg that you will command my services. Then Scipio taking me by the hands exclaimed: 'Oh when shall I see that happy day in which, free from all engagements, and living in my house, you will give me all your thoughts! I shall then feel myself worthy of my ancestors.'"<sup>1</sup>

Scipio disposed his affections nobly; another of his friends was Panætius, "the Rhodian Master," whose philosophy, softened by Platonic influence, humanized the severities of the Porch. In his judgment virtue was the greatest good, but he admitted that other forms of good might find their place at the side of virtue, and he taught his illustrious pupil the true foundation of social order: "There is nothing virtuous which is not useful, and all which is really useful is virtuous."<sup>2</sup>

The first effect of this noble intercourse with great minds was to inspire Scipio with a love for serious studies, and an aversion for the licentious manners of the Roman youth. Thus, while Greece and Asia were infecting Rome with their vices, the friendship of Polybius increased in Scipio the old virtues of the Republic, giving them a more elevated tone; and while the spirit of rapine was invading Rome, Scipio astonished his fellow citizens by his indifference towards money, the great problems of the city's welfare and of the life of man filling that noble mind.

These virtues of Æmilianus even won the esteem of Cato, who, hoping to find in him the destroyer of Carthage, was willing for the moment to lay aside his hatred of the Scipios. "That man alone," he said of Æmilianus, applying to him a verse of Homer<sup>3</sup>—"that man alone has sense; others flit like shadows." We have elsewhere spoken of his military services, his efforts to restore discipline, and his integrity in the midst of the spoils of Carthage.

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, xxxii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Off.*, iii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> [οἷος πτέρυγαι, τοὶ δὲ σκίαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.]

A few years later, when sent into the East to regulate the affairs of nations and dispose of crowns at his will,<sup>1</sup> he exhibited at those voluptuous courts a proud simplicity of life. He had with him Panætius the philosopher; perhaps Polybius, and five slaves only; but at his approach, kings descended from their chariots; and Ptolemy Physcon forgot his effeminacy and his claims to divine honours. "The Alexandrians," said Scipio to Panætius, "owe us at least this, that they have once seen their king walking."

On his return he was elected censor by the people, who refused for his sake the haughty Claudius. Into this office Scipio desired to bring a salutary severity. But he was defeated in all his efforts by the weakness of Mummius, his colleague, and in allusion to this, he said to the people that he would have justified their confidence if he had had, or if he had not had, a colleague. To preserve the early Roman virtues, simplicity, discipline, and at the same time to



Mars.<sup>3</sup>

honour the new Muses, even so far as perhaps to have aided the poet Terence, were the aims of Scipio Æmilianus. Around him were gathered a group of friends who shared in his pursuits,—the Fannii, of whom one gave his name to the first sumptuary law, and the other was an eloquent adversary of the Gracchi;<sup>2</sup> Sempronius Asellio, author of a history of the war against Numantia,

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπὶ τὸ κατεστήσασθαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βασιλείας, ἵνα τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐγχειρισθῶσιν. (Polyb., *Fr. hist.*, 77.)

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 9. A third C. Fannius Strabo, son-in-law of Lælius, wrote annals which M. Brutus abridged. (Appianus. *Iberica*, 67; Cic., *de Rep.*, i. 12; *de Amic.*, 1.)

<sup>3</sup> Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. pl. 63. From a Pompeian painting, in which the

where he had served as legionary tribune; the high-minded Rutilius Rufus, who wrote a history of Rome and his own memoirs, the former in Greek, the latter in Latin; the historian Caelius Antipater,<sup>1</sup> Tubero his nephew, and his friend the wise Lælius to whom Cicero attributes such noble words in his treatise *de Amicitia*.<sup>2</sup>

But that which distinguishes Æmilianus from all the Romans of his time, is an elevation of mind till then unknown to the rapacious and rude inhabitants of the city of Mars. He who had wept over Carthage was struck with the fatal revolutions of empires, and was anxious about the future of Rome. When at the close of the lustrum, the herald, according to custom, prayed the gods to make the fortunes of Rome more prosperous and greater: "Rome is fortunate enough and great enough," he cried, "let us ask the gods no more than to preserve her where she now is!" He well measured the dangers which surrounded the Republic, surveying with an anxious eye the slow decomposition going on in morals, institutions, and even in the people itself. Perhaps he might have been able to arrest it. Cicero believed so, and the title that Æmilianus later accepted, of Patron of the Italians,<sup>3</sup> the attempt made by his friend Lælius during the former's consulship to call for a partition of the public lands,<sup>4</sup> show that he would have attacked abuses with no timid hand.

Tiberius, says Plutarch, did no more than take up the projects which Scipio had commenced. What then were these designs? Cicero, always so faithful in his *Dialogues* to the character of his speakers,<sup>5</sup> puts into the mouth of Scipio the eulogium of a balanced monarchy, a mixed government where king, nobles, and people harmoniously work together.<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere he mentions that "the favourite book of Æmilianus was the

formidable divinity of the Romans is represented with an air of graceful delicacy. See in vol. i. p. 77, upon a coin, a head of Mars Ultor, of a very different aspect.

<sup>1</sup> This author was a friend of Lælius, to whom he dedicated his *History of the Punic War*. (Cic., *Orat.*, 69.)

<sup>2</sup> C. Lælius Sapiens was the son of C. Lælius, the friend and brother-in-arms of Africanus.

<sup>3</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Tib. Gr.*, 8. "Tiberius would have succeeded," he said, "if Scipio had chanced to be in Rome at the time when he proposed his first law."

<sup>5</sup> He himself speaks of the care he takes to draw faithful portraits. Cf. his letter to Atticus on Varro and Scævola.

<sup>6</sup> *De Rep.*, i. 30; *Ep. ad Quint.*, i. 1.

*Cyropædia* [of Xenophon], a work in which are omitted none of the duties of an active and moderate government;" but this book is the ideal picture of a royalty absolute though benevolent.<sup>1</sup> Did Scipio then think, a hundred years before the establishment of the empire, that Rome could save herself only by abandoning her liberty? Again we find the confused notion of some great change necessary to save the State, in that passage in the *Dream of Scipio*, where Africanus says to his grandson: "The entire State will turn towards thee; the senate, all good men, the allies, the Latins will place on thee only their last hope, and, as dictator, thou wilt regenerate the Republic if thou canst escape the impious hands of thy kindred." Then he shows to him beyond all worlds, in the midst of the divine harmony of the celestial spheres, a place brilliant with stars and glowing with light, where under the eye of God, they who have saved or exalted their country enjoy immortal felicity. "It is from heaven that come," he says, "it is to heaven that return, devoted leaders and saviours of nations. *There* is the true life. Thy life is only death; train thy immortal soul by the most serious labours; above all, keep watch over thy country's safety.

Unhappily Scipio could not always be at the helm to guide his country. He was far away at the gates of Numantia when the revolution burst forth; upon his return Rome had already entered upon those paths of blood and violence whence there was no return, and where he himself found his death. It was because all men, himself perhaps excepted, closed their eyes to the gravity of the situation, and none thought of seeking means to amend it.<sup>2</sup> Like those old senators who in their curule chairs awaited, motionless and dignified, the entrance of the Gauls, so the Scævolas, the Calpurnii, and the Tuberos, believed they were doing enough for their country in giving her the example of a spotless life, and ready to die, but incapable of fighting, virtue suffered the evil days to draw near without action. For the most part Stoics, they were better able to suffer than to act; as jurisconsults they remained attached to the old system, and did not see

<sup>1</sup> For Cicero the consular office represented royalty. We shall see him seek to establish that equilibrium between classes in the Roman State.

<sup>2</sup> In Cicero's *de Republica*, Lælius also is indignant against Tubero and Scævola, because they are more occupied with the apparition of two suns in the sky than with the dangerous condition of the Republic.

that the State had need of violent remedies which only new legislation could afford.

We will not apologize for this long examination of the morbid phenomena and the recuperative forces which the Roman republic exhibits after the great wars were over. The moral revolution we have been considering is more important than details of battles, for it explains in advance the political revolution whose sanguinary phases for a hundred years we are now to follow. These changes going on silently in nations are like those which occur beneath the waters of the ocean. Here reefs are slowly rising out of the depths and coming near the surface, and mighty ships shall presently strike where once there was deep water; there, beneath the moving current of human affairs are born and developed new needs—reefs upon which old institutions shall be shipwrecked when the pilots are not experienced enough to see the danger and avoid it.

<sup>1</sup> Colossal bust in the Louvre, bearing on the two sides of the helmet the she-wolf suckling the founders of Rome. (No. 166 of the Clarac catalogue.)



Rome Deified.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### THE GRACCHI.

#### I.—FIRST REVOLT OF SLAVES.

THE last century of the Roman republic witnessed but three great wars; those against the Cimbri, Mithridates, and the Gauls. At the same time, no period in her history was more sanguinary, for during that entire century the Romans ceased scarcely for a day to turn their arms one against another. The conquerors of the world now cut each others throats to determine who should enjoy the spoils.

These civil wars were complicated still further by unlooked for incidents: the subjects joined in their masters' quarrels. Each oppressed class, even the slave, had its day of liberty and vengeance—strange and savage saturnalia which ended by effacing privileges, levelling conditions, confusing ideas, until a new spirit, a new world, emerged from the chaos of old ideas and old institutions.

To the heroism of youth had succeeded the ambition of mature years. Instead of great parties, there were only great men who unconsciously and often, in spite of their crimes, served the cause of humanity. More and more, Rome's spirit and her people were to disappear, and this tide constantly bringing to her Forum and her senate-house new men and new ideas, in its reflux will presently bear far away, even to the Plains of Thessaly, Macedon, and Africa, those of her chiefs who had ceased to be ashamed to appeal to arms. The Gracchi, pacific though revolutionary, will fight and die, as did the tribunes of an earlier day, upon the Capitol and the Aventine. But for their battlefield Marius and Sylla will take Italy; Caesar and Pompeius, the whole Roman world.



Three great names, the Gracchi, Marius, and Cæsar, mark three great divisions in the history of the last century of the Republic. All three are vanquished; Marius by his vacillation, the Gracchi and Cæsar by assassination, and the nobles triumph. But for every adversary who falls they see more enemies arise, and the debate become hotter. In the early struggle, they had for opponents only the plebeians, now there is the great crowd of the oppressed, the poor of Rome, the Italians, slaves, provincials. At every thirty years interval, they rise in insurrection, Saturninus and Cinna respond to the Gracchi; to the insurrection at Fregellæ, the Social war; to Eunus, Athenion, and the complaints of the provinces, the revolt of the East under Mithridates, and of the West under Sertorius. All of these, it is true, were crushed by Sylla and his lieutenants; but, if they did not each gain his cause, still they were fighting to gain a single master, and the revolution, replacing by a monarchy the dominion of the nobles, was in part their work.

The time following the second Punic war had prepared the destruction of republican liberty; the century which preceded the battle of Actium completed its ruin, and brought forth, amid unutterable pangs, royalty, and with it public peace, which was, for two centuries and a half, the empire's ransom.

Of the oppressed, those who took arms first were those who were suffering most; the revolt of the Sicilian slaves opened this era of blood.

The ancient world despised industry. At the present day, the struggle with nature has assumed such proportions that it demands the noblest efforts of the mind, and industry is, so to speak, spiritualized, while, in having for its aim, not the greater luxury and license of the few, but the comfort of all, it has justified its power, and successfully ennobled labour. The ancients knew no other arts than eloquence and war; in a word to act upon man by speech or by force of arms, but never upon the external world, which their frugality disdained or from which they required only the coarser pleasures.<sup>1</sup> The two oracles of the

<sup>1</sup> Thus they trained lions, tigers, stags, and ostriches to draw chariots in the arena (Montaigne, *Chapter upon Coaches*); they exhibited elephants dancing on the tight rope

wisdom of antiquity, Cicero<sup>1</sup> and Aristotle said: "To slaves belong all those occupations which require the exercise of physical strength; to citizens, those which demand the employment of the mental powers, excepting only war, to defend the city, and agriculture to give it food."<sup>2</sup> There is something grand in this theory, but unfortunately it degrades [mechanical] labour by separating it from intellect and from liberty; it throws into idleness and sedition the man of free condition who is poor, and making the slave only a machine<sup>3</sup> with a human frame, it creates all the dangers of slavery.

The contempt of the citizen for the slave in every city, appeared on a larger scale in the scorn with which the warrior nations regarded the working nations, and the old world without a law of nations, or any general policy, was but a bloody arena where the industrious were always the conquered. Athens fell under the blows of Sparta. Miletus and Phocæa perished by the hand of the Persians; Tyre was destroyed by Alexander; Tarentum, Syracuse, and grandest of all, Carthage, by the Romans. The reason is apparent; these cities having converted their citizens into rich voluptuaries or timid artisans, were obliged to entrust their defence to mercenary soldiers, who could not stand against the national troops of the warrior nations. When the latter saw industry everywhere the companion of weakness, they held in supreme disdain the practice of the useful arts, and the poorest amongst

(Cuvier, *Hist., des. sc. nat.*, i. 234); they fattened for the table the peacock, the crane, the dormouse, even snails; they practised pisciculture and the artificial fecundation of fish; but if there was in all this much for their pleasures, there was nothing for their common utility (Isid., Geoffrey Saint Hilaire.)

<sup>1</sup> Even in the mind of Cicero, the slave represented evil, and he thus defines the master's authority: *Domini servos ita fatigant, ut optima pars animi, id est sapientia, [fatigat] ejusdem animi vitiosas imbecillasque partes, ut libidines, ut iracundias, ut perturbationes ceteras* (S. August., *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, iv. 12, 61.)

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle writes: "It is manifest that some are naturally free, and others naturally slaves, and that, for the latter, slavery is as useful as it is just." (*Polit.*, I. i. 4.) Plato accepts slavery as an existing condition, but he does not justify it. [So does the New Testament.] In his ideal *Republic*, there are no slaves, but in his *Laws* he is pitiless towards them. Upon the question of slaves, see Wallon's *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*. This work is the best authority upon the subject.

<sup>3</sup> The Aquilian law made no distinction between the slave and cattle: he who killed a labouring ox, or a slave, paid to the owner a sum equal to the highest price at which the beast or the man had that year been sold. (Gaius, iii. § 210.) *Servile caput nullum jus habet.* (*Dig.*, iv. 5, 3, § 1.)

them could hardly resign himself to seek in industry a resource against want, and only the slaves and the freedmen had the pains, as well as the profits, of labour.

In the time of simple and frugal manners, Rome had few slaves; as wants increased with luxury more hands were needed, and war abundantly supplied the market, the captive being by right a slave, *ex jure gentium*.<sup>1</sup> We have seen what number of



Syracuse. Temple of Minerva transformed into a Church (p. 385).<sup>2</sup>

slaves Paulus Æmilius, Sempronius Gracchus and Æmilianus sold. Later, Marius sent to the public market 140,000 Cimbri and Ambrones. In a single city<sup>3</sup> Cicero derived in five days from the sale of prisoners, a sum equal to about £100,000. Pompey and Cæsar boasted of having sold or slain 2,000,000 men.<sup>4</sup> In time of

<sup>1</sup> *Dig.*, i. 5, 5, § 1. In the camps of Lucullus, slaves were sold for four drachmæ. (Plut., *Luc.*, 14.)

<sup>2</sup> Saverio Cavallari, *Monum. della Sicilia*, tav. xi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ad Att.* v. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 27; Plut., *Cæs.*, 19. Frequently a war between two rival cities

peace, a slave-trade was carried on, not only by the pirates who covered the seas, but by the legions and consuls. Popilius Laenas carried off at one time 10,000 Statielli, and Cassius, thousands of mountaineers. In modern times, thanks at least to the aristocracy of colour, the negro alone has occasion to fear being enslaved. Formerly, possession was title; violence secured right. Women, children, men, were kidnapped in the cities and on the highways;<sup>1</sup> for the human being was then the principal commodity in the market. How many eminent men in those days fell into slavery, to speak only of Plato, Diogenes, and Terence!<sup>2</sup> The city's law no longer recognized the citizen whom force had deprived of his liberty; he remained in the eye of that law, marked, even after his enfranchisement, with an indelible stain, and if he sought to recover his rights, he must return into the city secretly, so that the law might accept his excuse of absence,<sup>4</sup> and if his wife had re-married, the second union remained valid.



A Negro.<sup>3</sup>

In default of war and piracy, regular commerce supplied the

would end by the sale *en masse* of the population of the vanquished. Thus Sicyon sold all the inhabitants of Pallene; Thebes, those of Plataea; Alexander, those of Thebes; Demetrius, those of Mantinea; Rome, lastly, those of Capua, Numantia, Corinth, Carthage. (De Saint-Paul, *Disc. sur l'esclav.*, p. 71.)

<sup>1</sup> *Cic.*, *pro Cluent.*, 7. This was so common that many old comedies are founded upon it.

<sup>2</sup> We may add Phædo, the friend of Socrates and the founder of the school of Elea, Æsop, Phædrus, Andronicus, Grifphon, the teacher of Cicero; C. Melissus, the creator of the Octavian library; and most of the eminent grammarians quoted by Suetonius.

<sup>3</sup> Museum of the Louvre, No. 554 of the Clarac catalogue. This negro, dressed in striped material, is a very valuable specimen of polychromatic sculpture.

<sup>4</sup> This was the right of "secret return." (*Dig.*, xlix. 15; Fest., s. v. *Postliminium*; Plut., *Quæst. Rom.*, 5.)

market with slaves. Surrounded by a belt of barbarous nations, the Roman world found, like the slave-traders upon the African coast, a host of petty chiefs ready to sell their prisoners, or in case of need, their subjects. From the remote parts of Gaul, Germany, and the lands of the Scythians, came down incessantly to the

Gold coin of Panticapæum.<sup>2</sup>

shores of the Mediterranean long files of chained barbarians, brought by the merchants of Marseilles, of Panticapæum, Phanagoria and Dioscurias. There came even Britons.<sup>1</sup> A proof of the extent and activity of this traffic is that the Germans, whose frontier the legions had not yet touched, were so numerous in the army of the gladiators that they formed a division apart. A little money, stuffs, weapons, or the article most needed—in Thrace and Africa, salt; in Gaul, wine—were the objects of exchange. Among the Gauls, says Diodorus, for the cup, you get the cup-bearer.<sup>3</sup> Utica and Egypt furnished negroes; Alex-

Coin of Phanagoria.<sup>4</sup>

andria, grammarians; the marts of Sidon and Cyprus, those intelligent, docile, corrupt Asiatics, prized as house-servants; Greece, her handsome boys and girls; Epirus and Illyria, good shepherds; Germany, Gaul and Thrace, gladiators; Cappadocia, vigorous but stupid labourers. The Spaniards had a bad name; they were said to be inclined to murder and suicide. All the barbaric world, all the conquered nations were thus represented in the *ergastula* of Italy; and Spartacus was able to divide his companies into the Gallic, Thracian, Germanic, etc. In Sicily, the Asiatics and Syrians were in the majority. The latter especially were the insolvent debtors, ruined men, or those sold by their fathers or their princes to pay the tax, often men who had given themselves up to save their families.<sup>5</sup> If we remember that in the provinces the rate of interest

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Pan; reverse, PAN, a griffin holding a spear-head.

<sup>3</sup> V. xvii. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Head of Bacchus; reverse, a quiver and the city's monogram. Bronze coin of Phanagoria.

<sup>5</sup> Children exposed by their parents belonged to those who took them in. There were slave-growers; Cato and Crassus did not disdain this means of gain (Plut., *Cat. maj.*, 32; *Crass.*, 2.)

was as high as 48 per cent., that the publicans intrusted with the collection of taxes committed frightful exactions, we shall understand how entire populations might be sold to liberate cities, provinces, or kings. When Marius sought aid from the king of Bithynia, Nicomedes replied: "Your publicans have left me nothing but old men and children."<sup>1</sup>

Thus were gathered in city and country houses an incredible number of slaves: Cato of Utica, eminent for his simplicity, had not less than fifteen to attend him in the country; Damophilus, an obscure landowner in Sicily, had 400; and the Roman merchant established at Utica,<sup>2</sup> Demetrius, a freedman of Pompey, had enough to compose armies.<sup>3</sup> Pompey raised 300 horsemen from his shepherds, and Cæsar's *familia* was so numerous that more than once it made the senate tremble. Claudius Isidorus complained that the civil wars had left him but 4,116. Scaurus, who erected a theatre supported by 360 columns, and adorned with 3,000 statues, and large enough to accommodate 80,000 spectators, had it is said 8,000;<sup>4</sup> and Athenæus represents certain private individuals as possessing 20,000.<sup>5</sup>

Thracian Gladiator.<sup>5</sup>

An unnatural condition can be maintained only by unnatural laws. To crush down into servitude,

<sup>1</sup> Diod., fragm. of book xxxvi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., in *Cat.* Diod., V. xvii. 25. Plut., *Cat.*, 68.

<sup>3</sup> This Demetrius left his patron 4000 talents, or £800,000. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 2.)

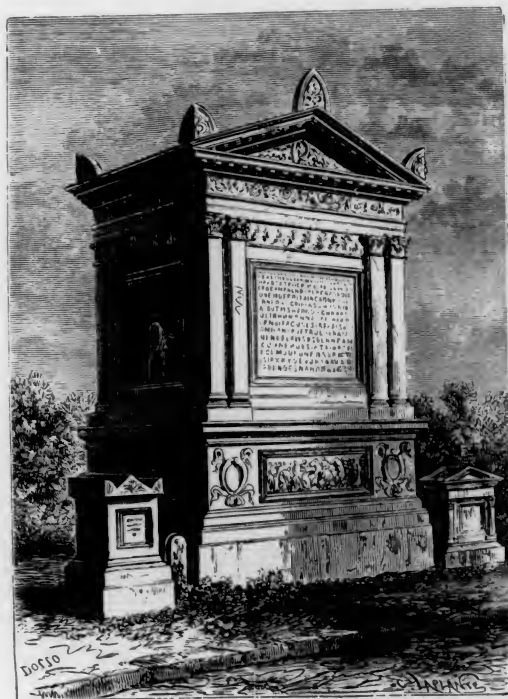
<sup>4</sup> This M. Æmilius Scaurus was son-in-law to Sylla.

<sup>5</sup> From a terra-cotta lamp. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, at the word *Thrac.*)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Plut., in *Crass.*; Suet., *Jul.*; Sen., *de Tranq.*, 8; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 47. Orgetorix, a Helvetian chief, had 10,000 slaves. (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, i. 4.) In the question of the number of slaves, M. Dureau de la Malle takes part with M. Letronne, against the school of Vossius, and of Saint-Paul. That Athenæus may have given an exaggerated estimate, especially for Ægina, that the *μυριάδας* of Strabo (book xiv. p. 666), for Delos must not be taken literally, I am willing to admit, and the more since Strabo says simply: "What encouraged the pirates to capture free people was the fact that they found at Delos, a rich commercial place, a market capable of receiving and despatching in one day many thousands of slaves." He does not say that this was done every day. But passages in Seneca (*de Clementia*, i. 25), in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 6), in Plutarch, and elsewhere, do not appear to me so easy to explain



into misery, and often into infamy, the man once free, a warrior, a chief even, whom war had enchained, needed a pressure which must be made stronger, the more energetic was the moral resistance. Hence that severity towards the slave, and those laws of blood, "the black code" of antiquity:<sup>1</sup> "No leisure for the slave,"



Tomb of a Freedman of Pompeius (p. 389).<sup>3</sup>

said Aristotle;<sup>2</sup> "Let him sleep or work," added Cato. It would not do to give him time to think. Others, to restrain them through hunger, fed them insufficiently. "Do not take," was the prudent advice of the day, "slaves from a free

away. Moreover the fact itself of the concentration of property in a few hands brings with it necessarily the concentration also of the instruments of cultivation. On the other hand, the rich being few in number, and the middle class being destroyed, we cannot reckon from the number of slaves held by an Ovidius or a Crassus how large was the actual number in the Roman world. It is an insoluble problem.

<sup>1</sup> In Plautus (*Mil. glorios.*, ii. iv. 19. 20), a slave says: *Scio crucem futuram mihi sepul-*

*crum; ibi mei sunt majores siti, pater, avos, proavos, abavos.*

<sup>2</sup> Οὐ σχολή δοῦλοις (Arist., *Pol.*, vii. 8). In Italy there were only ten holidays, that is to say days of rest, in the whole year. It is quite enough, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in order that such marks of humanity may render the slaves docile. Later, Collumella, (ii. 12, 9) counted forty-five days of festivals, or of rain, and therefore of enforced rest; but we have seen that Cato and others knew how to utilise even the holidays, and the rainy days as well. At the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, Tertullian (*de Idolis*, 14) remarks that the pagans had not the fifty days of joy (Sundays) of the Christians.

<sup>3</sup> Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, t. ii. pl. xx. This tomb, situated upon the Appian Way, between the fourth and fifth mile-stone, is not that of Demetrius, the rich freedman of Pompey, but was that of a member of his family not however to be determined, even by Borghese, owing to the mutilation of the inscription. We give, from Canina, the restored tomb, in order to show how closely our funeral monuments imitate those of the ancients.

nation; they are too dangerous; have but a few from any one nation that they may not conspire together, for as many slaves as a man has, so many enemies has he; speak to them in monosyllables, to keep them at a distance; treat them as if they were wild beasts; and render them twenty times more servile by frequent lashes."<sup>1</sup> They were spoken of as "the chained people," *ferratile genus*.<sup>2</sup>

The master had the right of life and death over him, *vita necisque potestatem*.<sup>3</sup> For a slight offence, for a caprice of the master, the slave died under the rod, upon a cross, crushed between two mill-stones, or abandoned upon the bare ground, with feet and hands, and nose and lips cut off; or hung in the air upon four iron hooks to be devoured by birds of prey. If, to avenge his long-sufferings a slave killed his master, upon his confession all his companions also perished by tortures.<sup>4</sup> If they were not in fact his accomplices, they were so in intention, and in any case, they were guilty in that they had not protected their master. Pollio, the favourite of Augustus, caused slaves to be thrown living to the eels.<sup>5</sup> Augustus himself crucified one who had killed and eaten a fighting quail.<sup>6</sup>

If to escape these tortures and subterranean prisons,<sup>7</sup> and the ever-ready whip of the executioner (*lorarius*) the slave became a fugitive and fled to the mountains, he was hunted as a wild beast, and easily recognized by his shaven head, his scarred back, his ankles lacerated by the fetters, and by the words branded on his forehead, perhaps the name of his owner, perhaps, "I am a fugitive, a thief," or possibly some favourite sentence of his master.<sup>8</sup> On being



The Whip of the *lorarius*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Totidem hostes esse quot servos.* (Seneca, *Ep.*, 47.) *Omnis herus servus monosyllabus,* Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2393. Plato and Aristotle insist upon the danger of having slaves ὁμόφωνοι, πατριῶται ἀλλήλων.

<sup>2</sup> Plaut., *Mostell.*, I. i. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Gaius., i. § 52.

<sup>4</sup> The Silanian senatus-consultum merely gave legal sanction to the ancient customs.

<sup>5</sup> Sen., *de Irâ*, iii. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Apophth. Rom.*, 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ergastula.* (Colum., i. 6.)

<sup>8</sup> Suidas, s. v. Ἀρραγᾶς; in Pliny, *Hist., Nat.*, xviii. 3, *inscriptique vultus* to designate slaves.

<sup>9</sup> From a model discovered at Herculaneum. This whip (*flagrum*) was composed of several chains with metal buttons at their extremities. These small chains attached to a short

re-captured, he perished under the scourge unless perhaps avarice saved him to send him to the mines or to the mill, whence there was no escape. "Then," says Diodorus, "there is neither respite nor compassion; men sick or disabled, women, or old



A Slave under the Scourge.<sup>2</sup>

men, all laboured, urged by blows, until they fell exhausted." "Ye gods!" cries Apuleius, on entering a mill, "what a deformed population! what livid skins marked with strokes of the whip! All have been branded on the forehead, a chain on the ankle, the hair shaven on one side, and are without clothes. Nothing can be conceived more hideous than these spectres, whose eyelids are inflamed by the smoke and the strain."<sup>1</sup>

Suicide or flight therefore became so frequent, that at Rome a purchaser might recover his money from the seller, if he had not been warned that the slave had already been a fugitive, or had made an attempt to kill himself.<sup>3</sup>

The slave had nothing, not even a name; whatever he might earn outside of his regular labour, might be taken by the master;<sup>4</sup> he had neither wife nor children, for he formed accidental unions,<sup>5</sup> and his young, as Aristotle called them, belonged to the master.<sup>6</sup> When he became ill, aged, or infirm, he was carried near the temple of Æsculapius, and it was the god's affair whether he lived or died.

handle gave heavy blows rather than lashes. Cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, at the word *Flagrum*.

<sup>1</sup> Apul., *Metam.*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> From a bronze pot found at Pompeii. Here the *lorarius* is using the *flagellum*, formed of twisted cords, which was said to inflict more painful wounds than the *flagrum*. Rich, *ibid.*, at the word *Flagellum*.

<sup>3</sup> Dig., xxxi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Dig., xxi. 2, 3, 5. See the monologue of Davus at the beginning of Terence's *Phormio*.

<sup>5</sup> Plautus, in the prologue to *Casina*, says that at Athens, at Carthage, and in Apulia, slaves could marry, but it found it difficult to persuade his audience. The marriage of the slave was called *contubernium*, and produced no legal ties of parentage.

<sup>6</sup> The children belonged to the owner of the mother, by extension of the principles governing property in animals. (Pellat, *Droit privé des Romains*, p. 151.) In law, however, the slave was not a thing, but a person *alieni juris*.

We have here the first act in the sad drama which forms the history of labour. The Middle Ages saw the second, with their serfs of the soil; modern times with its proletariat, sees the third. But, notwithstanding the several enfranchisements, the war between labour and capital is unhappily not ended yet. May the solution be speedily found which shall establish peace in this world of sore trouble!

Like cities built upon a volcano, civilizations which rest upon slavery always feel the ground tremble under them. Six times the senate was obliged to repress partial revolts among the slaves, before having to contend against the formidable insurrection of Eunus.<sup>1</sup> This Syrian, a slave in Sicily, had predicted that he should be king and confirmed his prophecy by a miracle; in speaking he breathed flames from his mouth, a nut filled with sulphur, lighted and held in the mouth, being his method of accomplishing this prodigy. By his impostures he had acquired a great authority over his companions in misfortune, when the cruelty of a master, a very rich man of Enna named Damophilus, brought about an outbreak.<sup>2</sup> His 400 slaves, having burst their fetters escaped into the fields, and soon returning, massacred all the inhabitants. Damophilus himself paid hideous satisfaction to their revenge, no one was spared but his daughter who had showed them some compassion. A similar revolt occurred at Agrigentum and 5,000 men joined the slaves of Enna, who had put at their head the Syrian prophet, under the name of king Antiochus. As soon as there was a camp, a place of refuge, slaves from all parts of the island made their escape thither. In a few months, Eunus had an army of 70,000 men. This was the time of the shameful disasters experienced by the legions before Numantia, and they were repeated in Sicily. Four prætors and a consul were defeated in turn. Masters of Enna, in the centre of the island, 200,000 slaves spread terror from Messina to Lilybæum, and from Tauromenium on the sea-coast, they showed their broken chains to their brothers in Italy. From one end of the empire to the other,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy, books xxii. xxvi. xxvii. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxix., and *Epit.*, lvi.

<sup>2</sup> Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*) fixes the commencement of this war in 134; but Diodorus Siculus asserts that it broke out sixty years after the battle of Zama, that is, in 141.

the slaves were in excitement and explosions here and there betrayed the fire that was secretly spreading, at Delos, in Attica, in Campania; even in Latium there were attempts at revolt. Happily for Rome, these great slave-centres were separated by the seas, or by scantily populated regions. Then, as later, an insurrection could not cross the strait because the incitements



Agrigentum.--Sole approach to the fortress Cocalus on the summit of Agrigentum.<sup>1</sup>

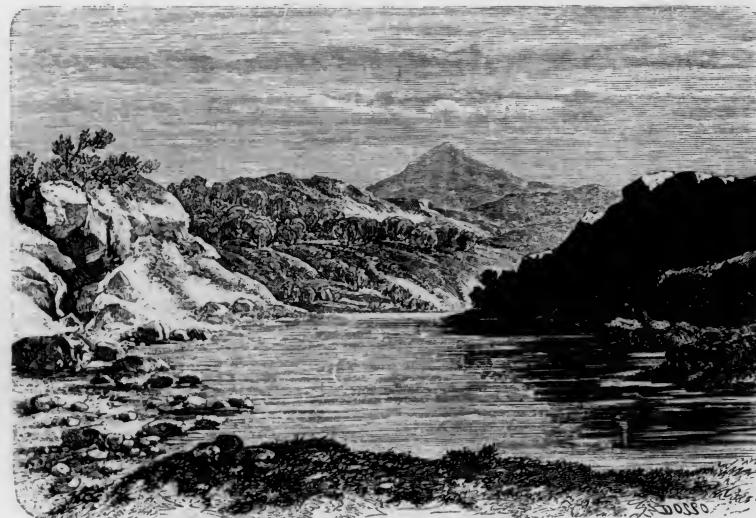
which came from Sicily were lost upon the solitudes of Bruttium and Lucania.

A servile war has always a savage character. In this revolt against a society which inflicted upon them such intolerable sufferings, the slaves sought nothing save vengeance and the satisfying of their worst passions. More depraved than their masters, they had no idea of making any change in the established order of things, and these men still scarred with chains, offered no protest against the system of slavery. Eunus enslaved workmen of free condition of whom he had need. It is painful to say it, but the success of the servile insurrection would have been a frightful misfortune. The French Jacquerie were far better, but

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

after all what did they do with their success? It is impossible to be in advance of the epoch. Slavery, that is to say, compulsory labour, the universal law of the ancient world, could give way only when free labour was honoured and organized.

In 133, Calpurnius Piso, having re-established discipline in the army, compelled the slaves to raise the siege of Messina; Rupilius,



Proserpine Lake, near Enna.<sup>1</sup>

his successor, took Tauromenium, after having reduced them by famine to the greatest straits; Enna, finally, was given up by treachery. Then the slave-army dispersed, and only a few bands were left, easily hunted down among the mountains. All those who were made prisoners perished by torture. "King Antiochus," who had not had the courage to kill himself, was captured in a cave with his cook, his baker, his bather,



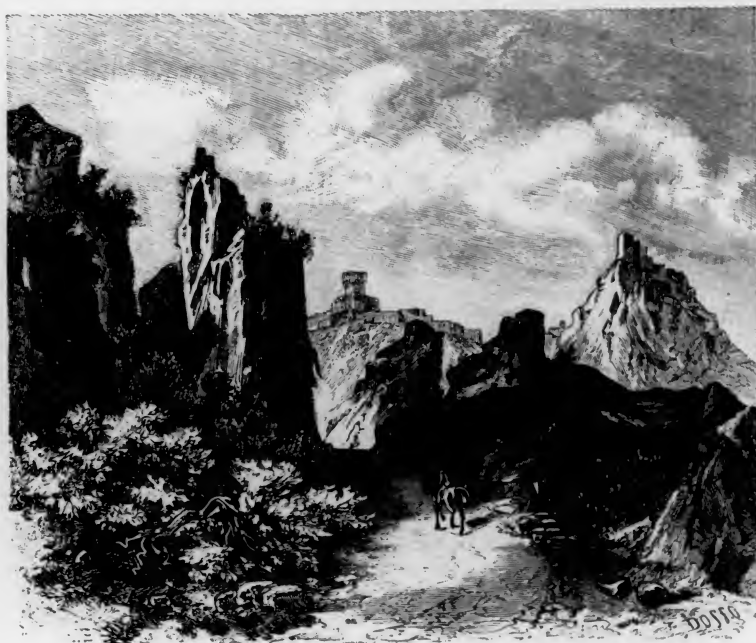
Coin of Calpurnius Piso.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the national Library. Proserpine, and her mother Ceres were the tutelary divinities of Enna. See vol. i. p. 644, the coin of this city.

<sup>2</sup> Laurelled head of Apollo, behind it a laurel branch. Reverse, C. PISO L. F. FRVG. Naked horsemen racing. Silver coin of the Calpurnian family.



and his buffoon. He was left to die in a dungeon. Rupilius attempted to ward off danger of further insurrections by wise regulations, which the avidity of the masters soon rendered useless.<sup>1</sup>



Road between Messina and Tauromenium.<sup>2</sup>

The revolt of the slaves was suppressed, but a civil war was beginning.

## II.—TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

In England the aristocracy for a long period commanded both Houses of Parliament. The heads of the great houses sat in the House of Lords as hereditary peers, while the younger members of these families were elected by their tenants to the Lower House. Something analogous to this in reality, though in form very

<sup>1</sup> See, upon this war, Diod., fragments of Bk. xxxvi.; Val. Max., *passim*; Flor., iii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

different, existed at Rome before the Gracchi. The chiefs of the great houses were senators, their younger relatives composed the college of tribunes, and in this way, the same spirit, the same interests, reigned in the Forum and in the senate-house. Those whom the people considered their defenders, and with whom originated their resolves and their votes, were not merely friends of the nobles; they were themselves nobles. Thus the aristocratic faction ruled even in the Forum, where formerly storms had gathered against the government; but these storms must burst forth anew as soon as nobles occupy the tribune's office, who, renouncing the spirit of their caste, take the cause of popular interests.

The first of these nobles were the Gracchi.

If an inheritance of fame obliges a man to noble actions, the Gracchi, descendants of Scipio and sons of the conqueror of Sardinia, must needs rise to great heights to remain worthy of their ancestors.

This renown of the Sempronian family had a character of its own. Military exploits were not wanting to it, but there was, moreover, something like a generous sympathy with the oppressed. It was a Sempronius who had consented to command that army of slaves whose courage did so much towards saving Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and upon the battlefield he had enfranchised them all. He who conquered Spain had pacified it also, and his name was honoured in the mountains of Celtiberia as much as it was popular in Rome itself, with that popularity which clings



Buffoon or jester.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Mimus*.)

about great characters, and not with that favour which the crowd accords to him who flatters it best. "A man prudent and serious," says Cicero;<sup>1</sup> "just and inflexible," Cato said, who saw in him a Roman of the old days—Sempronius Gracchus always showed himself the defender of the early constitution. He supported the tottering religion,<sup>2</sup> and whilst he opposed with moderation and dignity the Scipios and the other nobles<sup>3</sup> on the one hand he repressed the publicans, and on the other confined the freedmen to a single tribe,<sup>4</sup> striving at once against the foreign crowd and the new aristocracy, in order to leave the Forum free for what still remained of the true Roman people. In the great families of Rome these domestic traditions were not forgotten, and when Tiberius offered his agrarian law it was not, as has been asserted, on account of his hatred of the senate, but for the sake of relieving the destitution which his father had doubtless lamented, to prevent the misfortunes he had foreseen.

Tiberius and Caius soon lost their father, but Cornelia worthily filled his place. She surrounded them with the most learned Greek masters, and herself directed their education.<sup>5</sup> In their eloquence Cicero recognised their mother's, whose letters he had read.<sup>6</sup> Because she reproached them for the fact that she was spoken of as the mother-in-law of Æmilianus rather than the mother of the Gracchi, her ambition has been censured; it is true she was ambitious, but the sentiment was noble and legitimate; it was her hope that her sons should save their country, and it is easy to pardon the daughter of Scipio that she rose above the weakness and egotism of maternal affection. For herself she asked no other jewels than the glory of her children, and she refused the hand of a Ptolemy<sup>7</sup> and the crown of Egypt. If Tiberius had been successful, far from accusing Cornelia, men would have adored,

<sup>1</sup> *De Or.*, I. ix. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Cic.*, *ad Quint.*, III. ii. 1; *de Nat. deor.*, II. iv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> He was, while tribune, the enemy of Scipio. Cf. *Livy*.

<sup>4</sup> See his censorship in *Livy ad Ann.* 169 (xlv. 15). His wife Cornelia bore him twelve children, of whom nine appear to have died young. One of his daughters married Scipio Æmilianus. [Cf. fuller details of his life in Neumann's *Verfall der röm. Rep.*, p. 105 seq.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> In respect to the severity of the education bestowed in good families, see *Tacitus (de Orat.*, 28).

<sup>6</sup> *Cic.*, *Brut.*, 58.

<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy VI. Philometor.

as she herself said in an eloquent letter, the divinity of his mother.<sup>1</sup>

Tiberius, nine years older than his brother,<sup>2</sup> was distinguished among the young men of his time by his gentle gravity and by the virtues which early gave him a conspicuous position among the nobles. Appius Claudius, an ex-consul, ex-censor, and prince of the senate gave him his daughter in marriage. He at first served in Africa with distinction under the command of Scipio Æmilianus, his brother-in-law, and was the first man to scale the walls of Carthage. Later (in 137) he accompanied the consul Mancinus to Spain as quaestor, where he saved the army, obtaining terms of peace from the Numantines which they had been unwilling to grant to the consul. The senate annulled the treaty, however, and it was their intention to deliver



Cornelia.<sup>3</sup>

up to the Numantines the consul and his quaestor naked and bound as slaves. But the people would not suffer Tiberius to be punished for his chief's rashness, and Mancinus was given up alone.

Upon his return from Spain, Tiberius found the fertile fields of Etruria deserted; in Rome, an idle and hungry multitude,<sup>4</sup> no longer nourished by war; throughout Italy many millions of slaves, excited by the news of the successes of Eunus. What remedy could be found for this three-fold evil—the poverty and degradation of the people, the extension of slavery, the desolation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Corn. Nepos*. During his rule, Caius erected to her, amid the applause of the people, a bronze statue, with the inscription: To Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* represents him as thirty years of age at the time of his death; but as he was quaestor in 137, and must have been thirty-one to be eligible to this office, we must consider him as being thirty-five when he became tribune.

<sup>3</sup> The figure is also known as the "Reader," a name more suitable, no doubt, than Cornelia. (*Description des principales pierres gravées du cabinet du duc d'Orléans*, t. ii. pl. 18, and p. 41.)

<sup>4</sup> A tribune in Cicero's time, advocating an Agrarian law, said, *Urbanam plebem nimium in re publica posse, exhaustam esse* (*Cic.*, *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 26). The last colonies founded had been *Luna*, in 177, and *Aurimum*, in 157. Since that time, no assignment of land had been authorized.

country? One alone,—to divide those immense domains that the nobles had unjustly seized,<sup>1</sup> to restore to ownership, to regenerate by virtue of labour the indigent crowd,<sup>2</sup> to expel the slaves from the fields by establishing free labourers there, and to change into useful citizens those freedmen who as yet had nothing Roman save



A Mendicant.<sup>3</sup>

the name—in a word, to set the Republic back a hundred years by reconstituting, as the result of an agrarian law, petty ownership in land and a middle class. Not merely was this the only way of salvation left for Rome, but it was the direct carrying on of that wise policy of concessions the senate had long followed. By this policy the Conscrip

Fathers had rendered Rome so strong that they had never refused to consider the interests of those new elements which from time to time came into existence in the city. To the plebeians they had granted seats in the senate-house, to the poor they had given lands, to the allies privileges, combining with uncommon skill conservative and reform principles, the interests of the original citizens and the welfare of the new members of the Roman world. But since universal conquest had relieved the nobles of all fear and all restraint, they disquieted themselves little about that mass of human beings whom victory had cast into Rome. It seemed to them that the time for compromises had past; in their ambition and pride they did not see that this crowd, sooner or later, would make room for itself; they did not understand that they must find a bed for this torrent under penalty of seeing everything swept away. Tiberius in taking up the rôle of Licinius Stolo was not therefore a blind revolutionist. The primitive duality had reappeared; Rome again contained two hostile peoples. The fruitful union which the tribune of the

<sup>1</sup> In Cicero's time of the immense domains that the State had held in Italy, there was left only the *ager Campanus*. Cf. *de Leg. agr.*, i. 21; ii. 76, *seq.*; iii. 15, and *ad Att.*, ii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> These again are the counsels which Sallust, or the author of his letters, gives to Cæsar.

<sup>3</sup> From a painting in Herculaneum.

fourth century had brought about between patricians and plebeians must be renewed by him of the second century between the nobles and the poor. If he had succeeded in this, if he had been able to succour first the Roman poor and the Italian people, Rome might have still enjoyed a long day of repose, of strength, and of liberty.

That which to-day is the foundation of socialist doctrines, namely, that in some form the State owes to all its members, land, implements, and credit, that is to say, an opportunity to work, was for very different reasons a thoroughly Roman idea. It came from the very heart of that society, a persistent echo of the ancient *gentes* and of the obligations of the patron towards his clients, like the right, too, of the citizens to divide among themselves that *ager publicus* which they had won for the Republic by their courage. The agrarian laws, the cancelling of debts, the founding of colonies, had been the application of this idea. But it was now long since land had been distributed, and yet there had never been so many poor in need of it. Rome had no other war on hand at this time but that against the Numantines, a formidable and unprofitable campaign, and the war against the slaves, which offered no prospect whatever of gain. All those who for the last seventy-five years had lived by the pillage of the world and by the largesses of generals, were now without employment, restless and eager for any change. Thus revolution was in the air, and there needed only a single voice to say aloud what all men were thinking, and the aristocratic rule must be shaken to its foundations.

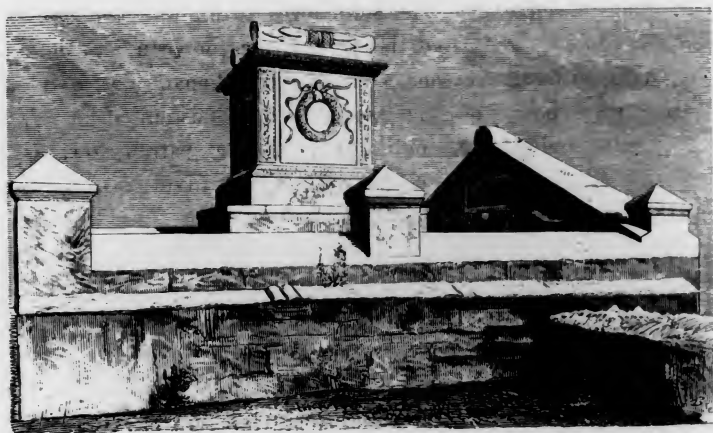
The Gracchi were that voice; the weapon they used was the rights of the people, now only vaguely perceived as a confused something above the senate, but brought down by them from the clouds which had veiled it until they gave back to the Forum its revolutionary energy, and to the comitia of the tribes their early daring.

As soon as Tiberius had obtained the tribuneship<sup>1</sup> the people looked to him at once with the expectation of relief from all their distresses (133). Porticoes, temple walls, and tombs were placarded

<sup>1</sup> Dec. 10, 134 B.C. The election occurred in June, but the tribunes did not enter upon their duties until December.



with appeals urging him to call for the restitution to the poor of the public lands. Blossius of Cumæ and Diophanes of Mitylene, his former masters, now his friends, his mother and grave senators, all encouraged him. At last, having taken counsel with his father-in-law, Appius,<sup>1</sup> with the pontifex Maximus, Licinius Crassus, with Mucius Scaevola, the most celebrated lawyer of his time and the

A Tomb.<sup>2</sup>

consul for the year, he proposed in a tribal assembly of the people the following laws:—

“That no person should occupy more than 500 *jugera* of the *publicus ager*;<sup>3</sup>

“That no person send to the public pasture-lands more than 100 head of cattle or 500 of sheep;

“That each landowner have upon his estate a certain number of free labourers.”

This was the original law of Licinius Stolo, which no legal act had ever abolished. Lastly, to render the execution of this law less burdensome to the rich, Tiberius added this clause:—

<sup>1</sup> The same policy was hereditary in the great families of Rome, as now the case in England. This Appius, a friend of the Gracchi, was a descendant of the censor of the year 312, who was so favourable to the middle classes (see vol. i. p. 311), and of the decemvir of 451, who was perhaps also a friend of the poor. (Vol. i. p. 217.)

<sup>2</sup> Tomb at Pompeii. (From Zahn, vol. i. pl. 1.)

<sup>3</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 9), Plutarch (*Tib.*, 8-14), Livy (*Epit.*, lviii.), and Cicero (*de Leg. agr.*, ii. 31), show that he intended only the public lands: 500 *jugera* equal about 126 hectares.

“That those occupying public lands should be allowed to occupy 250 *jugera* apiece for each of their sons in addition to the 500 allowed them; and that an indemnity in the case of buildings erected on public lands should be allowed to their owners.<sup>1</sup>

“The surplus thus taken from the rich was to be distributed in small farms among the poorer citizens, the distribution to be of

Cow-herd.<sup>2</sup>

thirty *jugera* (seventy-five acres) apiece, to be made by lot, by triumvirs elected as a permanent magistracy, and the estates thus obtained were then to be inalienable and to pay no rent to the public treasury.”

They constituted, therefore, veritable landed property in every respect except that they could not be sold.

The rich were overwhelmed with consternation. They complained indignantly that this law proposed to deprive them of the

<sup>1</sup> Μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεποιημένης ἔργασίας ἀντάρκη φερόμενος (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 11), and not an indemnity for the value of the land given up, as has often been said, following Plutarch. (*Tib.*, 9.) Appian says also that each child, *ἐκάστῳ*, and not all the children collectively, should have 250 *jugera*, but it appears that the head of a family might occupy in the name of two sons only, making 1,000 *jugera* the maximum.

<sup>2</sup> Cow-herd driving cattle to pasture. From the *Virgil* of the Vatican.

tombs of their ancestors, the dowry of their wives, the inheritances received from their fathers, lands which they had bought with money, upon which they had bestowed labour, which they had covered with buildings. All this was true. Since the Licinian law had become obsolete, lands unlawfully seized from the public domain had been, like other property, bought, bequeathed, given in

pledge, or as dowry. Among the actual holders many had acquired it honestly, although without legal title. But could the State lose its rights, and liberty, her last hope?

The pillage of the public domain had not been profitable to the nobles of Rome and the publicans only. In the colonies, in the municipia, enjoying the right of citizenship, everywhere that wealth existed, there were occupiers of the public lands. They flocked to Rome, and until the day of the comitia the city was a prey to the most violent



Shepherd.<sup>1</sup>

agitation. The day having arrived, Tiberius ascended the platform. "Is it your judgment," he said to the assembly, "that the lands which belong to the people should be given to the people? that what was conquered by all should be divided amongst all? Do you believe that a citizen is more useful than a slave, a brave legionary than a man who cannot fight, a faithful Roman than a foreigner and an enemy?" And, addressing himself to the rich, "Relinquish a portion of your wealth lest the whole be taken from you some day.

To these words he added prophetic advice: "The larger part of our territory," he said, "is a gain from war, and the conquest of the world is promised you. You will succeed if you have citizens enough; you will lose even what you now

<sup>1</sup> From a Pompeian painting. Shepherd leaning upon the *agolum* or goad.

possess if their number, as at present, continues steadily to decrease." The first part of this prediction was fulfilled, but as the nobles would not aid the Gracchi in healing this pauperism which was undermining the Republic, it was by mercenaries, who filled the place of citizens under her banner, that the world was conquered, and these mercenaries brought more ruin to the Roman



Aspect of the Roman Forum in 1653.<sup>1</sup>

aristocracy than the loss of their wealth; they destroyed their power and the old liberties of Rome.

The people were about to vote by their tribes, but the rich faction had secretly gained over the tribune Octavius, himself a large holder of public lands, and he interposed his veto. Tiberius, exasperated, withdrew the two clauses which alone rendered his proposed law tolerable to the other party, the indemnity and the

<sup>1</sup> From the work of Du Pérac, who visited Rome at a time when many buildings existed which have since disappeared [and many were hidden which are now again uncovered.—*Ed.*].

larger allowance to the present holders.<sup>1</sup> From this moment nothing but violence could be anticipated, for the reform was growing into a revolution, and threw into the opposition those moderate persons who would have been willing to buy peace and



Voting upon the *pons suffragiorum*.<sup>2</sup>

security at the price of a part of their fortune, but whose patriotism did not go so far as to brave actual penury.

Octavius adhered to his veto. In vain Tiberius employed the most eloquent persuasions, and in vain offered to indemnify his colleague from his own purse for his possible losses.

The tribune could not be

moved, and Tiberius was impelled to desperate measures. In virtue of the unlimited power given by the tribune's veto, he suspended the entire administration of government, forbade the magistrates to exercise their authority, sealed the door of the treasury, and forbade any other affairs to be brought forward until the vote upon the law should have been taken.<sup>3</sup>

There ensued a curious scene: the rich assumed mourning and went about the city soliciting the compassion of the people. In secret they posted assassins to remove Tiberius. The latter, warned of his danger, allowed the point of a poniard to be seen from under his toga. Upon the day of the assembly, when he called the people to vote, the opposition seized and carried away the urns. This act of violence would have been the signal for an appeal to arms, but two senators of consular rank threw themselves at the feet of Tiberius and conjured him to renounce his endeavour, or at least to refer the matter to the senate. The all-powerful tribune was so convinced of the justice of his cause that

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Tiber. Gracch.*, 10; Appian says nothing of this withdrawal.

<sup>2</sup> From a coin. To guard against fraud the voters were obliged to pass one by one across an extremely narrow bridge to deposit their vote.

<sup>3</sup> [This expedient of stopping a government's supplies is the ordinary weapon of a constitutional oppositio now-a-days.—*Ed.*]

he consented to go to the senate-house, but the faction of the rich were supreme there, and no conciliation was possible.

Tiberius then proposed to Octavius that as one or the other of them must be deposed, they should appeal on this point to a popular vote,<sup>1</sup> but Octavius refused to agree to this, and Tiberius proposed to the people the deposition of his colleague. Seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes had voted for it, when Tiberius made a last effort; he stopped the voting, and throwing his arms about Octavius, conjured him in the name of their old friendship not to expose himself to the affront of a public deposition, and to spare him the odium of so extreme a measure. Octavius for the moment was moved to tears; he stood silent; then turning towards the crowd of nobles gathered in the Forum, he seemed suddenly to fear their reproaches, and cried, haughtily, "Let the people do what it desires!" Upon this the voting was resumed, and being deposed, he was dragged down from the rostra, and would have been murdered by the crowd had not Tiberius interposed and rescued him. A slave preceding him through the crowd fell, pierced with many wounds. This was the first blood shed in the civil war, and the deposition of Octavius was the first attack upon the sacredness of the tribuneship.

Up to this time Tiberius had been in the right; henceforward he was in the wrong, for he, who as tribune, was especially bound to defend the constitution, had ignored its most essential principle. The great tribunes of the fourth century did not act thus. Licinius Stolo had conquered the patricians, not by passion, but by perseverance. That which Licinius had been ten years in obtaining Tiberius sought to obtain in a day, and he obtained it but for a day.

The law passed, indeed, but the difficulty was to execute it. Tiberius had proposed that triumvirs, elected by the people, should proceed at once to effect the distribution, and should remain in office until the work was accomplished.<sup>2</sup> The three individuals appointed were himself, his brother Caius (at the moment absent in Spain), and Appius, his father-in-law. But now began innumerable

<sup>1</sup> [This was no doubt a conscious imitation of the expedient of ostracism at Athens, which Tiberius had learned to understand from his Greek masters.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> At least we only find them replaced by others in the event of their death.



difficulties in the execution of the law. How was it possible to recognize public land which had been illegally occupied for centuries by private holders? how to make and distribute the lots? Withal, there was the impatience of the poor to be restrained, and the ill-will of the nobles to be baffled. The senate refused Tiberius the tent usually allowed to all citizens occupied in public duty, and for his expenses had made allowance to him, upon the report of Scipio Nasica, only nine obols a day. All methods which had succeeded against Cassius, Manlius, and Spurius Mælius were now tried against him. A senator attested that Eudemus, who had brought to Rome the will of Attalus of Pergamus, had given Tiberius the purple robe and diadem of the king, which the tribune proposed some day to wear in Rome. Tiberius, by way of reply, obtained a decree that the treasures of Attalus should be distributed among the poor citizens who received the public lands, to enable them to buy cattle and agricultural implements.

Up to this time, in order to simplify his position, he had abstained from any attack upon the political rights of the nobles, but he now exasperated the whole senate by declaring that he should personally make his report upon the kingdom of Pergamus to the assembly of the people. This was no less than a first attempt to transfer from the senate to the popular assembly the administration of foreign affairs. Moreover, he sought to abridge the time of military service, to re-establish the appeal to the people from sentences of all kinds, and in the tribunals to add to the senators an equal number of knights. According to some authorities he also made promises to the Italians.<sup>1</sup> But already the people had ceased to follow him. To impress the crowd, simple ideas are needed. When it was a question of the Agrarian law the thirty-five tribes had voted as one man. In the midst of the complications presented by new propositions, the poorer classes no longer recognized that positive and immediate profit which had rallied them around the tribune. Two centuries before, to obtain the opening of the consular office, Licinius had succeeded only by declaring his Agrarian law inseparably connected with his political changes. Tiberius brought forward the latter subsequently, and

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 2.

was unsuccessful. Yet he was still popular. One of his friends having died, the crowd rushed to carry the body to the funeral, and as the first pile would not take fire, it was loudly asserted that the man had died by poison. Tiberius felt his own life in danger, staked, as it were, upon the formidable game he was playing. One day he appeared in the Forum clad in mourning, leading by the hand his two children, and implored the people's protection for them and for their mother. The crowd was moved by this appeal, and for some time a great number of citizens watched night and day over their tribune's safety. But they were already beginning to blame him for his conduct in the affair of Octavius. A certain Annius, whom he had accused, having said to him, "If I appeal to one of your colleagues, and if he oppose his veto to

your act, will you have him also deposed?" Tiberius, much disconcerted, broke up the assembly, and on the morrow made reply by a long discourse on the inviolability of the tribune's office. "Yes," he said, "the tribune is sacred and inviolable, but



Vestal of the Florentine Museum.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vestal guarding the sacred fire. (Gore, *Mus. flor.*, pl. 92 and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 772, No. 1929.)

on one condition, that he is faithful to his duty. Are we to permit a tribune to tear down the Capitol, to burn the military stores, to weaken or destroy the power of the Roman people? What! shall the people dispose at will of the offerings in the temples, use and transfer that which has been consecrated to the gods, and shall it not, in case of need, take away an office it has itself bestowed? Our sacred virgins who guard the undying flame in the temple of Vesta are, for a negligence in their duty, buried alive, and shall not the man, who, as tribune, instead of serving the people, uses against them the very authority they have given him, be at least deprived of his office as the penalty of his crime?"

All this was true, but the inviolability of the tribunes, oppressive as it sometimes was, had been till now respected;

Tiberius in disregarding it had betrayed the fatal secret, that the fickle crowd of the Forum could, in a moment of caprice or anger, overthrow the laws, the constitution, and the customs of their ancestors.



Patrician Sandal (*calceus patricius*).<sup>1</sup>

To be secure against all the enmities that he had excited, Tiberius needed a second term of office as tribune, and he sought it, but the larger number of his partisans were at the time of year occupied at a distance in gathering in their harvests, and most of his colleagues were unfriendly to him. Plutarch gravely relates that on the day of the assembly

Tiberius was for a moment shaken by presages of evil. Two serpents had hatched their young in a richly ornamented helmet which he had used in war. The sacred chickens which he had sent for refused to come and be fed, although their guardian shook the cage violently to compel them to come out. He himself, on coming out of his house, struck his foot so violently

<sup>1</sup> *Museo Borbonico*, xi. 25; *Tischbein*, i. 14; and *Rich, Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Calceus*.

By P.G. Kaplan T.C. 1912.

against the threshold that the nail of his great toe was split and the blood flowed over the sandal. To end the list, scarcely was he in the street when he beheld two crows fighting upon a roof, and a fragment of a tile fell at his feet. So many superstitious terrors possessed the minds of this people who had ceased to believe in their gods, but still had faith in Fate, as revealed by signs, that the boldest partisans of the tribune sought to turn him back. "What a disgrace for the grandson of Africanus," cried Blossius, however, "to allow himself to be stopped by a crow!" At the same moment came pressing messages to Tiberius from his friends gathered in the Capitol where the election was to take place. All was going well, they said. He was received with the most cordial applause, and a guard was kept to make sure that no unknown person should approach him. Two tribes had already voted for his re-election, when the opposition, who were present in great numbers, cried out that a tribune could not hold office for two terms consecutively. A collision was precipitated; the partisans of Tiberius fell upon their opponents, who fled with the tribunes who were of their party, and spread the news through the city that Tiberius had proclaimed the deposition of all his colleagues and had seized upon the office for the following year.

Meantime he had about him not more than 3,000 men. "At this moment the senator Fulvius Flaccus, standing up in a position where he could be seen by all the assembly, made a gesture indicating that he wished to speak to Tiberius. The latter directed that room should



Patrician Sandals.

be made for him to approach, and Fulvius made known that the faction of the rich in the senate not having been able to secure the consul on their side had formed the design to kill Tiberius, and to this end had armed their clients and their slaves. Upon receiving this information the friends of Tiberius girt their robes about them, and seizing upon the lictors' rod

broke them, and armed themselves with the fragments for purposes of defence. Those too distant to hear what had been said being eager to know the meaning of these preparations, Tiberius raised his hand to his head to indicate the danger which threatened him. Upon this his enemies ran to tell the senate, who had gathered in the temple of Fides, that he was asking for the crown. This news caused the senate extreme anxiety. Scipio Nasica called upon the consul to go to the rescue of Rome, and strike down the usurper. Scævola replied, mildly, that he would not set an example of violence, and would cause the death of no citizen without due forms of law. 'If,' he said, 'the people, either won over by Tiberius, or coerced by him, pass any ordinance contrary to the laws, I will not ratify it.' Then Nasica cried out, 'Since the chief magistrate is false to his country, let those who will rescue her follow me!' Saying these words he threw a corner of his robe over his head and made his way to the Capitol, followed by certain of the senate and of the faction of the rich, who were also accompanied by their slaves armed with clubs and sticks, and who seized as they went up fragments of benches which the people had broken in their flight. Thus they came up to Tiberius, smiting all those who sought to defend him with their bodies; many were killed, others pushed towards the Tarpeian rock and hurled over, while the rest fled away.<sup>1</sup> Tiberius himself ran round the temple of *Fides*, whose gates had been

Fides.<sup>2</sup>

closed by the priests, but stumbling over a dead body, he fell near the door, at the foot of the royal statues. As he was endeavouring to rise, one of his colleagues, Publius Satrius, wounded him on the head with a fragment of a bench, and the second blow was given by Lucius Rufus, another tribune, who prided himself upon the act as of a deed well done. More than 300 of the partisans of Tiberius perished with him." After wreaking their vengeance upon the dead bodies, the victorious party flung them into the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 138 the topographical map of Rome and (p. 221) the Tarpeian rock.

<sup>2</sup> FIDES AVGVST. S.C. *Faith* standing, holding ears of wheat and a basket of fruit. Reverse of a great bronze of Plotinus.

Tiber; Caius Gracchus, just returned from Spain, vainly sought to recover the body of his brother.

The senate and the city remained for some time under the terror of this blow. "After the death of Tiberius," says Sallust, "the whole people was accused and prosecuted."<sup>1</sup> All the friends of the late tribune who were not seized were banished, and the others were put to death. Among this number were Diophanes and a certain C. Villius, who was shut up in a barrel filled with serpents and vipers. When Blossius was brought before the consuls he averred that he had done nothing more than follow the orders of the tribune. "But," rejoined Nasica, "if he had ordered you to set on fire the Capitol?" "Tiberius would never have given such an order."—"But if he had?" "I should have obeyed him, for if he had ordered it he would have done for the good of the people." Blossius succeeded in making his escape however, and fled to Aristonicus. After this prince was defeated, he killed himself to avoid falling again into the power of the Romans.

Those who had supported the tribune, even among the most important personages in Rome, now made haste to disown their former conduct. It is sad to find among this number the consul Scævola, who now declared that Nasica, although a private individual, had done rightly in taking up arms, and who issued decrees honouring the latter for his courage. Perhaps the consul, alarmed by the tribune's tendency in his later acts, sought, by sanctioning an act of violence now irreparable, to disarm the nobles and to save at least that agrarian law which he had himself prepared.

Despite these bloody reprisals no one at the moment dared attack the law, so thoroughly was its necessity manifest to all moderate and sagacious men, both in the senate and out of it. Licinius Crassus, father-in-law of Caius, was chosen to fill the place of Tiberius as triumvir, and upon his death in the war against Aristonicus, a popular senator, Fulvius Flaccus, received the appointment. When Appius died, his successor was also an eloquent defender of the law, Papirius Carbo, and an inscription exists wherein Popillius, the consul of that year and a persecutor of the

<sup>1</sup> *In plebem Romanam questiones habitæ sunt.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 31.)



friends of Tiberius, boasts that he was the first to substitute upon the allotted domains the stationary labourer for the wandering shepherd.<sup>1</sup> The allotments continued to be made, and their effect was quickly visible; the census of 131 had given but 317,823 citizens competent for service in the legions; that of 125 gave 390,736. In six years the reserve of the army had increased by 72,000 men, and the proletariat had diminished by the same number. This is the justification of the Sempronian law. The tribune, though dead, once more became formidable; the people accused themselves of having allowed him to be destroyed, and Nasica could not show himself in public without being hooted. It was already proposed to cite him before the tribunal, when the senate removed him under pretext of a mission into Asia. He wandered in foreign lands for a long time, consumed with chagrin, and at last ended his life in Pergamus.

### III.—SCIPIO ÆMILIANUS.

When, during a revolution, a great political body takes no conspicuous part, it virtually abdicates. In the strife with Tiberius the senate had suffered a private individual, Scipio Nasica, to play the leading part. The senate lost the prestige of its power, and the satisfaction given to the people by the exile of Nasica had the effect only of encouraging new popular leaders. Carbo, the triumvir, being appointed tribune in 131, recommenced the struggle. He began by proposing ballot for the laws, to the end that the faction of the rich might not be able to exercise surveillance over the voting, and arrest it when it appeared to go against them. In the next place he demanded that an immediate second term of office should be allowed the tribunes, so that the law should no longer give room for the violence by which Tiberius had perished. Another, Atinius, using the means already sanctioned by the nobles, dared to have the censor Metellus seized and beaten because the latter had expelled him from the senate and would

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.*, vol. i. No. 551, p. 154: . . . *eidem que primus feci ut de agro publico aratoribus cederent.*

have precipitated him from the Tarpeian rock if his colleagues had not interposed to save him.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, Caius Gracchus was already beginning to emerge from the seclusion to which his brother's



Tomb, said to be of the Metelli, upon the Appian Way (Ruins).<sup>2</sup>

death had consigned him. In respect to the propositions of Carbo,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lix. It has been maintained that this was the tribune Atinius who obtained the passage of the Atinian law by which every tribune was declared a senator *ex officio*, before that time the tribunes being obliged to wait till the censors had inscribed their names upon the senatorial list. (Aulus Gellius, xiv. 8.) This law, which gave to the tribunes the *jus sententie dicende* in the senate, that is to say, the full enjoyment of senatorial powers, appears to Willems (*le Sénat. de la répub. rom.*, p. 230), to have been necessarily posterior to the *lex repet.* of 123. That assigns a very late date to it, but the problem is obscure. In 169 a tribune opposed his veto to a proposal of the censors because they not having inscribed his name upon the senatorial list. (Livy, xlv. 15.)

<sup>2</sup> Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. xxx.

the first passed; the second, which tended to establish a popular royalty, failed for the time by reason of the opposition of Scipio Æmilianus.

Terrified, like Mucius Scævola, by the revolutionary character the reform was taking, Scipio had condemned his brother-in-law: "So perish all that do the like again,"<sup>1</sup> he had said on hearing



Roman Soldier.<sup>2</sup>

the news of the death of Tiberius; and, returning to Rome with his victorious army in 132, he had not hesitated to sacrifice his popularity by publicly opposing the laws of Tiberius and of Carbo. He thus went over to the party of the nobles, this man to whom the people had given, against the nobles' will and contrary even to the laws, two consulships and the censorship, who knew so well the evils which were destroying the Republic; but he went over carrying with him vast designs. Tiberius had but partially succeeded; his law, advantageous to the poor of the rustic tribes, had not sent into the fields the city population; that starving crowd had not been willing to resign a life passed idly under

the porticoes in the Forum, or at the doors of the great.<sup>3</sup> They had refused the competency offered them at the price of labour, and had not dared to defend their own champion. This indolence and timidity inspired the conqueror of Numantia with inexpressible contempt for these men, who, moreover, had never been soldiers. One day, when they interrupted him in the Forum: "Silence!" he cried, "you whom Italy will not acknowledge as her

<sup>1</sup> A verse of Homer. (*Odys.*, i. 47.)

<sup>2</sup> From the arch of Septimius Severus.

<sup>3</sup> Appian says expressly that the partisans of Tiberius belonged to the rustic tribes, and Tiberius was killed, as we have seen, without resistance when the harvesting had called away the country people from Rome.

children!"<sup>1</sup> And on their increased murmuring against him: "Those whom I brought hither in chains shall never terrify me because some one has stricken off their fetters!" And the freed-men held their peace.

This was the first time that the word Italy was put forward. At the sight of the rustic tribes depopulated and the city encumbered with a strange crowd, Scipio understood that the days of Rome were ended and that the days of Italy were about to begin. To remain a city, however great, was to exist subject to all the disorders of the little decayed republics. This city must become a nation. For the ancients, who concentrated sovereignty in a definite place, and desired to wield it directly without the help of representation, this problem was difficult. It was not perhaps above the grasp of the man whom Cicero took for his hero.

In this new plan the agrarian law was no longer necessary; it would have diminished somewhat the sufferings of the poor and reduced some fortunes which had been unjustly acquired, but no one desired it except the citizens of the rustic tribes; the Roman populace and the nobles alike opposed it, and the people of Italy regarded it with ill-will. To force the holders of public lands themselves to report their estates, the triumvirs had called upon all citizens to denounce them and bring them to justice. From this arose a multitude of embarrassing lawsuits. "Most of the proprietors had no documentary evidence of sale or of grant, and when these papers did exist they were mutually contradictory. When the measurement had been verified it appeared that in some cases estates had passed from cultivated land, built over with dwellings, to mere pasture, and others from fertile ground to marshes. Originally the conquered territory had been very carelessly divided, and, further, the decree which ordered the waste lands to be cultivated had furnished occasion for many individuals to reclaim the ground adjacent to their estates, thus confusing the boundaries of both. The lapse of time had, moreover, changed everything, and the extent of the illegal occupation, though undoubtedly considerable, was now difficult to determine.

<sup>1</sup> Later, on his return from exile, Cicero used the same words: "No! this populace whom Clodius gathers in a mob, and who are in his pay, is not the Roman people; the citizens of the municipia are the true people, master of kings and nations."

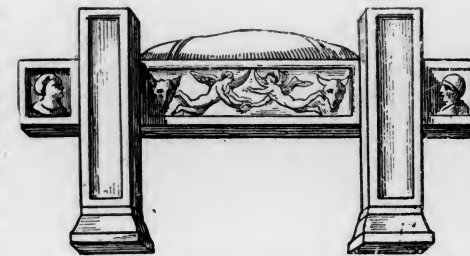
"Irritated at the haste with which all this was being carried out by the triumvirs, the Italians determined to take for their defender against so much injustice the destroyer of Carthage, Cornelius Scipio. Their zeal in his wars would not permit him to refuse this duty; he presented himself in the senate, and, without openly blaming the law of Gracchus, through regard for the plebeians, he set forth at length the difficulties in the way of its execution, ending by the proposal that the right of deciding in these disputes should be taken from the triumvirs as being persons not having the confidence of those concerned. This proposition appeared reasonable; the senate adopted it, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to make the decisions. But the latter had no sooner begun the work than he became alarmed at the complications it involved, and set off for Illyria. All the business was subsequently adjourned. This result naturally set the populace against Scipio. Twice they had made him consul, and he now was disposed to act against them in the interests of the Italians. The enemies of Scipio said openly that he had decided to abrogate the agrarian law by force of arms and with great shedding of blood."<sup>1</sup> The word "dictator" was mentioned. "We have a tyrant," said Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius threatened Scipio. "The enemies of the State do well," he said, "to wish my death, for they know that Rome cannot perish while Scipio lives."

"One night he had withdrawn with his tablets to meditate upon the address he was to make to the people on the morrow; in the morning he was found dead, but with no trace of violence.<sup>1</sup> According to some the blow was dealt by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who feared the abolition of the agrarian law, and by her daughter Sempronia, the unattractive and barren wife of Scipio, unloving and unloved of her husband. According to others he had committed suicide in his despair at not being able to fulfil his promise. A report was current that certain of his slaves being put to the torture revealed that unknown persons introduced by a back door had strangled their master, and that they had feared to declare the fact, knowing the people would rejoice at it." It

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 18, 19, 20. He was fifty-six years of age. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 4.)

cannot be doubted that this murder was a reprisal for the murder of Tiberius; both sides began to taste blood.

The nobles, who perhaps dreaded Æmilianus as much as did the people, made no attempt to avenge his death; no inquiry was made as to its cause, and he who had destroyed "the two terrors of Rome" had not even a public funeral; one of his political opponents, however, paid him a noble testimony; Metellus Macedonicus desired that his sons should carry the bier. "Never," he said to them, "will it be in your power to render this duty to a greater man."



Funereal Couch.<sup>1</sup>

The Italians, long so eager for the right of citizenship, had for a moment believed their long efforts would at last be rewarded. Every day some of them slipped into Rome; one of their number, Perperna, had just been made consul, and Scipio had undertaken their cause. His death leaving them defenceless, the nobles made haste to shake off the new enemy who sought to mix in their domestic quarrels, and the senate caused all the Italians at that time in the city to be banished from Rome, so that the aged father of the conqueror of Aristonicus was compelled to snatch from his dwelling the consular emblems, and return to his village of Samnium, ignominiously expelled from a city which had once witnessed the triumph of his son (126).

The leaders of the popular party quickly perceived, however, that the senate by their severity were putting the opposition in possession of a powerful weapon, and they seized it with an able hand. Caius Gracchus, at this time quaestor, opposed the expulsion of the Italians, and one of the triumvirs, Fulvius, a friend of the elder Gracchus, being elected consul, gave them permission to appeal to the people against the decree of banishment; then, in order to unite in a common cause two interests hitherto conflicting,

<sup>1</sup> From a funereal bas-relief. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*.)



the people and the Italians, he proposed to give the right of citizenship to all those who had received no portion of public lands (125). Fortunately for the senate, whom the consul refused to convoke, the Massiliots at this time implored the assistance of Rome against their neighbours. Fulvius set out with an army; Caius had also been removed by exiling him as pro-quæstor to Sardinia, where an insurrection had just broken out,<sup>1</sup> and the inhabitants of Fregellæ, making the attempt to grasp by force that which had been denied to their entreaties, had an army sent against them under the prætor Opimius. The city, betrayed by one of its inhabitants, Numitorius Pullus, was taken and destroyed, and to this day has never revived.<sup>2</sup> This sanguinary execution arrested for thirty-five years the insurrection of Italy (125).

#### IV.—CAIUS GRACCHUS.

Caius was twenty-one years of age at the time of his brother's death. More impetuous, more eloquent, perhaps less pure in his ambition, he gave grander proportions to the struggle commenced by Tiberius. The latter had sought only to relieve the condition of the poor; Caius assumed to change the constitution itself. At first he had appeared to turn away from the legacy of blood which his brother had left him, but one night, says Cicero, he heard Tiberius saying to him, "Why hesitate, Caius? Thy destiny shall be the same as mine, to fight for the people, and to die for them."<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile he found the number of his partisans increasing as the assignments of land went on, and many owed their prosperity to the Sempronian law. The first time he spoke in public, loud applause welcomed him and inspired him with confidence; he supported the laws of Carbo,<sup>3</sup> and in 127 he offered himself as a candidate for the quæstorship. He was designated by lot to accompany the consul into Sardinia (126). Such was the ascendancy of his name over the allies that the province having on

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., IV. i. 12; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 3. See later the Social war; Val. Max., III. iv. 5; Cic., *Phil.*, iii. 6; Livy, *Epit.*, lx.

<sup>2</sup> It is not certain where this city stood, probably opposite Ceperano, but upon the left bank of the Liris.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Caius*, 28 seq.; Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 26. Cf. Val. Max., I. vi. 7.

account of a bad season been remitted the requisition of clothes for the soldiers, the quæstor went from town to town and obtained everywhere more than he asked for. Out of regard for him, Micipsa, the Numidian king, sent into Sardinia a great supply of corn. The senate were alarmed at the popularity of a young man who could feed and clothe an army, and to hinder the return of Caius to Rome, the consul was ordered to remain in his province even after the disbanding of the troops, which were replaced by new levies. But Caius did not accept his exile; he hastened to Rome to canvass for the tribunate, and being accused before the censors of having violated the law which required the quæstor to remain with his general, he defended himself by scattering from the rostra, as he himself said, swords and daggers:<sup>1</sup> "I have made twelve campaigns, and the law requires but ten; I have remained three years quæstor, and I could have retired after one year's service. In the province, not my ambition, but the public good has directed my conduct. I had no banquets in my abode nor handsome young slaves, and at my table your children's modesty has been respected more than in the tents of your chiefs. No man can say that he has given me a bribe or spent money for me. The purse that I took full from Rome has come back empty.



Young Slave.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Bronze bust. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vii. pl. 22.) The beauty of the hair added value to the possession of slaves of this kind. Thus the epithet *comatus*, the long-haired, became a synonym of profligate. (Mart., xii. 99.)

Others have brought back full of gold the amphoræ that they carried out full of wine."<sup>1</sup> Other pretexts were alleged against him, such as complicity in the revolt of the Fregellians, but this merely secured for him the favour of the Italians.

Meanwhile the brave Cornelia's courage began, it is said, to fail; it filled her with terror to see him following in his brother's footsteps, and she strove to dissuade him.<sup>2</sup>

But Caius could not draw back. The day of the election to the tribunate all the clients of the nobles, all the citizens scattered



Amphoræ.<sup>3</sup>

throughout Italy came in. The struggle was severe; the nobles could not prevent his election, but he was fourth on the list.

He was eager to inaugurate his office by offering to the *manes* of his brother an expiatory sacrifice of his enemies and murderers. "Whither shall I go?" he cried, with a powerful voice that thrilled all hearts, to the remotest ranks of the crowd, "where shall I find an asylum? In the Capitol? but the temple of the gods is stained with my brother's blood. In my father's house? but I find there an inconsolable mother. Romans, your fathers

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Campana Museum.

<sup>3</sup> The authenticity of her letters, some fragments of which have been preserved by Corn. Nepos, has been called in question; it is certain, however, that she wrote letters, and eloquent ones, admired by Cicero (*Brut.*, 58), but the eloquent apostrophe to Caius given by Nepos is not genuine.

declared war upon the Faliscans because they insulted the tribune Genucius. They condemned to death C. Veturius because he did not make way for a tribune who was crossing the Forum. It is a custom derived from our fathers that when a citizen accused of a capital crime does not appear, the herald shall go to his door in the morning, shall sound a trumpet and call him by name; only after this may the judges pronounce sentence; but under your eyes these men have slain Tiberius, and dragged his corpse ignominiously through the streets of the city!"

When he saw the people stirred by these words he proposed two laws; the first, directed against Octavius, was to the effect that no citizen once degraded from office by the popular vote could ever again be elected to any public position; the second that a magistrate who should have put to death or exiled a citizen without due form of law should be summoned before the people. At the entreaty of Cornelia he withdrew the former, but the former consul, Popillius Lænas, the persecutor of the partisans of Tiberius, fled the city as soon as the second became law. Tiberius had set the fatal example of impairing the inviolability of the tribuneship; Caius, in making his two laws retrospective, established the precedent of employing the law in the service of private vengeance. The day came when Clodius remembered this.

Having thus offered satisfaction to his brother's *manes*, Caius took up the projects of Tiberius and developed them further. They were as follows: a new confirmation of the agrarian law; regular distributions of corn at half price ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  *ases* the bushel);<sup>1</sup> gratuitous supply of military clothing to soldiers serving and prohibition of enrolment of young men before the completion of their seventeenth year;<sup>2</sup> the establishment of new taxes upon

<sup>1</sup> In Livy (*Ep.*, lx.) it is said  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an *as*: *semisses et trientes*, but the manuscripts authorize us to read: *senos [æris] et trientes*, as has been written by the Schol. Bob., *ad Cic. Sext.*, 25. Cf. Mommsen, *Die röm. Tribus*, p. 179. (The *modius* is a little more than a peck of our measure.) In commerce the *modius* was worth three or four *sestercies*, that is, twelve to sixteen *ases*. (Boeckh, *Metr. Unters.*, p. 420.) If the price of the *modius* had been only  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an *as* Cicero would not have been able to say in his oration (*pro Sestio*, 25) that Clodius in suppressing all taxes had caused the State to lose  $\frac{1}{2}$  of its revenues. The quantity allowed to each citizen was five *modii* a month.

<sup>2</sup> And perhaps also a reduction in the duration of military service required, from ten, namely, to six campaigns.

articles of luxury imported from foreign countries;<sup>1</sup> the establishment of colonies for the benefit of the poor; and, lastly, for those who needed employment while waiting for the agrarian law to take effect, the construction of public granaries, of bridges, and high-



Roman Horseman.<sup>3</sup>

ways, which he himself laid out, which would increase the value of lands by opening thoroughfares. Caius also established mile-posts, indicating distances, and blocks to accommodate riders.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he flattered the pride of the multitude; the rostra had been placed before the comitium under the eye of the senate, and public speakers had been wont to turn towards the senate in their addresses; Caius, however, always pointedly addressed the crowd as the true masters, the sovereign people, of Rome.

The laws proposed by the new tribune were all excellent; one of them, however, has given rise to many declamations, the selling of corn to the people under the market price. But this measure, to which the senate had often recourse, was a strictly logical consequence of the rights involved in victory, as understood by the Romans, and with them by all ancient nations. In accordance with these ideas, the conquered owed, as the price of his life, a portion of his income, which he paid in the form of a tax, and a portion of his land, which he gave up for the public domain of the victor. These lands and this money were then divided into two parts—one reserved for the needs of the State, the other claimed in the name of those who, being, in spite of

<sup>1</sup> *Nova portoria*. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 6.) The *portorium*, or port dues, was an *ad valorem* tax of 2½ per cent. for ordinary objects (Quintil., *Declam.*) and for objects of luxury of 12 per cent.

<sup>2</sup> [The ancients used no stirrups; hence mounting on horseback was always difficult for ordinary riders.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> From the column of Marcus Aurelius.

their destitution, the sovereign people, had a right to apply by vote to the relief of their own suffering what was gained in common upon the field of battle, but of which the rich had hitherto assumed the sole disposal. Now the *ager publicus* was at this time sufficiently extensive, and the revenues drawn from the provinces abundant enough, to justify the State in dividing both lands and corn among its poorer citizens. To those who were willing to go away from Rome as colonists Caius gave land; to those who preferred to remain in the city he distributed corn. His law was, therefore, no more than a special form of those agrarian laws which we must consider as legitimate then, though they would be unjust at the present day. That this law had not been proposed sooner was simply due to the fact that it had not been needed so long as the class of petty landowners preserved Rome from pauperism. But institutions change with manners; by the growth of a starving populace the rendering of State assistance became a social necessity, which the second Cato, one of the chiefs of the aristocracy himself, recognized when he took up the law which Caius had introduced, and even made it more liberal. The assistance which we give to our poor through charity the Roman society gave from a sense of justice, at least as justice was at that time understood.<sup>1</sup>

After having by these popular innovations gained the army, the rustic tribes, and the poor of Rome, Caius began to attack the privileged classes. Since the year 179 the nobles and the richer citizens had again possessed themselves of the preponderance in the centuriate assembly; to deprive them of it without again throwing this assembly into disorder the tribune obtained the passage of a decree that in future the order in which the centuries

<sup>1</sup> By the extinction, after the conquest of Macedon, of the only tax which the citizens paid, *tributum ex censu*, Rome had announced her intention of living at the expense of her conquests, which should henceforth pay for the army and the expenses of government. The *frumentationes* were a consequence of this principle; the subjects, by their contributions in kind, furnished a part of their masters' subsistence. Observe that any citizen living in Rome, whether he were rich or poor, *ἐκαστος τῶν δημοτῶν* (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 21), *viritem* (Cic., *Tuscul.*, iii. 20), had a right to share in these distributions, but it was necessary to be present in person, as was one day the consul Piso. (Cic., *ibid.*) This necessity had the effect of hindering the rich from taking their share as mendicants, but it confirms what we have said of the character of these laws. The corn paid in tribute was as much the property of the citizens as the money so paid, the former helped them to live, the latter defrayed the expenses of government.



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voted should be determined by lot. The last might thus be called on first, and the majority would no longer depend on the vote of the rich. The vote of the *centuria*, which went first to the polls, the *centuria prærogativa*, had in the eyes of the Romans a special importance, being, as they conceived, in some way the result of divine inspiration,<sup>1</sup> and the determining



Gratuitous Distribution to the People.<sup>2</sup>

the judicial authority in criminal cases brought before the tribunal of the *questiones perpetue*.<sup>3</sup>

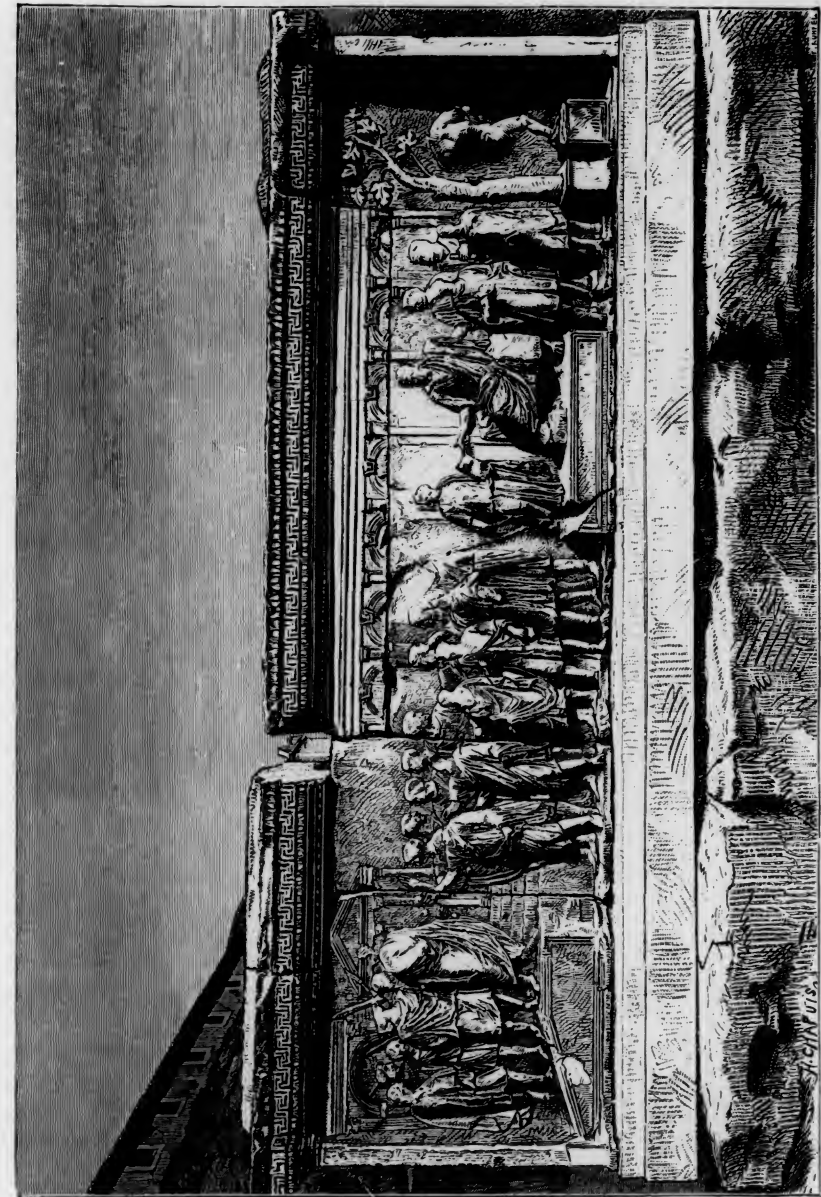
<sup>1</sup> . . . . *Prærogativam omen comitiorum*. (Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 45, ii. 40.) It has been maintained that by the new order only the first to vote out of the seventy centuries should be selected by lot. (See vol. i. p. 560, n. 1.) So small a reform as this would not have been worthy the attention of Caius, for it would have changed hardly anything. (Cf. Cic., *pro Mur.*, 23, and Sallust, *Ep. to Cæsar*, 7.)

<sup>2</sup> From a coin of Nerva (enlarged). The emperor in person is seated at the left on a kind of stage (*suggestum*); before him an officer employed in the distribution of assistance in giving bread to a citizen who is coming up the steps, while another officer or magistrate presents to the inspection of the emperor the ticket (*tessera*) which the citizen has given him. A statue of Mars presides over the scene.

<sup>3</sup> See in Cicero's orations against *Verres* the political importance which he attaches to the tribunals: *ejusmodi respublica debet esse et erit, veritate judiciorum constituta ut . . .* (II. in *Verr.*, iii. 69.) In the last century of the Republic, and perhaps as far back as the year 129(?), the knights had been obliged to relinquish the horse at public expense, that is to say, withdraw from the equestrian order when they entered the senate. For the equestrian rank, property of at least the value of 400,000 *sestercies* was requisite.

this by lot gave a democratic air to the whole transaction. New clauses added to the *Porcian law* forbade all magistrates to proceed against any citizen without the order of the people. This was, in effect, to deprive the senate of its right to have recourse to a dictatorship or to extraordinary commissions, like the one which had been so severe towards the partisans of Tiberius.

A much more important change gave to the equestrian order all



Bas-relief from the Forum representing (1) an Orator on the Rostra, (2) a Judge sitting in Court.

In a republic the judicial power is perhaps the most important. If it fall into the hands of a party it becomes an instrument of persecution and injustice. Hence in the Italian cities of the mediæval period the *podestat* was never a citizen, but a foreigner. At Rome, when the senate gave decisions, *judicia publica*, that is to say, when it united the executive and judicial powers, besides a considerable share of legislative authority, the ruling class were almost sure of impunity. At this very time envoys from several provinces were vainly asking for justice upon Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and Manius Aquillius. Moreover, these senatorial judges were not all men of character. An orator depicts them on their way to their session after revels with courtesans. "When the tenth hour<sup>1</sup> approaches they send a slave to the Forum to know what has been done, who has spoken on both sides, and how the tribunes have voted. The moment having arrived, they present themselves in the comitium just in time to escape their fine, and come into the tribunal in very ill-humour.<sup>2</sup> 'Begin,' they cry, 'let us hear the arguments.' They have witnesses summoned, making various interruptions;<sup>3</sup> then, calling for the documents in the case, and heavy with wine, can scarcely raise an eyelid. Finally they vote, exclaiming, 'What nonsense all this is! Let us have some good Greek wine mixed with honey and a fat thrush, with a pike caught between the bridges.'"<sup>4</sup>

Caius profited by this kind of scandal to propose his law, which was designed to separate from the senate a certain number of wealthy citizens and place the governors of provinces at the mercy of the bankers, *argentarii*. If the knights, in fact, filled all the tribunals, the publicans had no reason to fear that any

<sup>1</sup> The Roman day was divided, for summer as well as winter, into twelve parts, the hours differing in length according to the time of year. Thus at the summer solstice the first hour began at 4.27 and ended at 5.42½, the twelfth at 6.17½ and ended at 7.33. At the winter solstice the first hour began at 7.33 and ended at 8.17½, the twelfth at 3.42½ and ended at 4.27. The tenth, therefore, corresponded to 3.46½ in summer, and 2.13½ winter. (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie*.)

<sup>2</sup> Martial, xii. 48. Cf. also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Quippe qui vesicam plenam vini habent.* (Discourse of the Roman knight Titius in 161 in support of the Fannian law, in Macrobius, *Sat.*, II. ix. 12.)

<sup>4</sup> The pike, fattened upon all the filth of the Tiber, had a great reputation.



one would dare to appeal from their exactions, and upright

governors were in danger of a capital sentence.

In bringing about a revolution like this in the judicature Caius gave a sore blow to public morals. If the senators did not administer justice in all cases faithfully, the men of money sold it,<sup>1</sup> an infamy to which the nobles rarely stooped. Doubtless he had foreseen this danger, and the reproaches of the old Romans, who cried out to him, "The Republic has now two heads; shall this civil war be eternal?"<sup>2</sup> But his brother having failed in creating from the people, by the re-establishment of small farmers, a middle class between the senate and the populace, Caius resigned himself to the forming of



Tomb of an *Argentarius*.<sup>3</sup>

this intermediate order from men who should belong to the people

<sup>1</sup> However, the praetor Hostilius Tubulus, whom Cicero calls the vilest of men, did in fact sell his vote in a criminal case in the year 142; for this crime he was prosecuted and sentenced to death, and took poison in prison. (Cic., *ad Att.*, xii. 5, *de Fin.*, ii. 16, and Asconius in Cicero. Scauro, p. 25, Orelli's edition.)

<sup>2</sup> *Bicipitem ex una fecerat civitatem*. (Flor., iii. 17; Cf. Vell. Patern., ii. 6.) This change was so important that Tacitus reduces nearly to this one question the rivalry between Marius and Sylla: . . . *de eo vel praecipue bellarent*. (Ann., xii. 60.) Cicero says also in the *pro Font.*, 3: *Quum . . . maximi exercitus civium dissiderent de judiciis ac legibus*. Plutarch (Caius, 3) says that the list of the judges comprised 300 senators and 300 knights; it is possible in a former scheme of a law Caius made this concession to the senate, but he must have suppressed it later, for otherwise it is impossible to understand the importance of this reform. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 22) affirms, moreover, that Caius transferred the judicial powers from the senators to the knights. It was doubtless he who fixed their property qualification at 400,000 *sesterces*.

<sup>3</sup> Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, vol. ii. pl. xxii. fig. 6.

by their origin, and to the nobles by their wealth. Unfortunately this was not creating a new class, but merely a new party.<sup>1</sup> The great capitalists, the men of equestrian rank, and the *publicani* (these latter terms having come to be nearly synonymous)<sup>2</sup> by this time formed a powerful body, to whom the judicial decisions should by no means have been entrusted if justice was to keep clear from party quarrels. But Caius could not bring down to any lower class the functions which had always heretofore been reserved for the chiefs of the State.<sup>3</sup> Half a century must pass before it will at last be understood that, to secure impartiality, the administration of justice should be entrusted not to any one class of citizens, but to the most upright citizens of all classes. And for Caius, moreover, in this reform the political question obscured the question of equity; any weapon seemed to him good against his opponents. He believed that what he took away from the senate would be of service to the people and to liberty, and that the equestrian order would through gratitude aid him in his other designs. "With one blow I have broken," he said, "the pride and the power of the nobles." They knew it, and threatened him with their vengeance. "But," he said, "though you should kill me, can you pluck out the sword I have buried in your side?"<sup>4</sup> And in spite of Montesquieu's severe judgment, who wrote in that parliamentary spirit so hostile to bribery, in spite of the fact, too well established, that unjust sentences were often given by the new judges, we must applaud this attempt of Caius to create what Napoleon used to call a great intermediate body. Without it perhaps the Republic would have perished earlier than it did, for it was with the equestrian order that Cicero opposed Catiline. But still the world would have been the gainer, had this death-struggle of liberty been of briefer duration.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Judicial decisions became so ready a weapon in the hands of parties that *seven times* in the space of fifty-three years the organization of the tribunals was changed, and every change corresponds to a revolution in the State.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero himself says: *publicani, hoc est, equites Romani*. (II. in Verr., iii. 72.)

<sup>3</sup> A *lex Servilia repetundarum* (C. I. L., vol. i. No. 198) and another *lex Acilia*, both of uncertain date, but posterior to Caius, determine various details of the new judicial organization.

<sup>4</sup> *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 10, 115; *ad Diod.*, xxxviii. 9. See in Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xi. 10, other very bitter words against the senate.

<sup>5</sup> There is no inconsistency between this and what has been said earlier, that the publicans

Caius believed that he had restored strength to the constitution; to make the empire firmer, by interesting a numerous population in its defence, he now proposed to give to the Latin allies the right to aspire to Roman magistracies, *jus honorum*, and to the Italians the right of suffrage. The strength of the democratic party was to be greatly increased, but the aristocratic element was also to strengthen itself by the allied nobles whom their fortune classed with the equestrian order; the senate with its noblesse, the knights with their judicial power, would be strong enough to repress the crowd and maintain the balance of power.



Warrior found near Tarentum.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the soldiers received gratuitous clothing, the poor of the city corn, the Latins a share in the magistracies, the Italians the prospect of citizenship, the equestrian order judicial functions, that is to say, the poor were succoured, the oppressed defended, and an attempt made to establish an equilibrium in the State: such were the acts of that memorable tribuneship. Caius had put in practice what his brother and his brother-in-law, Tiberius and Scipio Æmilianus, had desired. He seemed greater than either of them, and to see him constantly surrounded by magistrates, soldiers, men of letters, artists, ambassadors, one would have thought him a king in Rome. He was so, in truth, by the popular favour, by the terror of the nobles, by the gratitude of the equestrian order<sup>2</sup> and of the Italians; and to this he sought to add the affection of the people of the provinces. The pro-prætor

supported Cæsar against the republican oligarchy. They served different men, always, however, remaining faithful to the same conservative principles, allies of Cicerò against the accomplices of Catiline, who wished for nothing but pillage, allies of Cæsar against a feeble government, which was ruining them by allowing the empire to be disorganized.

<sup>1</sup> A pretty statuette in bronze, belonging to the collection of M. Gréan, exhibited in the Trocadéro (Paris) in 1878.

<sup>2</sup> To him had been conceded by the people the right to name the 300 knights who were to be judges. (Plut., *Caius*, 3-7.)

had sent from Spain corn wrung from the inhabitants by extortion, and Caius caused its price to be remitted to them. The consuls had been accustomed to obtain from the senate such provinces as they individually selected for the prospect of military glory or for the opportunity of pillage; he obtained a decree that the provinces should be named before the election of the consuls, and lots drawn for them so that the interests of the State, and no longer those of the individual, should be consulted.<sup>1</sup> He also proposed to rebuild Capua and Tarentum, and notwithstanding the imprecations which had been pronounced against the re-building of Carthage, to send thither a colony<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of showing to the world the new spirit of free thought and grandeur which henceforth should reign in the councils of Rome.<sup>3</sup>

Tiberius had formed the design of regulating the financial organization of Pergamean Asia, recently acquired by Rome, but his life had been cut short. Caius now took up his brother's plan and obtained a decree from the popular assembly that the tithes of Asia should be farmed out at Rome by the censors, a regulation which has been generally regarded as merely a favour to the publicans, but which, to judge from the general spirit of the tribune's reforms, must have been, at least in the beginning, a measure intended to benefit the new province.

To consolidate his power and render his work lasting, Caius asked the people to appoint as consul his friend Fannius Strabo. As for himself, he had no need to solicit a second term of office, for he was unanimously re-elected. The nobles were completely overthrown; knowing, however, the fickle character of the populace, they prepared a scheme against Caius, by means of which they ere long succeeded in destroying his popularity, and this was to show themselves more on the popular side than himself. They suborned one of the newly-elected tribunes, Livius Drusus, who outbid in the senate each proposition of his colleague. Caius had asked for the establishment of two

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Jug.*, 27; Cic. *de Prov. cons.*, 2, 15. [This was one of his best laws, provided no great crisis required a special general; but this difficulty was easily met.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> This was the first attempt to apply to the provinces the system that had so well succeeded in Italy, by which the Latin race was to be propagated throughout the empire.

<sup>3</sup> It should here be said that we are not able to distinguish between the laws of the first and second tribuneship of Caius, nor is the question important.

colonies; Livius proposed to found twelve, of 3,000 citizens each. He had subjected the lands distributed to the poor to an annual tax; Livius suppressed the tax. It was his design to give full citizenship to the Latins; this Livius vetoed, but asked and obtained a decree that henceforward no Latin soldier should be beaten with rods. In his eagerness Caius put himself upon all commissions, drew money from the treasury for the public works that he had caused to be voted and took charge of them himself,

Juno.<sup>1</sup>

was seen everywhere and busy about everything. Drusus, on the other hand, affected to limit himself strictly to the duties of his office, and this reserve, this probity, careful to avoid even the slightest suspicion of ambition or avidity, charmed the crowd, which is delighted with contrasts, and eager for anything novel.

Fannius also had gone over to the faction of the nobles and opposed the man to whom he owed his consulship. In opposition to the proposal to accord the full franchise to the Latins, he pronounced a discourse much admired even in the time of Cicero, a remaining fragment of which, however, shows us that exciting the appetites of the rabble was sufficient to hinder a new step in the traditional practice of Rome, namely, the progressive enlargement of the city.

"You believe, then, that after you have given the city to the Latins you will remain what you are to-day; you will have the same place in the comitia, in the games, in the amusements (and we cannot doubt that he added "in the distributions")? Do you not see that these men will fill all<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3199 of the catalogue. The right hand is damaged.

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, *Orat. Rom. frag.*, p. 191.

will take all?" No higher arguments were needed with men who, having as Cato said, a belly but no ears, sold themselves to the highest bidder.

Wearied of this strange strife, Caius set off to conduct 6,000 Roman colonists to Carthage, which he named *Junonia*, the city of Juno.<sup>1</sup> This absence, imprudently prolonged for three months, left the field open to Drusus, and he was able to make it plain to the equestrian order that they could henceforth only lose by an alliance with this tribune, the executor of the agrarian law, and to the people that the senate, while even more liberal than Caius towards them, would not degrade them by raising the Italians to equal privileges.

When Caius reappeared his popularity was gone; his friends in danger, the equestrian order detached from him, and one of his most violent enemies, Opimius, the destroyer of Fregellæ, proposed for the consulate. From this time it was evident that the tragedy of Tiberius was coming on again. Caius quitted his home on the Palatine and took lodgings near the Forum to be in the midst of the people, and called around him the Latins. But a consular edict banished all Italians from Rome, the tribune vainly protesting against this decree, but not daring to hinder its execution. Under his eyes one of his friends and guests was dragged to prison, and he did not interfere. His confidence was gone, and soon the last remnant of power slipped from his hands; he could not obtain a third term of office as tribune (122).

The new consul, to exasperate Caius and drive him to some act which would justify violence, spoke openly of annulling the tribunes' laws, and ordered an inquiry into the *Junonian* colony. Directly all the evil omens of which the senate had need were

Opimius.<sup>2</sup>Diademed Juno, with the *Aegis* of Minerva.<sup>3</sup>

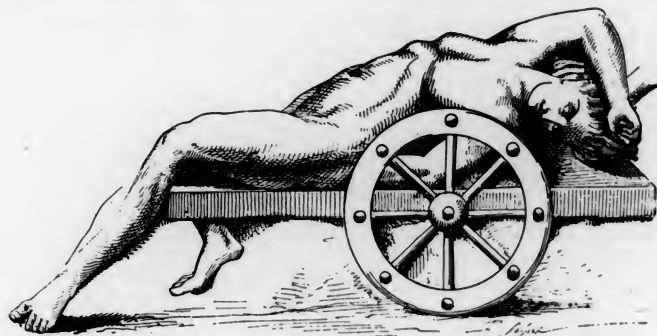
<sup>1</sup> We have seen (vol. i. p. 532, n. 5) that the legend of Æneas was received in Italy as early as the middle of the third century B.C.; the name given by Caius to Carthage makes allusion to the other part of the legend preserved by Virgil, the hatred of Juno towards the fugitive Trojans.

<sup>2</sup> L. OPEIMI ROMA. Victory in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the Opimian family. The consulate of Opimius was remarkable for the extreme heat of the autumn and the excellence of that year's vintage, long famous under the name of *vinum Opimianum*. Some of it had been preserved as late as the time of Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 4.)

<sup>3</sup> Sardonyx from the *Cabinet de France*.



forthcoming: a standard torn by the wind from the hands that held it and broken in pieces; the entrails of the victim swept from the altar by a furious gust and flung outside the enclosure; the boundary stones of the city even dug up by wolves and carried off. The gods manifestly would not endure that the accursed city should be rebuilt, and the man who had proposed this was guilty of sacrilege towards the immortal gods and towards Rome. He must defend himself or expect destruction. The first blood was shed by the partisans of reform; they slew one Antyllius, who, according to some, had merely grasped the hands of Caius, imploring him to spare his country, but, according to others,



Corpse upon a Cart.<sup>1</sup>

being a consular licitor, had insulted the ex-tribune and his friends, crying out to them, "Bad citizens, make way for honest men!"

Violent rain coming on separated the parties; on the morrow, at the break of day, Opimius convened the senate. While they were assembling, men selected by the consul laid the body of Antyllius upon a bier, and after bearing it through the city with lamentations, set it down before the door of the senate-house. The senators interrupted their debate to come forth and look upon this corpse, so useful to their purpose; they surrounded it, lamenting loudly, and honouring with feigned grief the death of this hireling, they who not long before had dragged through the streets

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief from a Roman tomb.

and cast into the Tiber the grandson of the conqueror of Zama. Returning to their seats they at once invested Opimius with the dictatorial power by the formula, *videret Consul ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet*.<sup>1</sup>

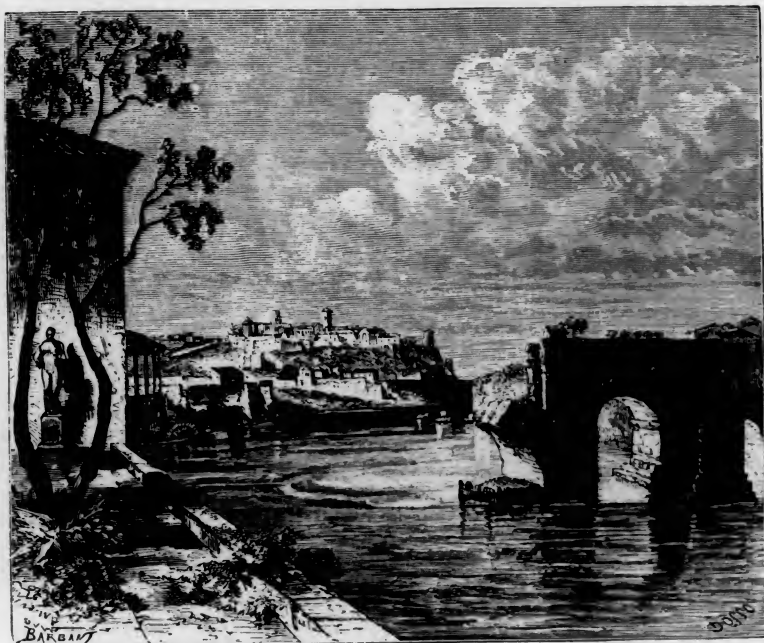
By carrying the dead body through the city a part of the populace had been excited; by a promise of amnesty to those who should abandon the tribune before the combat another portion had been detached; the decree "against the tyrants" completed the work, isolating the democratic faction and serving as a pretext to all forms of cowardice, especially that of the rich, those same publicans who owed so much to Gracchus, and who did nothing for him.

During the night, Opimius had posted a band of Cretan archers in the Capitol and the temple of the Dioscuri, whence he commanded the entire Forum. He enjoined the senators and the knights of their party to arm themselves and retainers and bring them to the curia. They eagerly obeyed; even the aged Metellus, conqueror of Macedon and Greece, returned to the senate-house with sword and buckler. On the other side also preparations were made, but without order or decision. The ex-consul Fulvius, one of the triumvirs appointed for the execution of the agrarian law, had armed his followers with the Gallic weapons hung as trophies in his house, and had taken up a position upon the Aventine, the old citadel of the plebeians; he was here joined by a band of freedmen and peasants, whom Cornelia had sent to her son disguised as harvest men. As he went Fulvius had called slaves to liberty. In the days of their power these reformers had only seen the destitution of the Roman populace; oppressed in their turn they remembered at the last moment men more wretched still, and added a new cause of displeasure to all those which had so exasperated the nobles against them.

Caius shrank from such a violent struggle; he knew that his last hour had come, and his sacrifice was prepared: these Romans knew how to die. But his great designs must also fall with him; and to feel that soon nothing would remain of his generous efforts—this was the poignant grief that cut him to the heart.

<sup>1</sup> [This decree was a direct violation of the *lex Sempronia* passed two years before. (Cf. p. 426.)—*Ed.*]

The evening before, returning from the Forum, he had stopped before his father's statue, contemplating it for a long time, the tears running silently down his face. In the morning he went out wearing his toga as usual, and having only a short dagger in his belt, not for purposes of fighting, but to remain master of his life, or, rather, of his death. His wife, Licinia, would have stopped him on the threshold, but he gently freed himself from her. When



The Aventine Hill and Remains of the *ponte Rotto*.<sup>1</sup>

he went away she fell fainting, and her slaves carried her, still unconscious, to the house of Crassus, her brother.

Following the advice of Caius, Fulvius sent to the senators his youngest son, carrying a caduceus in his hand; the boy was

<sup>1</sup> The *ponte Rotto*, originally *pons Æmilius*(?), finished while the second Africanus was censor (142), seems to have been constructed with the design of doing duty for the *pons Sublicius*, which was of wood, and preserved from religious considerations, although it had ceased to be employed for traffic. (See vol i. p. 29, 55, and 83.) Engraving from the Duchess of Devonshire's *Aeneid*.

a handsome child, and some of the senators were touched by his appeals for reconciliation, made with tears. Opimius, however, haughtily declared that the guilty should not be allowed to say anything through the medium of a messenger, but must appear in person if they hoped to mitigate the senate's just displeasure. Caius was willing to go before the senate, to demand a trial, and to plead once more the people's cause together with his own, but his friends would not suffer this, and Fulvius sent again by his son to obtain if possible some guarantee of their personal safety. Then the consul, impatient to bring the matter to a close, ordered the boy to be detained and marched upon the Aventine with a body of soldiers and the Cretan archers, whose arrows quickly put to flight the cowardly rabble, already reduced to half its number by a fresh offer of amnesty. Fulvius and his eldest son having taken refuge in a deserted hut were discovered and massacred.<sup>1</sup>

Caius had taken no part in the struggle; withdrawing into the temple of Diana he would have plunged the dagger into his breast: had not two of his friends, Pomponius and Licinius, wrested it from him. As the pursuers drew near, his friends dragged him towards the *pons Sublicius*, guarding behind him the narrow entrance to it until they were both cut down. Caius with a slave, Philocrates, fled, and not an arm was raised to defend him; had he obtained a horse he would have escaped; he called out for one as he fled, but those who were looking on contented themselves with encouraging him by voice and gesture, "as though he were running a race for some prize." He took shelter in the grove of the Furies, and at his own command was stabbed by his slave, who then slew himself upon his master's corpse. Opimius had promised to pay its weight in gold for the head of the ex-tribune. A friend of the consul, Septimuleius, took out the brain and ran the cavity full of lead, demanding and receiving for it the 17 lbs. 8 oz. of gold which it weighed. The same reward had been offered for the head of Fulvius, but the persons who brought it in were poor men,



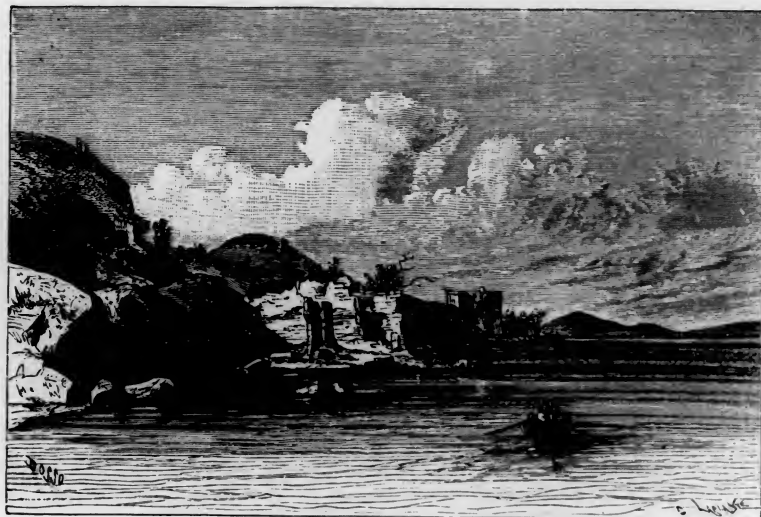
Fulvius.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The soldiers of Opimius had threatened to burn all that quarter of the city if the place of refuge of Fulvius were not made known to them. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> CN. FULV. M. CALP. Q. MET. Victory in a biga. Reverse of a denarius of the three families united -- Fulvian, Calpurnian, Cæcilian. (Metellus.)

and received nothing. In the struggle of that day 3,000 men perished, and those who were not slain were later strangled in prison. The boy Fulvius was murdered in cold blood. The houses of the partisans of Caius were razed to the ground, their property confiscated, it was forbidden to their widows to wear mourning, and they went so far as to deprive of her dowry the wife of Caius (121).

By-and-by statues were erected in honour of the Gracchi, altars set up where they had been slain, and sacrifices and offerings



Ruins at Misenum. (Engraving from the *Bibliothèque nationale*.)

long kept them in public memory. This tardy recognition consoled Cornelia, too faithful perhaps to her austere character. She withdrew to her house at Cape Misenum, and there surrounded by envoys from kings and by learned men of Greece, she took pleasure in relating to her astonished guests the story of the life and death of her two sons, herself as unmoved and tearless as if she had been telling the story of some hero of ancient days. Sometimes, too, she told the story of her father, Africanus, and she would add, "The grandsons of this great man were my children. They perished in the temple and grove sacred to the gods. They have the tombs that their virtues merited, for they sacrificed their lives to the noblest of aims, the desire to promote the welfare of the people."

Shall the verdict of history endorse Cornelia's? Yes, since Rome, now become a world, could not preserve the constitution which served for the modest city of the Seven Hills. The Gracchi strove to effect these modifications by legal measures; they failed; presently the experiment was tried by force of arms. Caius was the precursor of the Cæsars in his struggle against the aristocracy and in the nature of his power, for the most important of all the imperial prerogatives was the tribunitian power, the same with which Caius was invested, the same also which in our days the Napoleons revived under the name of the *plebiscite*. His two tribunates were nothing less than a monarchy, but without the military element added by the emperors, which presently brought ruin on the empire. He constituted a popular "tyranny," using the word in its Greek meaning, and had he succeeded a civil power would have arisen, in the interests of citizens, allies, and provincials, above the faction of the nobles.<sup>1</sup>

Rome was now destined to struggle for a hundred years in the midst of murders, proscriptions, and ruins, against that inevitable solution of the problem of her destinies which by the civil wars became sanguinary, while Caius might have kept it pacific. But by whom was Rome forced into this *via dolorosa*? By those who inaugurated the era of revolutions in assassinating the two tribunes whose laws would have secured to the Romans peace and liberty for many generations. The violence against the Gracchi and their friends was destined to breed other violence, and justice being on the side of the first victims, the last expiation was to be undergone by the sons of their murderers. The logic of history decrees that every great fault, social or political, must have its punishment.

<sup>1</sup> In his treatise *De la Propriété d'après le Code civil*, M. Troplong, speaking of this agrarian law, says (p. 97): "The idea was generous, just, useful, and in the good sense of the word, it was democratic . . . That Rome perished . . . may be due to the fact that the policy of these great citizens was not heeded."



Sword found at Pompeii.



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE ARISTOCRATIC REACTION; EARLY CAREER OF MARIUS:

JUGURTHA (121-106).

#### I.—ARISTOCRATIC REACTION.

WHEN the 3,000 corpses had been thrown into the Tiber, the blood washed away in the streets, and the price for the murder paid, the savage Opimius, to render the memory of this odious victory immortal, caused a medal to be struck, representing himself as Hercules with a laurel wreath and a club. After this he purified the city by lustrations and consecrated a temple to Concord,<sup>1</sup> a derisive parody of the last act of the life of Camillus. But Camillus had not murdered Licinius, and he had, in truth, closed an era of disturbance, while Opimius opened an era of proscriptions.



Hercules with his Club.<sup>2</sup>

Meantime the nobles dared not too quickly make use of their victory; they took fifteen years to overthrow the work of the Gracchi. After having intimidated the triumvir Papirius Carbo, the only remaining friend of Caius, they dishonoured him by obliging him to

<sup>1</sup> This temple was rebuilt in white marble by Tiberius, and later restored by S. Severus. There yet remain magnificent ruins, whence has been made the restoration shown on vol. i. p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Statuette of bronze found near Valenciennes, and now in the museum at Rennes. M. E

defend Opimius, cited by a tribune to answer for the murder of so many citizens. The year after they caused him to be himself accused by the young Crassus. Opimius had been acquitted, but Carbo only escaped condemnation by suicide. The laws meanwhile were one after another modified or repealed. The permission granted to each man to sell his lot resulted in the land nearly all returning to the rich. Then the tribune Thorius carried a law that the public domain should not be further divided, and that the holders should retain possession by the payment of a tax, the proceeds of which should be distributed among the people. This was, in effect, a poor-law. The populace of Rome were delighted; but presently M. Octavius diminished the gratuitous distributions of corn, and in the year 111 a tribune, whose name Appian does not give, suppressed the tax.<sup>2</sup>



Carbo.<sup>1</sup>

The nobles desired neither the reconstruction of a middle class, which might call them to account, nor the extension of citizenship to the Italians, which would have brought down Rome from the rank of mistress of Italy to the condition of a simple capital, not transmarine colonies, Latinizing the provinces and propagating these rights which they would be obliged to respect. They alone in the senate and in all public functions; below them a populace easy to alarm by the Cretan archers, or to gratify by games and distributions: such was their short-sighted policy. At the same time they dared not yet lay hand upon the laws concerning the *judicia*, lest they should offend the powerful order established by Caius, which had just aided them in his destruction. They understood also that to preserve the power which was coming back to them it was needful to prevent by some severe acts new attacks from the tribunes. In the year 116 the censors, Metellus Dalmaticus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, degraded thirty-two senators, two of whom were ex-censors, and they also expelled from the city play-actors, and prohibited all games except those of dice and

de Chanot (*Gazette archéol.*, 1875) regards it, and justly, as an antique [though very rude] copy of the famous Hercules, whose type is best known in the Farnese Hercules.

<sup>1</sup> CARB. ROMA. Jupiter Tonans in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the Papirian family.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *Brut.*, 36.

huckle-bones.<sup>1</sup> The following year the consul Scaurus published a new sumptuary law, and limited the freedmen to the city tribes. Two years after, the austere Cassius Longinus condemned many vestals whom the pontifex Maximus had not dared to punish.<sup>2</sup> Finally, when the scandals of the Numidian war broke out, the knights, sharing in the indignation of the people, punished a pontifex and several persons of consular family. But the nobles regarded this as going too far, and in the year 106 the consul Cæpio asked to



Women Playing with Huckle-bones.<sup>3</sup>

have half the juries restored to the senators. "Rescue us!" Crassus, the orator, cried, appealing to the people, "rescue us from the savage beasts, whose cruelty cannot satiate itself with our blood; do not suffer us to be subjected to any other than yourselves, for we cannot and ought not to have other masters than you, the people!"<sup>4</sup> These humble words gained the multitude, which

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<sup>3</sup> The engraving represents a group in terra-cotta found at Capua, and acquired in 1866 by the British Museum, and published by the *Gazette archéologique* (1876, p. 971) with a learned paper by A. S. Murray.

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 52.

disarmed itself, and the *judicia* were divided.<sup>1</sup> There was a general relapse of the poor into extreme destitution, of the rich into luxury and insolence: the two sons of Cornelia had left but a memory of blood.

"But," says another tribune, Mirabeau, whose name is as great, though less pure, "when the last of the Gracchi fell he threw dust towards heaven, and from that dust was born Marius." Less than two years after the death of Caius, Marius became tribune.

## II.—EARLY CAREER OF MARIUS.<sup>2</sup>

He was a citizen of Arpinum,<sup>3</sup> rude as Cato, illiterate, loving neither school nor theatre,<sup>4</sup> and, had it not been for the Cimbrian wars, a man who could never have played a leading part. An intrepid soldier, a good general, but without superior qualities, and unskilled in the arts of government, he was as irresolute in the Forum as he was firm in the camp. Living from day to day, and having no fixed designs, he betrayed in his long career, by turns, the senate, the democratic chiefs, and the allies, and ended by re-entering Rome—he, "the third founder of the city"—at the head of an army of slaves enticed away from their

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., vi. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Marius had but two names, Caius Marius; Plutarch expresses surprise at this, because the Romans had three, and sometimes four: 1st. The *prænomen*, for the individual, as Caius, Cneus, Lucius, Marcus, Sextus, and corresponding to our baptismal name; there were not more than thirty of these in the Roman vocabulary. 2nd. The *nomen* (*gentilitium*) or name of the *gens* to which the individual belonged, terminating always in *ius* or *eius*. 3rd. The *cognomen*, serving to distinguish the different families belonging to the same *gens*, drawn from certain circumstances. *Moral*: Imperiosus (the violent), Brutus (the fool), Cato, Catulus (the crafty); *physical*: Cæcus (the blind), Cicero (the chick-pea), Scipio (the staff); or, lastly, *historic*: Magnus, Maximus, Torquatus (with the collar), etc. 4th. The *agnomen*, in memory of a victory, Africanus, Asiaticus, Creticus, Macedonicus. Thus in P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, Publius is the *prænomen*, Cornelius the name of the *gens* (Cornelia), Scipio that of the family, and Africanus the surname. It is believed that the cognomen Scipio comes from some Cornelius having guided the steps of his blind father, as the latter might have employed a staff, *patrem pro baculo regebat*. (Macr., *Sat.*, I. vi. 26.)

<sup>3</sup> Born in a village of the Arpinate territory, which is still called the country of Marius, *Casamari*.

<sup>4</sup> After his triumph he gave Greek games, at which he was present himself, but for a few minutes. He was never willing to learn Greek nor to sacrifice, as Pluto says, to the Muses and the Graces.

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masters. Scipio had remarked his courage at the siege of Numantia, and it is said that being asked on one occasion what general would take his place, rejoined, "This man, perhaps," touching Marius on the shoulder, a prophecy invented, like so many others, after the fact. The support of the Metelli, former protectors of his family,<sup>1</sup> raised Marius in 119 to the office of tribune. His first act was an



Caius Marius.<sup>2</sup>

endeavour to make the elections purer. The candidates and their friends, for the purpose of soliciting votes up to the last moment, were accustomed to station themselves upon the gangways leading to the poll. To keep them away Marius proposed so to narrow the passage that only one man could go through at a time. All the nobility cried out against this audacity of an unknown young man, but Marius, in the presence of the senate, threatened the consul with imprisonment, and called on his officer to drag Metellus to prison. The nobles were not willing to engage in a fresh struggle for a matter of secondary importance, and the proposal became law. The people applauded. A few days later the tribune interposed to prevent a gratuitous distribution of corn; this assumption to dictate to both parties turned all against him. He failed, therefore, when he sought successively the two ædileships, and

in 117 he was the last of the prætors elected. Even the reproach of having used bribery was brought against him on this occasion. The nobles at this time made a shew of great strictness. One of the friends of Marius, the senator Cassius Sabaco, had

<sup>1</sup> He himself was not, however, their client; his father was C. Herennius. (Plut., *Mar.*, 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Statue in the Capitoline Museum. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 902, No. 2304.) The view of Arpinum is from the work by Marianna, *Viaggi in alcune città del Lazio*, pl. 48.



taken the liberty of bringing his slave with him into the enclosure reserved for the senators, and the day being very hot, he had sent this slave to bring him water. For this offence the censors expelled him from the senate, either his testimony had been false, it was said, or he was guilty of having given the people an example of effeminacy. Marius himself was accused; among the witnesses summoned was C. Herennius, who refused his evidence because Marius was his client, and the law freed patrons from this liability. The judges admitted the plea. "But from the time when I was raised to office I have been no longer a client," said Marius, expecting from his patron favourable testimony. Plutarch, who relates the fact, adds: "But this was by no means the case, for only curule offices broke the bond of clientship, and Marius had not yet entered upon the office of prætor, his election having been contested." There was a tie in voting, and an acquittal was the result.

These accusations, this difficulty in making his way slackened the energy of Marius; he passed the year of his office in obscurity, so that it is not clearly known whether he held the urban or the foreign prætorship, nor did he distinguish himself the following year in his government of Farther Spain save by the vigour he displayed in repressing brigandage. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a high marriage; he took for his wife the patrician Julia, the aunt of Cæsar, and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune for the sake of his military talents, took him into Africa as his lieutenant.

### III.—JUGURTHA.

Many races have passed over that fertile strip of land which fringes the great African desert, and in which lay the kingdom of Jugurtha. The Basque race, that impenetrable enigma of modern Europe, perhaps came from thence. If the light hair and the blue eyes still to be seen there reveal an infiltration of northern blood among these races, children of the burning sun, we may admit that descendants of those Vandals, who reigned in

the land during the last days of the Roman empire, are yet there. But to whom can we attribute those megalithic remains which seem to have been transported thither by some magic power from the heart of Brittany? Africa *portentosa*, the land of monsters, is also the land of insoluble problems. The Romans cared little for



Megalithic Remains: Dolmens of Sigus.<sup>1</sup>

these questions which interest us so deeply. Sallust, who informed himself concerning the traditions in the earliest books of the country, passes quickly over these obscure questions of origin; he speaks of but three peoples, the Numidians and the Moors, in the midst of whom Phœnician colonies had been established, and in the desert the Gætuli.<sup>2</sup>

From the date of the destruction of Carthage, the north of

<sup>1</sup> Delamare, *Explorat. scientif. de l'Algérie*, pl. 51, fig. 4

<sup>2</sup> The story Sallust tells is legendary, and yet, according to M. de Rougé, Egyptian documents show between the tribes of northern Africa and the races bearing sway upon the eastern shores of the Mediterranean relations of sufficient intimacy for a confederation to resist the

Africa was divided into three governments: on the west, the kingdom of Mauretania; in the centre and extending far into the desert,<sup>1</sup> that of the Numidians, which reached from *Mulucha* (Molouya) to the *Tusca* (Zaine); finally, beyond this river, the Roman province, the ancient Zeugitana, which the Numidian kingdom, stretching towards the Cyrenaica, surrounded on the south and east. But in the region of the Syrtes was a rich and important city, Leptis, which was well able to remain independent of the Numidian kings, and during the war of Jugurtha solicited the friendship of Rome and a Roman garrison.<sup>3</sup> Further to the east Cyrene and Egypt were devoted to Rome, and even on the Numidian coasts the senate had bestowed the title of allies upon several cities.

The Mauri were but little known, and the trading posts that Carthage had scattered along their coasts had perished with her. But the Numidians or Nomads,<sup>4</sup> the Berbers or Kabyles of the present time had made themselves a great name during the second Punic war. They spoke a language whose traces have been discovered all the way from the Fortunate Islands (the Canaries) to the cataracts of the Nile. They were barbarians whose native shrewdness had been



Coin of Leptis.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Cyrene.<sup>5</sup>

encroachments of Egypt. In respect to the megalithic remains, now no longer called Druidic, they are to be found everywhere, and are possibly even now erected by certain tribes. Thus "it was formerly the custom in Kabylia to sanction important resolutions of the confederated bands in the following manner: at the time of meeting of the deliberate assembly, each tribe having the right to vote, set up in the ground a stone, and the whole number of these stones formed a circle around the place where the assembly had held its meeting; then, in case of failure of any tribe to keep to its agreement, the stone representing it was thrown down . . . The last instance of conformity with this custom occurred 130 years ago." (Communication of M. René Galles to the *Acad. des inscriptions*, Sept. 10, 1869, inserted in the academy's *Memoirs*, vol. xxix. 1st part, p. 13.)

<sup>1</sup> *Gætulorum magna pars . . . sub Jugurtha erat.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 19.)

<sup>2</sup> ΛΕΠΤΙΣ Β. Bust of Mercury. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Leptis.

<sup>3</sup> The request was made to Metellus during the siege of Thala.

<sup>4</sup> Νομάδες. (Strabo, ii. 131, xvii. 833, 837.)

<sup>5</sup> Head of Jupiter Ammon. On the reverse, KYPANAI, and the plant which bears the silphium, a resinous gum (*assa fetida*?) or *laser*, which Cyrene exports in great abundance, and to which marvellous curative properties are attributed. Tetradrachm of Cyrene.



developed by their dealings with the Carthaginians, with whom they had been obliged to contend in craft as in their deserts they contended against the gazelle, and in their mountains against the lion and the panther. Masinissa,<sup>1</sup> whom we have seen to be faith-

Numidian Horse.<sup>2</sup>

less and unscrupulous, but a gallant rider even at ninety years of age, is a characteristic representative of that race who with their swift horses<sup>2</sup> lived by the chase and by rapine rather than by agriculture. Their cultivated lands, however, stretched far along the valleys and by the sides of the brooks where the date-palm bears its delicious fruit. Upon the plains and along the hill sides, which were protected from drought by the great forests covering their tops, vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep wandered the whole year long, without fold or shelter, wherever the pasture attracted them, but everywhere, too, decimated by the wild beasts, which were the true masters of the country. Presently, Rome, to secure to her populace amusements in the amphitheatre, made unceasing war upon the great carnivora, as France now does for the safety of her colonists, and like so many other royalties, that of the lion will soon cease. Meanwhile, in the neighbourhood of the cultivated ground a few cities had come into existence, perched on low hills or rocks well adapted for defence. Masinissa's conquest of several Carthaginian provinces,

Numidian Coin.<sup>3</sup>

especially of the fertile Emporia, had increased their number, and Numidia contained in its western portion flourishing cities, whither Italian traders had already begun to find their way.<sup>4</sup> Thus, step by step, civilization had made its way among these nomads, attached them in part to the soil, multiplied objects of exchange, and brought gold into the hands of their princes.

<sup>1</sup> An inscription recently found at Delos gives this spelling to the name.

<sup>2</sup> It has been said that the camel was not imported into Numidia until a comparatively recent period, and that it was brought especially by the Mussulmans. This is an error. Juba had them in his army. (Cæs., *Bell. Afr.*, 68.)

<sup>3</sup> Reverse of a bronze medal of Carthage.

<sup>4</sup> To *Cirta* (Constantine), for example, and to *Vacca*, which the inscriptions call *Vaga*.

<sup>5</sup> Head of Masinissa or Juba. (Müller, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Numidie*, iii. p. 16.)

A grandson of Masinissa believed he had enough to buy the city



Group of Numidian Palm Trees. (From a photograph.)

of Rome! This peaceful change went on, especially during the reign of Micipsa, who has been called the Philhellene.

This region was then a large and prosperous kingdom, the like of which had not before been seen in Africa, whose warlike population might have become formidable had not the policy of Rome been careful to keep it always divided.

Upon the death of Masinissa, Scipio Æmilianus had already divided the kingdom between the three sons of the old king. A premature

Numidian Coin.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a tetradrachm. Head of Hercules, crowned. (Müller, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 17.)

death carried off the two elder, and the third, Micipsa, remained sole king; he himself, however, had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, between whom it was his intention to divide the kingdom.

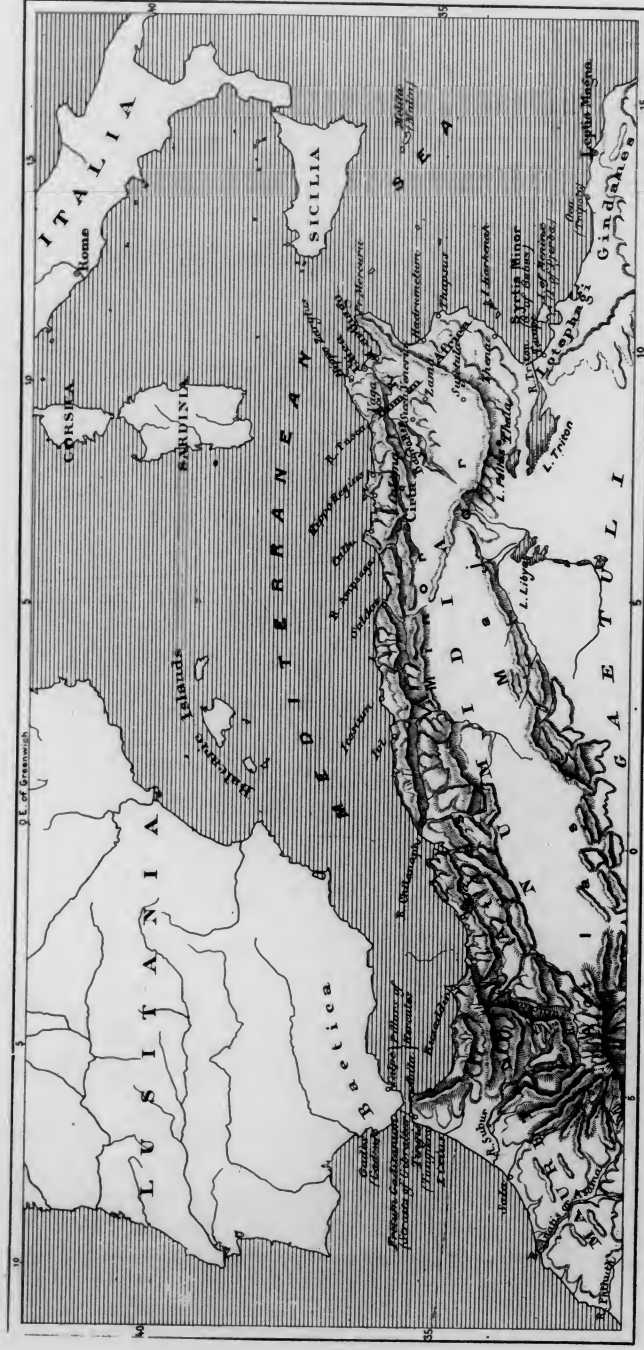
With his own children Micipsa had brought up a natural son of his brother Manastabal,<sup>1</sup> Jugurtha, who seemed to have inherited the indomitable courage and unscrupulous ambition of his grandfather Masinissa. Like him, Jugurtha was the best horseman in Africa, and no man was bolder in attacking the lion. Micipsa, seeing his nephew's reputation increasing daily, feared that he had nourished a rival for his sons, and hoping that war might rid him of this dangerous kinsman, he sent the young man with a body of troops to assist Scipio, at the time besieging Numantia. Jugurtha, however, profited by the opportunity to attach to himself the Romans of distinction who were in the camp, and from this expedition, which had increased his popularity with the Numidians, he returned full of ambitious projects, for he had discovered the fatal secret that with gold all was possible at Rome.<sup>2</sup> Scipio sent him back to Africa with brilliant compliments, and a letter to Micipsa, in which he said, "Your kinsman Jugurtha has given proof of the greatest valour; I know how much this will gratify you. His services have rendered him dear to me, and I shall do my utmost to make him also the friend of the senate and of the Roman people. He is worthy of you and of Masinissa, his grandfather." Was this a letter of honest compliments or of treacherous intent? Did Scipio propose to secure for Jugurtha such a position that Micipsa and his sons would be obliged to respect him? These Romans did nothing without good reason, and the latter hypothesis appears probable. At all events, Micipsa, uneasy at the ambition of the young man, believed it safer not to leave him to make his own way, but adopted him, and on his death left him a third part of the kingdom. He accompanied the gift, if we are to believe Sallust, with wise counsels on the necessity of union between the three rulers. They were but idle words, which Jugurtha, if he did indeed hear them, forgot

<sup>1</sup> These purely Phœnician names show that the great families of Numidia had lost in a degree their indigenous character.

<sup>2</sup> *Omnia Romæ venalia esse.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 20.)



A View among the Numidian Mountains: The Gorges of the Chiffa.



Scale: 0 100 200 300 400 500 Miles  
Map for the Jugurthine War.



as quickly as Caracalla did when Severus, to preach concord to his children, read to them upon his death-bed the words put by Sallust into the mouth of the Numidian king.

Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha were to reign jointly. Quarrels begun at once among them, and Jugurtha, soon throwing off the mask, caused Hiempsal to be treacherously murdered. Adherbal, seeking to avenge his brother, was defeated, and fled for shelter into the Roman province (117); he went to Rome to plead his cause before the senate, but the envoys of Jugurtha publicly bought up votes, and the senate, whose policy required that Numidia should remain divided, contented themselves with a decree that ten commissioners should be sent out to divide the kingdom between the two princes.

Opimius, the chief of the embassy, was gained over to Jugurtha even before the embassy left Rome; the others yielded to the influence of Numidian gold, and Jugurtha obtained what he desired, the larger share in the possessions of Micipsa. He did not long remain contented with this, and the issue of the struggle between the princes was obvious: the one active, restless, ready at any moment to fight; the other feeble and timid.<sup>1</sup> First Jugurtha caused the territory of Adherbal to be ravaged, then he feigned a conspiracy on the part of this prince against his own life, and in response to the remonstrances of Adherbal he declared



Coin of Cirta.<sup>2</sup>

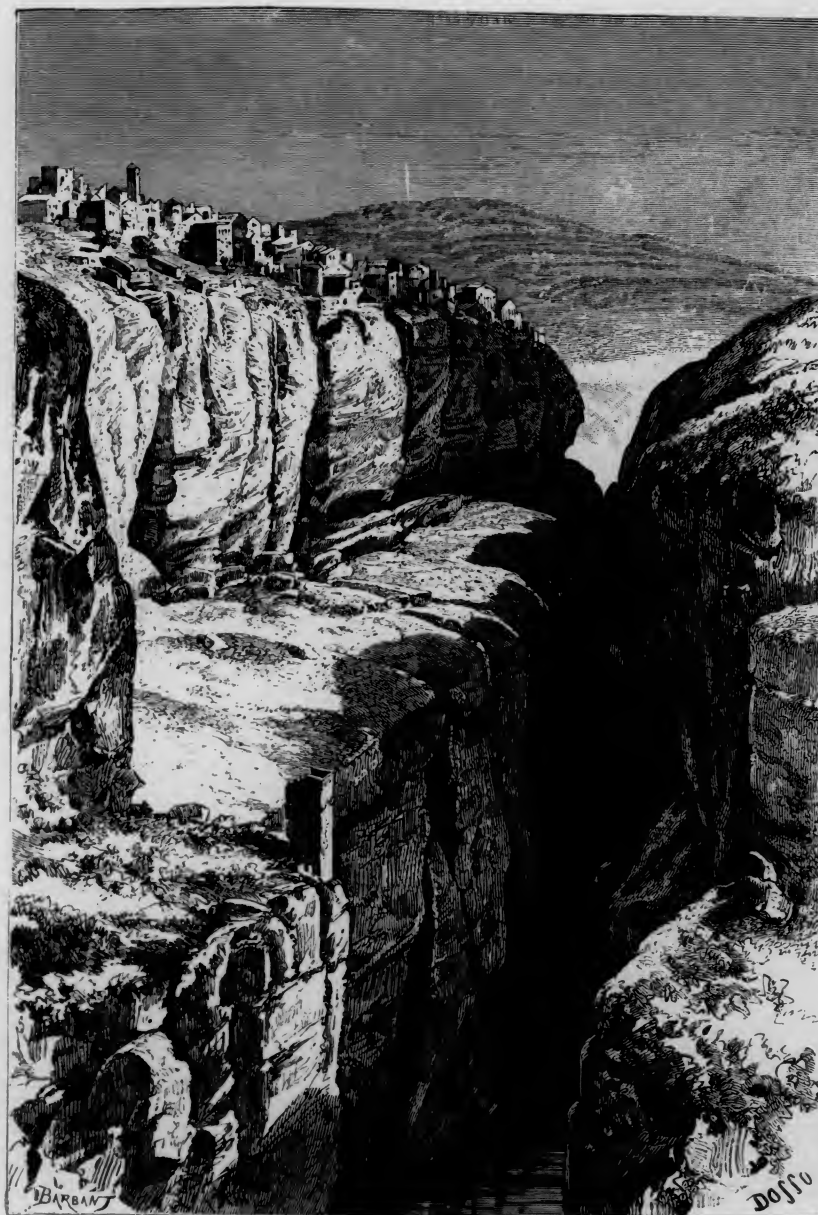
open war, which ended in a battle under the very walls of the royal city, Cirta (Constantine). Built upon a precipitous rock, and having but a single path of access, Cirta was at the time impregnable. Many Italian traders had established themselves there to utilize the resources of the country, which the Numidians were not able to work.<sup>3</sup> At the approach of Jugurtha and his

bands of plunderers they took arms, and Adherbal, sheltered amidst

<sup>1</sup> *Metuens magis quam metuendus.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 20.)

<sup>2</sup> Above a Numidian horse a Punic legend, interpreted by the Duc de Luynes, "Bomilear, prefect of the camp," and by M. de Sauley, "Bon-Melkart en Hanna" (Bomilear, son of Hanna). Bronze coin, much worn.

<sup>3</sup> Many Italians at this time were settled in Asia Minor and many in Spain, which became so quickly Latinized. In thus invading the provinces and the allied countries Italy depopulated herself, as Spain in the sixteenth century was depopulated by emigration to the mines of the New World.



View of Cirta (Constantine). The Rocks.

them, was able to await for five months the result of his entreaties addressed to Rome. Two of his followers made their way by night through the besieging camp, and brought to the senate the humble supplications of the unfortunate prince. Some senators were desirous to send out an army at once, but the friends of Jugurtha succeeded in reducing it to a deputation, at whose head was M. Æmilius Scaurus.

This personage, at the moment one of the most influential in Rome, had long been in money difficulties. After having passed, as was the custom, through the offices of ædile and prætor, he sued for the consulship, and suddenly obtaining by fraudulent means a considerable property, was able to buy the popular vote (115).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless he showed during his consulship a severity worthy of Cato. Being sent into the Cisalpina he submitted his army to a rigorous discipline, and imposed upon his soldiers the most arduous labours to drain the marshes of the Trebia.<sup>2</sup> His successes against the Carni were rewarded with a triumph, and shortly after he received the title of prince of the senate. Until this time he had shown himself unfriendly to Jugurtha; upon his arrival in Africa he wrote a menacing letter to that prince, directing him to come to Utica to receive the orders of the senate. Whether through weakness or through corruption Scaurus and his colleagues, after this demonstration, and after long and useless negotiating, withdrew from Africa, carrying with them a few fair words and doubtless much gold. They had not yet reached Rome when Adherbal, forced by famine to surrender, perished under tortures, together with the Italians who had defended him (112).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this bold outrage might have remained

<sup>1</sup> The Scauri were a branch of the great patrician *gens*, the Æmilii; their surname or *cognomen* signifies club-footed. Sallust says of the person with whom we are now occupied: *homo . . . factiosus, avidus potentie, honoris, divitiarum, cæterum vitia sua callide occultans.* (*Jug.*, 15.) Pliny speaks in the same tone, but Cicero and Tacitus are his eulogists. The spirit of party accounts for these contradictions. I note merely that he was born poor and died extremely rich. Now in the Rome of that time no man passed from one extreme to the other by honest means.

<sup>2</sup> He drained by means of navigable canals the whole plain from Parma to Placentia. Six years later, while censor, he paved the Aurelian road between *Pisa, Vada Sabatia*, and *Derthona*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> . . . *Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue interficit.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 26.) Elsewhere he calls these *negotiatores, togati*, that is to say, Roman citizens. If they were so, they must have been of the very humblest class, or else Jugurtha spared them, and this was probably the case,

unpunished had not Memmius, a tribune, openly accused the nobles. The senate, compelled by popular indignation, declared that an army and a consul should at once be sent into Africa.

An Agrarian law of the same year (111), fixing the conditions of ownership of lands in Carthaginian Africa, seems to have been a precaution taken in order to put an end to many uncertainties among the allies and subjects of Rome, in respect to their rights as holders of property which were very diverse.<sup>1</sup> It was a regulation of general interest, and at the same time a means of preventing Jugurtha from stirring up dissensions in a Roman province surrounded by his kingdom.

The choice being made by lot, Numidia fell to Calpurnius, and the war which was so deeply to humiliate<sup>2</sup> the pride of the nobles, drew on apace.

The Numidian prince believed it still in his power to bring everything to a stand. He sent his son and two of his agents to Rome, with great store of gold; but Calpurnius obtained a decree forbidding them to enter the city, and requiring them to leave Italy within ten days. This was a good beginning. Calpurnius no doubt thought that he could command a higher price in Numidia than in Rome—at the head of his legions, than in

for the murder of Roman citizens would have caused at Rome an excitement sufficient to render the intervention of Memmius needless. On this point the susceptibility of Rome was as keen as that of England has been in corresponding cases.

<sup>1</sup> This law, of which many fragments remain to us, applies to the *ager publicus* in Italy, in Africa, and in Greece (*ager Corinthiacus*). (See *C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 77.) It determined the various kinds of properties and possessions and their legal character—*ager publicus*, or lands belonging to the domain of the Roman people, and farmed out by them; *ager privatus ex jure Quiritium*, lands assigned to Roman colonists, and held by them in Quiritary ownership, although, like all parts of provincial territory, subject to the *tributum* (see p. 183, n. 6); *ager privatus ex jure peregrino*, domain of the allied cities, subject, as we have seen (p. 186), to diverse conditions. By degrees time effaced these differences, especially after the edict of Caracalla; under Diocletian there was no distinction between *possessio* and *proprietas* (*Fragm. Vatic.*, 283), but the distinction between the Italian and the provincial soil was not legally abolished until the time of Justinian. In regard to the law of 111, it has been explained in its legal details by Th. Mommsen in the *C. I. L.*, and M. Ernest Desjardins (*Géogr. de la Gaule rom.*, vol. ii. p. 292), in applying it to the colony of Narbo Martius, has shown that its provisions were susceptible of general applications. It seems to have been intended to make a general settlement of all the questions that had been so agitating to the public mind for the last twenty-two years by consolidating with full ownership the possession of public lands in Italy, Africa, and Greece in the hands of the existing occupants. It is possible that the anxieties caused at this time by Jugurtha, as well as a desire to put an end to the agrarian agitation, were influential in bringing forward this measure.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . *Tunc primum superbie nobilitatis obriam itum est.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 5.)

the senate, where he would have to share the spoils with many. In Africa he received the king in his camp and negotiated with him, requiring for the Republic thirty elephants, horses, a few cattle and some money; for himself and for his lieutenant Scaurus, enormous sums.

At news of this bargain Memmius burst forth with eloquence like that of Caius Gracchus.<sup>1</sup> "You have left your defenders shamefully to perish;" he says, "no matter; like them I will attack that haughty faction which for fifteen years is oppressing you. You were silently indignant when you saw the public treasury given up to pillage, and the tributes of kings and nations confiscated by a few men; but even this did not content them; it must needs be that they give up to your enemies your laws, your dignity, religion and the State. See them, far from blushing, pass before you, insolently displaying their pontifical honours, their consulships, their triumphs—no longer rewards of virtue, but of pillage. Good faith, honour, religion, justice, injustice—they traffick in everything. Slaves bought with money will not tolerate injustice, and you, Romans, born to command, endure servitude. And who are these men? They have slain your tribunes, shed the people's blood, and are become your masters, filling your timid souls with the terror that ought to pervade their own guilty consciences. Do you ask me what I want? I insist on the trial of those who have surrendered to the enemy the honour of the Republic, that they be prosecuted, upon Jugurtha's own testimony." The people, moved by these appeals, decreed that the most upright magistrate of the time, Cassius Longinus, should be sent into Africa to induce Jugurtha, the public honour being pledged for his safety, to appear in Rome, and testify concerning the underhand proceedings of M. Æmilius Scaurus and his accomplices. Relying upon the support of the nobles, Jugurtha obeyed the summons, but when Memmius bade him speak, another tribune, suborned by the Numidian for the purpose, ordered him to be silent.

Another Numidian prince, Massiva, was at this time in Rome,

<sup>1</sup> Sallust says that he selects this discourse out of many others by the same author "to transcribe," *perscribere*, and asserts that the words are nearly unchanged: *hujusmodi verbis disseruit.* (*Jug.*, 30.) [The style, however, is so thoroughly Sallustian that we cannot regard it as even approximately accurate.—*Ed.*]



also a grandson of Massinissa. The consul, Sp. Postumius Albinus, eager for the opportunity of conducting a war, advised him to profit by the popular anger and demand for himself the crown of Numidia. Jugurtha caused the youth to be assassinated by one of his followers, Bomilear, who succeeded in making his escape after committing the murder (110). This was too much, and the senate ordered the king to leave Rome instantly. Outside the gates Jugurtha turned back, and casting a look of contempt and hatred at the city is said to have exclaimed: "Venal city, all you want for your ruin is a purchaser."

Albinus followed him into Africa, and appeared to wish to prosecute the war with resolution; but Jugurtha, now fighting, now negotiating, secured delay, and the consul, recalled to Rome to hold the comitia, left the army in charge of his brother A. Postumius. In the hope of securing the royal treasures, Aulus led the troops by forced marches to Suthul, a place now unknown. In this sad story of the Republic's downfall we find treason at every step; the soldiers also were eager for the profits of venality, and a Ligurian cohort, two Thracian squadrons, a centurion, and even some legionaries went over to the enemy, or surrendered their posts. The defeated army, surrounded by the Numidians, passed under the yoke, and a treaty of peace was signed, one of its conditions being that the entire Roman army should be withdrawn from Numidia within ten days. This was Jugurtha's answer to the senate's decree which had ordered himself and his envoy out of Italy within the same period (109). Faithful to old traditions the senate annulled the shameful agreement which, moreover, the pro-prætor had no right to make, and Albinus returned in all haste; but he could do nothing with this army demoralized by disorder and defeat.

Again a tribune called for the punishment of this disgraceful conduct. Mamilius obtained a decree that all those who had accepted money from the Numidian king should be brought to justice. Scæurus, now directly threatened, had the skill to have himself put on the commission of inquiry. Four ex-consuls, however, were condemned, among them Opimius, the murderer of Caius Gracchus, who died in exile at Dyrrachium, obscure and disgraced.

This war, which had been regarded at first as a trifle, became



Cirta.—The Natural Bridge (Delamare, *Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, pl. 158).

a cause of anxiety when another more formidable, that with the Cimbri, was perceived to be approaching. An upright and serious man, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, was made consul (109), and Africa fell to him by lot as his province. The first measures were to purify the army from brigandage, cowardice, and insubordination, and Metellus directed himself to this work aided by his lieutenant, Marius, and the stoic Rutilius Rufus, who both had learned under Æmilianus, in the siege of Numantia, that discipline is the sure pledge of victory. When the consul had restored to his soldiers their self-respect, he advanced into Numidia, not suffering himself to be delayed by the humble embassies of Jugurtha, and gaining over the king's own deputies that they should deliver up Jugurtha alive or dead;<sup>1</sup> speaking of peace, but still advancing, and always in good order, as far as Vaga,<sup>2</sup> where a great number of Italian traders had established themselves, and where he now placed a garrison. Being thus master of this important place which kept open his communications with the Roman province, and secured his supplies, Metellus went in search of Jugurtha, and in an action which lasted the entire day, defeated him on the banks of the *Muthul*<sup>3</sup> (the Oued-Seybouse) which falls into the sea at *Hippo Regius* (Bona) (108). This victory was followed by the defection of many cities: *Sicca* (el-Kef) surrendered to the Romans, and became their depot for eastern Numidia; Cirta, it is probable, opened her gates to them at this time, and Jugurtha, by degrees abandoned by all his troops except his irregular cavalry<sup>4</sup> was reduced to begin a form of guerilla warfare, in the hope of regaining what he had lost.

Numidia, bristling with mountains which are cleft by the beds of rapid streams, is only a succession of valleys and steep heights rendering the advance of an army extremely difficult, and furnishing constant opportunities for surprises. Countries such as this, inhabited by a half-nomad race of men, devoted to their king

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus (i. 8) says that Metellus followed this plan with the two-fold design to terminate the war if possible by the treachery of the Numidians, or in any case to give Jugurtha cause to be suspicious of all those who surrounded him.

Bejah, upon the river Bejah, a branch of the Medjerda, and twenty kilometers distant from the main river.

<sup>3</sup> Muthul is probably the African name of the river that the Romans called *Ubus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Præter regios equites*. (Sall., *Jug.*, 54.)

whom they regarded as the national hero, could not be gained by a single victory, but required a thousand petty engagements. Each valley must be carried, as if it were a city; each mountain, as if it were a fortress. Metellus resigned himself to the necessity; all the fertile plains were ravaged, the cities burned, the



An Elephant and his Driver.<sup>1</sup>

fighting men slain. Jugurtha tracked him among the mountains, hovering about the heavy Roman infantry, not daring, however, to fling his swift cavalry upon them to be broken by the shock, but stopping provision trains, carrying off foraging parties, cutting off supplies of water, and himself laying the country waste. When the consul, for the purpose of approaching the Roman province, besieged Zama,<sup>2</sup> twice the king nearly succeeded during an assault, in capturing the Roman camp. This siege was the close of the campaign; Metellus garrisoned the places he had conquered, and then went into quarters in the province.

The larger part of eastern Numidia had submitted to the Romans; Sicca, Vaga, Cirta the capital, and all the cities of the coast were garrisoned by the invaders. The king was afraid to see the war recommence, and, upon the advice of Bomilear, who, knowing himself under sentence at Rome for the murder of Massiva, had in a secret interview made terms with Metellus,<sup>3</sup> sued for peace, giving up 200,000 pounds of silver, all his elephants, numbers of horses, weapons, and all the refugees who had not had time to escape into Mauretania. But when he received orders to appear in person before the consul, he could not make up his mind to do it, and Metellus, continued in his command by the senate, resumed hostilities, still keeping what Jugurtha had surrendered to him.

Up to this time, Marius had loyally seconded his chief. Before Zama he had saved the camp, and had nearly been successful in taking the city. Being sent to Sicca to escort a provision train, he had, although falling into an ambush, defeated

<sup>1</sup> Reverse of a tetradrachm of Jugurtha. (De Brosses, *Hist. de la répub. rom.*, i. pl. iii. No. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> The position of this place has not been determined; it is perhaps Yana, near Keff, five days journey to the south-west of Carthage.

<sup>3</sup> The plot was discovered, and Jugurtha put the traitor to death.

the Numidian cavalry and retained the city on the side of Rome. In action no man was more intrepid; in the camp and on the march, no one so indefatigable. Metellus was stern and haughty; in his lieutenant, the severe tone of command was tempered at times by more popular manners, and he commanded nothing which he was not himself ready to undertake. It was to him therefore that the soldiers ascribed all the successes of the campaign, and already the soothsayers predicted for him a lofty fortune, which the African traders, the publicans, and even the army aided to bring about, by writing to Rome "that the war would



Roman Soldier.<sup>1</sup>

never be brought to a close unless Marius was appointed consul."<sup>2</sup>

He was at this time forty-eight years of age; he had held the offices of tribune and prætor and had been the governor of a province; he coveted the consular fasces, but the nobles had for many years resolutely closed the supreme office against new men, and "passed the consulship from hand to hand."<sup>3</sup> In fourteen years the office had been held six times in the family of the Metelli alone; and when Marius asked his general's permission to go to Rome to present himself as a candidate for the consulship, Metellus, amazed at his strange audacity bade him dismiss

<sup>1</sup> Celebrated statue in the Gallery of Florence. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 850, No. 2155.)

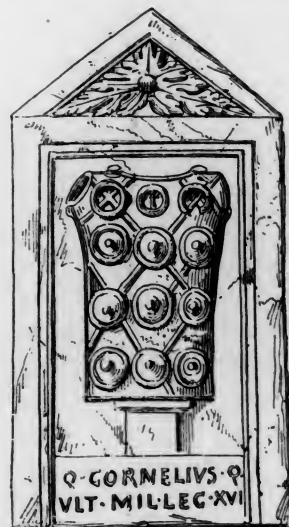
<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Mar.*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . *Consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 63.)



such notions from his mind and make his desires conform to his condition, adding that it would be time enough for Marius to think of it when the consul's son, then about twenty years of age, should be ready to present himself as a consular candidate.

Wounded in his ambition and in his pride, Marius no longer restrained his hatred of Metellus; in the presence of the soldiers he blamed the proconsul's harshness, at Utica<sup>1</sup> he promised the Italian traders, to whom this war was ruinous, that in a few days he would take Jugurtha dead or alive, if but half of the troops



Cuirass, ornamented with *phalerae* (military rewards) upon a Tomb.<sup>2</sup>



Collar and Decorations worn by a Centurion.

in Africa were given him. A cruel vengeance has ever been attributed to him. In an insurrection of the inhabitants of Vaga, all the Roman garrison had been massacred, with the exception of Turpillius, the officer in command, a friend and host of Metellus. A council of war condemned Turpillius, and, as he had only the *jus Latii* he was beaten with rods,<sup>3</sup> and then beheaded, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Now Ben-Chali, upon the Medjerdah, ten kilometers from its mouth.

<sup>2</sup> From Otto Jahn.

<sup>3</sup> This instance proves that the law of Drusus (see p. 434) which provided that a Latin should not suffer this punishment had been abolished during the reaction, or was no longer observed.

said that Marius boasted of having, by this condemnation, brought an avenging fury on the proconsul. The sentence was, however, just; for if Turpillius had not actually been guilty of treason, he had at least by his negligence caused the death of all the Roman force.<sup>1</sup> The remark attributed to Marius must therefore be regarded as one of the very long list of apocryphal sayings. Metellus at last gave way, but only twelve days before the meeting of the consular comitia; Marius, however, made such haste that he arrived in Rome on the seventh day.<sup>2</sup>

Since the success of Memmius and the *Mamilian law*,<sup>3</sup> above mentioned, the tribunes had recovered their courage. Both by his reputation and by his hatred to the nobles, Marius deserved their support. They proposed his name; the citizens of the rustic tribes came in



Histrion.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sallust says of Turpillius (*Jug.*, 67): *improbus, instabilisque videtur*, and he adds (69) that his defence did not justify him. Metellus caused the whole senate of Vaga to be massacred, the Thracian and Ligurian deserters had their hands cut off, they were then buried to the waist in the earth, and the army drawn up around them in a ring, finished them with arrows.

<sup>2</sup> [This shows how good both sailing ships and roads were, and how completely the Romans had perfected their means of travelling.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> See p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> Statue in the Vatican, found at Præneste upon the site of the forum. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 874, No. 2224.)

crowds to vote for the peasant's son from Arpinum, and he was elected. The people, who never go half way either in favour or in hate, annulled a decree of the senate maintaining Metellus in his post, and gave to Marius the province of Numidia. From that time the arrogance of Marius was unbounded; he reiterated publicly that his consulship and his province were *spolia opima* won from the nobles. Sallust has composed for him insulting speeches, which are probably far more polished than the rude soldier's harangues. But no doubt he did castigate, in his rude language, the cupidity, the pride, and the folly of the nobles—the three vices, he said, which had hitherto served Jugurtha.

Even more serious than this offensive language, was his action in admitting the proletarii into the legions.<sup>1</sup> This measure was nothing less than a complete revolution. Up to this time there had been enrolled only men who, possessing some property, left to the Republic a pledge of their fidelity; under the standard these soldiers were still citizens. When Marius had armed the populace, military service was no longer a civic duty, but a trade, and the penniless man who sold his vote in the city, sold his courage in the camp. During the next eighty years the legions were no longer the armies of the Republic, but the followers of leaders who bribed them with indulgences, with plunder, and with glory.

#### IV.—THE COMMAND OF MARIUS IN NUMIDIA (107—105).

The senate was not disposed to irritate by an idle resistance the popular opposition which was reforming around Marius. Preparations, therefore, were hurried forward; whatever Marius required—arms, provisions, equipments, money—he obtained without difficulty, and his departure was hastened by news of the further successes of Metellus.

This general, at the opening of his third campaign had once

<sup>1</sup> *Ipse milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque libido erat, capite censos plerosque* (Sall., *Jug.*, 86), and he adds this very truthful expression: *homini potentiam querenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus*.

more dispersed the Numidian army, and driven Jugurtha back into the desert. With a few of his "royal horsemen" and the deserters the king gained the stronghold of Thala, where were his children and his treasures. Metellus did not shrink from risking his army in these arid wastes. Between Thala and the nearest river, for a distance of fifty miles, stretched the desert.<sup>1</sup>

Metellus left all his baggage behind him; he collected a great number of beasts of burden which he loaded with ten days' provisions and a supply of water; then he organized provision-trains that the people of the country were to bring to him on fixed days. He was in this way able to persist forty days in the siege of Thala, without incurring serious danger, but when the city at last fell, Jugurtha had already made his escape, carrying off his treasures. Threatened by treason, and pursued unrelentingly by a determined foe, this prince knew not where to take shelter. For a long time he wandered in the deserts of the Gætuli, where his reputation and his treasures attracted to him these wild Nomads; he armed and disciplined them, and then returning into Numidia at the head of a large force, he negotiated with his father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauretania. This prince, irritated at the beginning of the war by the senate's refusal to accept his alliance, saw with terror the repeated disasters of Jugurtha. His son-in-law had little difficulty in obtaining his assistance, and the two kings uniting their forces marched towards Cirta under whose walls Metellus was entrenched. Here the consul was established when he received news that he had been superseded in the command, and that his hated rival was approaching. Not willing to meet Marius, he gave Rutilius the duty of delivering up the army to its new general, and himself hastened to Rome, where a triumph and the surname Numidicus was obtained for him by his friends. A tribune however accused him

<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to M. Ernest Desjardins for the following note: "*Thala* still retains its early name, and is situated in the upper valley of Oued-Serral, an affluent on the right of the Oued-Mellègue, which itself falls into the Medjerda, likewise from the right. Grenville Temple has discovered immense ruins here, *oppidum magnum et opulentum*, which M. Guérin has visited and described. (*Voy. en Tun.*, vol. i. p. 338-341). Thala is situated 130 kilometers due south, as the bird flies, from Cape Roux and La Calle. Sallust places Thala fifty miles from the nearest river. It is certain, however, that a water course, the Oued-Haidrah, is not very distant from it; the text of Sallust is here without doubt corrupt. No city can be found in this region which is fifty miles distant from the nearest river.

of extortion, but when he presented his statement to the judges they would not examine it and pronounced him innocent.

Meanwhile the war was not yet ended. Jugurtha and Bocchus, keeping at a safe distance and in inaccessible places, followed from afar the movements of the new army of Marius, hoping to find opportunity to fall upon his untried legions. But the consul, skilfully served by spies, knew from day to day what his enemy was doing, and outwitted him in all his attempts. In many skirmishes he defeated the Gætuli, and once in an encounter near Cirta nearly killed Jugurtha with his own hand. Thus having hardened his troops and trained them to African warfare, he returned to the tactics of Metellus. Of all this general's exploits the most vaunted had been the taking of Thala. Marius advanced still further into the desert, and, in the midst of a plain infested with serpents, attacked the city of Capsa,<sup>1</sup> taking it in a day without the loss of a single soldier, which did not, however, prevent him from burning the city, killing all the young men and selling the rest of the inhabitants. Many other cities were taken, or abandoned without resistance by their inhabitants, and burnt.

Until this time the war had been concentrated in that part of Numidia which bordered on the Roman province; Marius now carried it into the opposite quarter, upon the frontiers of Mauretania.

Not far from the *Mulucha*, or *Malva*, a river making the boundary between Numidia and Mauritania, there rises in the midst of a plain a rocky elevation crowned by a strong fortress, to which but a single narrow footpath gave access, leading along the edge of steep precipices. Here Jugurtha had placed a part of his treasures, an abundant supply of provisions, and a good garrison, who were secured against thirst by an abundant supply of water. A place like this could not be attacked by the ordinary methods, and at the same time, Marius was extremely anxious to take it. A Ligurian in the auxiliary cohorts having one day gone out after water, had passed round the base of the hill, and chanced to see, on the farther side, snails crawling

<sup>1</sup> Capsa, 280 kilometers south of the Calle and 120 west of the Gulf of Gabes in 34°, 30 north latitude, and 6°, 30 east longitude.



View of the Numidian Desert (Environs of Biskra).



upon the face of the rock. Desiring to add them to his bill of fare, he clambered up some distance, and in the ardour of his pursuit, went so high that he came to an oak whose top reached the level of the plateau. From the branches of the tree he could leap down upon it, and he beheld at his feet the fortress, and the garrison upon the ramparts, mocking the vain efforts of the Romans. Upon this soldier's report, Marius gave orders to four active trumpeters, and to four of his bravest centurions, to repeat the Ligurians feat. They followed him, each man bearing upon his back his sword and a leathern shield, which was light and made no clashing to betray their approach. The Ligurian led them like a true Alpine guide. So they reached the top. All the garrison were upon the walls, occupied in repulsing a violent attack of the Romans. But when the trumpets were heard in the rear, and above them, they thought the whole Roman army was within the fortress and took to flight.<sup>2</sup>

Sylla.<sup>1</sup>

It was during this siege, that Sylla, the quaestor of Marius, joined him with a corps of Latin cavalry. It would have been difficult to bring together two men more opposite in character. Sylla, a member of the illustrious Cornelian family, but of a branch which had hitherto been obscure, was a man of the new school, loving luxury and elegance as cordially as Marius detested them. Lavish of his money as of his friendship, eager for glory, brave, eloquent, with an enthusiasm and energy which nothing could check, he soon became a favourite both with soldiers and officers; and even Marius loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors (106).

Jugurtha had lost his cities and his ports. To induce Bocchus to risk a general engagement, the Numidian's last hope, he promised his ally the third of his kingdom. The Roman army, surprised by the two kings upon a march, was, so to speak, besieged during the night upon a hill; but at daylight, the legions

<sup>1</sup> From a coin. (Clarac, *Icon. rom.*, pl. 1049, No. 3205.)

<sup>2</sup> Sall., *Jug.*, 92-94, who gives a detailed description.

recovered the advantage, and made a massacre among the Mauretanians and Gætuli. A second attempt to surprise the legions near Cirta had a momentary success. In the confusion of the attack, Jugurtha cried out to the Romans, holding up his bloody sword, that he had slain their general, and the legionaries began to give way, when Sylla and Marius himself rushed in among them. The fortune of the day at once turned, and the two kings only escaped by a hasty flight.

Coin of Sylla.<sup>1</sup>

The fidelity of Bocchus gave way before this double disaster. Five days after the battle, he made proposals to treat with the Romans. Marius despatched the king's messengers to the senate, who made reply that the Roman people never forgot either injuries or benefits; that they pardoned Bocchus in consideration of his repentance, but that the alliance and the friendship of Rome could only be obtained when he should have succeeded in deserving them—an ominous reserve which the barbarian readily understood. Upon new solicitation from Bocchus, Marius entrusted to his quaestor the dangerous mission of traversing all Numidia and a part of Mauretania, for the purpose of conferring with the king. The rhetoricians seized upon this situation to draw a dramatic picture of the vacillations of Bocchus, one day proposing to deliver Jugurtha to the Romans, and on the next to give up Sylla to the Numidian king.<sup>2</sup> The former of these acts would end the war and secure to Bocchus a province, the latter would draw upon himself all the vengeance of Rome, without adding one chance for his success. He could not even have thought of it. Jugurtha, summoned to a conference, was loaded with chains and delivered to Sylla, who made him traverse his whole kingdom in this condition (106).

It was the custom that a victorious general should not leave

<sup>1</sup> From a coin of the Cornelian gens.

<sup>2</sup> Appian shows that the project of giving up Jugurtha had been long determined on (*Numid. fragm.*, 4). Sallust believes in the hesitations of Bocchus, but his own narrative proves them fictitious. Jugurtha was still at the head of a numerous and devoted band; he had spies among the Mauretanians, and at the least suspicion would have fallen back into the desert. To induce him to leave his own people and present himself at a conference where he might be seized, much duplicity was needful. Bocchus, who had for a long time been negotiating with Marius, used all that the case required, and the treachery was consummated.

the country he had conquered until he had organized it for the best advantage of Rome. Marius remained for nearly two years more in Numidia. It would be interesting to know what he was doing there; but the battles, exploits, and dramatic situations were over; the achievements of peace, the labours of prudence give no scope for eloquence. Sallust says not a word about them, and ends his history with the capture of Jugurtha.

Before leaving Africa, Marius determined the destiny of the conquered kingdom, and, by skilfully distributed favours, he made clients there whose descendants were found by Cæsar faithful to the hereditary friendship.<sup>1</sup> Bocchus received Western Numidia (the provinces of Algiers and Oran); and the Roman province of Africa was aggrandized by a portion of Eastern Numidia; what remained was ceded to Gauda, the last surviving prince of the old royal house. The

senate had at this moment too serious matters on hand to embarrass themselves with forming a new province in a country which was still ungovernable, because there was no force which Rome could use to hold it. Far better was the policy to abandon

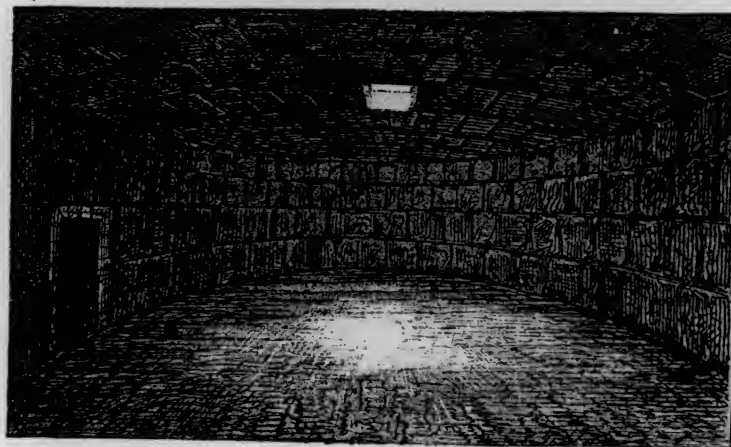
Captive Province.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cæsar, *Bell. Afr.*, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Statue in the Pamfili collection. (Clarac, *Mus.*, pl 768 A, No. 1906 B.)

this enfeebled kingdom to princes whom the senate could easily keep dependent upon Rome, until it should be found best to replace them by proconsuls.<sup>1</sup> Patient, because she believed herself eternal, Rome always made allowance in her policy for the effect of time, which gave her immense strength. Meanwhile, until the moment for annexing Numidia should arrive, the original province of Africa would be a centre whence Roman civilization would radiate through the barbarian kingdom.

Marius returned to Rome on the first day of January, 104, bringing Jugurtha with him. Far from feeling envy towards his



The Tullianum.<sup>2</sup>

quaestor who was at that time but a very unimportant person, he associated Sylla in his triumph, allowing him to distribute medals

<sup>1</sup> The Numidians were divided into many tribes, frequently at war with one another. In the province of Africa where centralization had been strongest, Pliny was still able to enumerate twenty-six different tribes. (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 4.) Appian (*Lybica*, 10) says the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> The Tullianum was so named, it is said, from Servius Tullius, who is believed to have had it excavated in the *tufa* of the Capitoline Hill, perhaps to use it as a cistern; a spring also, named from the king, still rises in it, and the water was drawn up through the aperture seen in the arched top. The condemned person was let down by a rope, and after death, the body was drawn up by a hook. Possibly the small door which opens into a low subterranean passageway, may be of later date, and may have served for the bodies to be dragged to the river, when it was not desired to expose them upon the *gemonie*, that is the *Stair of Sighs*, which led to the prison. Prisoners of State not condemned to death were given in charge to the inhabitants of the most important municipia in Italy. Cf. Sall., *Cat.*, 51 and 52.

to the soldiers, representing the consul in a quadriga, on the reverse being these words: *L. Corn. Sylla proq.* After the triumph the Numidian king was thrown into the Tullianum. "By the gods," he cried, laughing, "how cold your baths are!" Here after six days he perished by starvation (104). He had the rashness to contend single handed against Rome, defending himself with a skill that made use of all weapons, whether steel or gold, but also with an indomitable courage. His vices are those of his time and his African blood; his courage, his perseverance, and his soldierly virtues do honour to his name, and to the race whose political existence ended with his life.

Nine years after this, the senate pursued the same course in another part of Africa as this which they had adopted in Numidia.

Between the eighth and the eighteenth degree of east longitude the African coast retreats before the Mediterranean in a great semi-circle, called the region of the Syrtes, an inhospitable sea into which even our vessels rarely venture, a sterile coast<sup>1</sup> of shifting sand, where nomads pitilessly pillage the shipwrecked sailor. But at the two extremities of this semi-circle there are mountainous regions, well watered and of proverbial fertility. One of these the Phœnicians occupied, and the Greeks the other. To the former the Romans had already succeeded, and the will of Ptolemy Apion king of Cyrenaica now substituted them for the latter (95). The senate, however, contented themselves with declaring the five principal cities of this little kingdom free, under the protection of Rome: Cyrene and Apollonia, which was the seaport, and Barca, Arsinoe and Berenice. They were left even in the possession of the royal domain on payment of a tribute, and the country was not reduced to a province until about the year 75, when it became necessary to suppress its domestic quarrels. This was also a precious acquisition to Rome as a political position, not to speak of the commercial importance of the country which furnished for exportation the products of a soil called the garden of Africa, and a commodity, the silphium, which was sold at Rome for its weight in silver. From the Cyrenaica, Rome kept

<sup>1</sup> Except upon the borders of the Cinyps (*Wadi Quasam*), and about the three cities of Tripoli—*Leptis magna*, *Oea* (Tripoli), and *Sabrata*.  
VOL. II.



watch upon Egypt, and from the province of Africa upon Numidia.

Leptis, in the midst of the Syrtes, but at the outlet of fertile valleys, had solicited the friendship of Rome during the Numidian war, and had obtained from Metellus a garrison of four Ligurian cohorts. This place, nearly equidistant from Cyrene and Carthage, united these two Roman possessions and completed the investment of the African coast.

<sup>1</sup> This pretended coin of Ptolemy is a coin of the Cyrenaica with the legend KYP KOLN struck over a coin of Ptolemy Soter, with Berenice on the reverse.



Ptolemy Apion.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XL.

### THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES (113-101).

#### I.—CREATION OF A ROMAN PROVINCE IN GAUL.

TREACHERY had not yet ended the Numidian war when a formidable invasion of Northern barbarians threw Rome into extreme alarm, and all, people and nobles alike, united to confer a second consulate upon the absent Marius.

Up to this period the Romans had never gone far from the Mediterranean coasts. They had not even looked into that unknown world which stretched beyond the Alps, as if they had been vaguely conscious that, in the darkness of those impenetrable forests, some formidable danger lay concealed.

It was indeed another world. The Alps, which we may regard as connected with the Pyrenees by the Cevennes, and with Mount Hæmus by the Illyrian and Macedonian ranges, cut the continent of Europe in twain. On the south of this line of 800 leagues are three mountainous peninsulas, in which, before the time of Rome, every valley was an independent State; on the north, stretch limitless plains, the cradle of great nations that were to come. On the shores of the Mediterranean were Iberian, Italiot and Greek races, cities brilliant with all the splendours of art and commerce, governments of republican mould—in a word, all that we call ancient civilization; beyond the Alps, there were Celtic, Germanic and Slavonic tribes, barbaric manners, encampments here and there, a nomadic or unsettled life, the authority of chiefs, and, in the germ, many of the customs which the mediæval period inherited. Rome had not sought to cross their barrier; her legions had not even as yet claimed possession of it. Even after the victory of Appius Claudius (143), who had made an attempt to lay hands upon the gold mines and washings of the valley of the

Doria Baltea, the Salassi had remained independent, like all the mountaineers of the Alps, and continued to ravage, in predatory expeditions, the valleys on the north of the Po.<sup>1</sup> To bring this to an end, the Romans later (100) founded a military post at *Eporedia* (Ivrea), at the entrance to the Val d' Aosta, and at the mouth of two important Alpine passes, the Great and the Little St. Bernard. The Salassi, however, were not finally tranquillized till the time of Augustus.

By degrees, however, the senate was tempted to abandon its reserve, and to pierce this line. It became necessary to open a secure road from Italy eastward and westward, into Greece and into Spain, and to protect against the aggressions of the mountain tribes the allies of Rome living along these two highways. This was the design of the expeditions of Marcus Rex into the Maritime Alps against the Stœni, none of whom suffered himself to be taken alive (118), and of Æmilius Scaurus against the Carni of Venetia (115); of many consuls against tribes hostile to the Massiliots; lastly of Porcius Cato against the Scordisci of the Illyrian Alps (Bosnia and Servia), a savage race who made no prisoners, who drank from the skulls of their enemies, and mutilated the dead slain in battle. Cato perished with all his army, and the barbarians extended their ravages over the whole



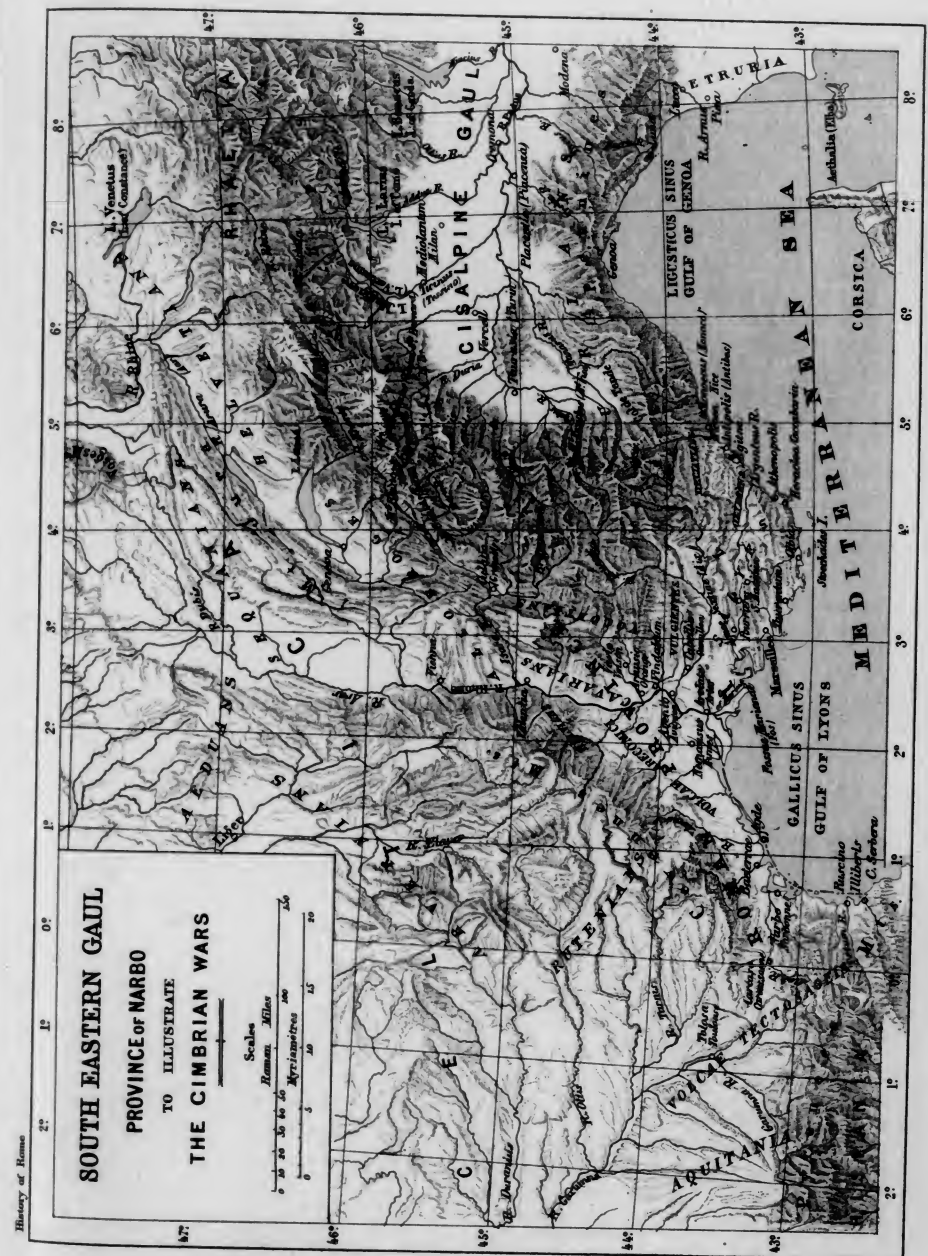
Massiliot coin.<sup>2</sup>

of Illyria (114); then, moving eastward, they overran all the countries lying north of Greece. But in Macedon and Thrace they encountered legions better handled, and were by degrees driven back upon the Danube.<sup>3</sup> These successes and the subjugation of the Carni by Scaurus secured for the Romans the barrier of the Eastern Alps, while the destruction of the tribe of the Stœni opened to them the Maritime Alps (118); and their earliest ventures beyond these mountains had been made seven years before.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv. p. 205; Vell. Paternulus, i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Diana; on the reverse, a lion and the first letters of the city's name ΜΑΣΣΑ.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Ep.* lxiii.; Eutr., iv. 24. A Metellus (113), Livius Drusus (112), and Minucius (109), drove them out of Thrace. (Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*) On the subject of a Gallic invasion of Macedon, in 117, see *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1875, p. 78. To the north of Aquileia are rich gold mines which attracted the Italians hither. (Strabo, iv. p. 208.)



Thanks to the wisdom of a government which in some aspects resembled the Roman, Marseilles had been for four centuries fortunate and prosperous. The destruction of Etruria, of



Monument at Entremont.<sup>1</sup>

Magna Grecia, and of Carthage had given her opportunity to become the greatest commercial city of the West. Moreover, she cultivated early the friendship of the people who had destroyed

<sup>1</sup> This design is given and explained by M. E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. p. 111-114.



her rivals and left her the sea. But like Venice, Marseilles was not content with ruling the seas, she desired to have provinces, and like Venice, she lost her wealth, and then her liberty, in the attempt. All the sea-coast from the Pyrenees to the Alps, from Ampurias to Monaco, was covered with her trading-posts.<sup>1</sup> But these centres of peaceful traffic were surrounded by warlike tribes who were wont to have sanguinary contests with one another, and with the Gauls their neighbours. A curious souvenir of the people is extant, three square stones, discovered at Entremont near Aix, each of which has a bas-relief on three of its sides. It is the most ancient relic of Gallic sculpture, and tells of very barbaric art and of very savage manners. Massilia had often to complain of these neighbours, and her colonists by their continual encroachments provoked from the Ligurians more than one troublesome attack. To put an end to these conflicts, Massilia had recourse to the senate, and a Roman envoy, sent out as arbiter, seeking to land near Antibes, was repulsed by the inhabitants and wounded; upon this, an army was sent against the offending tribes, the Oxybii and the Deciates. These poor mountaineers could make no stand against the legions; they were obliged to give hostages and submit to being disarmed, and were placed in subjection to the Greek city.

Coin of Antibes.<sup>1</sup>

Fresh complaints again brought the Roman legions, this time against the Salyes (125). Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of the Gracchi, and after him, Sextius, defeated them. The latter forbade these tribes to approach nearer than 1,500 paces from the landing-places, and 1,000 from the rest of the coast, and the entire shore was given up to the Massiliots who were to guard it in the interests of Rome. The Vocontii, against whom Marseilles had made no complaint, shared the fate of the Ligurians; but this time Rome kept what she had conquered; she established herself permanently between the Rhone and the Alps by founding, in a beautiful situation abounding in warm springs, a *castellum*, called

<sup>1</sup> See Desjardins, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 140-186.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Venus. On the reverse, Victory erecting a trophy, and the name ANTIII. The remainder of the legend is of doubtful reading and signification. Copper coin of Antipolis (Antibes).

by the name of the proconsul, *Aquæ Sextiæ*—Aix (122). Instead of barbarous tribes, who were in reality not very dangerous, Massilia saw herself now surrounded by the possessions of her ally. She ought to have foreseen that this circle would one day close in upon herself.

The city of the *Aquæ Sextiæ* was hardly established, before Roman activity began to stir up all the nations in the valley of the Rhone. Three great tribes bore sway there, having important auxiliaries: on the right bank of the river, the Arverni, whose territory stretched westward beyond the mountainous region which yet bears their name (Auvergne); on the left bank, as far as the Isara, the Allobroges; and between the Saône and the Loire, the Ædui. This latter tribe, hostile to the others, consented to an alliance with Rome, and the consul, Domitius Ahenobarbus, taking into account that the Ædui could, in case of need, make an important diversion, sent haughtily to claim a Salyan chief who had taken refuge with the Allobroges. For sole reply, the latter armed, and came down as far as *Vindalium*, at the confluence of the Rhone and the Sorgue, where the Romans awaited

Coin of the Arverni.<sup>1</sup>

them, and 20,000 barbarians perished by the sword of the legions (121). The following year the Romans, led by Fabius, the brother of Scipio Æmilianus, crossed the Isara, but the king of the Arverni, Bituitus, recalled them in haste by throwing upon their rear 200,000 Gauls who had crossed the Rhone on two bridges of boats and rafts. When the barbaric king, seated in his silver chariot and surrounded by his pack of war-dogs, saw how small was the Roman force, he exclaimed: "There are not enough of them for a meal for my dogs!" Discipline and military skill, and especially the use of elephants, overcame this

Coin of the Tectosagi.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled head. On the reverse, a coachman driving a chariot with two horses. Gold stater of the Arverni.

<sup>2</sup> Male head; the reverse, an open flower, copied from the Rhoda rose. Silver coin, ascribed to the Tectosagi. M. de Sauley regards this piece as a drachme of a people in central Gaul, but does not venture to give it a more definite location.

multitude, of whom 120,000, it is said, perished on the battlefield or were drowned by the destruction of the bridges.<sup>1</sup> Bituitus, allured by Fabius to a conference some time later, was seized and carried in chains to Rome. They were unwilling to let the legions advance into the mountains of Auvergne, but Fabius received orders to unite to the Roman province all the country bounded by the Rhone from Lake Leman to the sea. The Allobroges were treated with severity; the Cavari, on the contrary, obtained great privileges, and the Vocontii, the title of *Civitas federata*. In Gaul, as in Italy, Rome distributed her favours and her wrath unequally, that



Inscription of Domitius (p. 489).<sup>2</sup>

a common <sup>E</sup> oppression might not unite the vanquished in a common hatred.

The consuls of the following years, crossed the Rhone, and gave the new province as a western frontier the chains of the Cevennes and of the Corbières; the Tectosagi, who were masters

<sup>1</sup> [Of course all these numbers are given purely at random by the ancient historians.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> HERCULI SACRUM, CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS. PROCOS. DEVICTIS ET SUPERATIS BELLO ICONIIS TRICORIIS. Strabo (iv. p. 185 and 203) places between the Rhone and the Alps, the *Vocontii*, then the *Tricorii*, *Iconii*, and, on the top of the mountains, the *Medulli*. Our inscription is not complete. A fragment of it had long been known, whose authenticity, however, Mommsen disputed; the second fragment was discovered by M. Edmond Blanc, in the department of the Alps-Maritimes, upon a highway probably the *via Domitia*.

of Tolosa, even accepted the title of allies of Rome. The colony of Narbo Martius (*Narbonne*), placed as its name indicates, and as its remote situation required, under the special protection of the god of war, was to watch over the new subjects (118). Situated near the mouth of the Aude, at the extremity of that great depression through which the *Canal du Midi* now passes, it became the rival of Marseilles when the Romans made of Bordeaux the other great commercial centre of this portion of Gaul. A military road, commenced by the conqueror of the Allobroges, *via Domitia*, and leading from the Alps to the Pyrenees secured Rome's communication with her Spanish provinces.<sup>1</sup>

Since the battle of Zama, we have seen victorious consuls taking for themselves proud surnames, and Fabius now took that of *Allobrogicus*. In Greece, international law did not permit animosities to be perpetuated by rearing upon the territory of the vanquished a durable monument of their defeat, and this custom had passed into Roman usage. But barbarians were not thought to merit so generous treatment; upon the battlefield of *Vindalium*, Fabius built one temple to Mars and a second to Hercules, and between the two, he placed upon a stone tower a trophy of Gallic arms.<sup>2</sup> The temple and the trophy have disappeared, but there exists a less imposing souvenir of Domitius' victory, an inscription, the first that the Romans ever cut in Gaul, which "the iron-faced man," as Lic. Crassus called him, caused to be engraved on the side of one of the high Provençal hills, and which a lucky chance has recently brought to light.

The transalpine province, guarded by its two military positions, Aix and Narbonne,<sup>3</sup> and protected by the Tectosagi and the *Ædui*, recent allies of Rome, was like an outpost whence the senate watched and held in check the Gallic nations, and thither Marius went to save Italy.

<sup>1</sup> These wars are contemporary with the expeditions of the two Metelli against the Dalmatians (117), (Livy, *Epit.* lxii.), and against the Baleares, from which war they received the two surnames they bear in history. Metellus Balearicus destroyed nearly all the male population in Majorca and re-peopled the island with a colony.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iv. p. 185; Flor., iii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Aix, however, did not become a colony until the time of Augustus.

## II.—THE CIMBRI IN GAUL; BATTLE OF AIX (102).

The Cisalpine had not yet recovered from the alarm caused in 118 by the appearance of the Scordisci on the opposite coast of the Adriatic, when news came, first, that 300,000 Cimbri and Teutones, driven from their homes by an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube; then, that they were ravaging Noricum; lastly, that they were in the valley of the Drave, but two days' march from the Carnic Alps. A consul, Papirius Carbo, hastened to the mountains with a strong force to defend the passage which traverses them. The barbarians were at the moment occupied in besieging Noreia, a town flourishing by its iron mines. Papirius, aided by treachery, hoped to surprise them, but suffered a sanguinary defeat (113). Whether the name of Rome struck terror into these barbarians, or whether the *débris* of the consular army, saved by a storm from a complete destruction, guarded the defiles, the invaders stopped short at the foot of the Carnic Alps, and for three years Noricum, Pannonia, and Illyria, from the Danube to the mountains of Macedon, were horribly ravaged; when there remained nothing more to seize, the horde traversed Rætia and entered the lands of the Helvetii, at this time established between the Maine and Lake Lemman (Switzerland and Suabia). Some of the Helvetii, with the Tugeni, Tigurini, and Ambrones, German or Celtic tribes, whose exact abode is not known, consented to follow them, and they came down the Rhine valley together to make their way into Gaul.

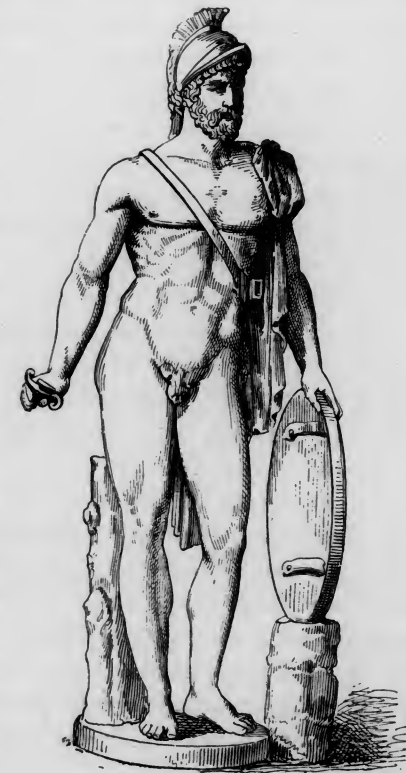
Up to this time the Celts had been supreme on the north of the Italic and Illyrian Alps, while another branch of the great Aryan family, the Germans, had accumulated in innumerable tribes behind them in the regions further to the north. These in turn poured into the valley of the Danube their overflow of population. This was not a warlike band in quest of adventure, but a whole people, with its women and children and flocks, and leather-covered wains, containing all their possessions, who came southward seeking a less inclement sky, the plunder of rich nations, and the fertile lands whose conquered inhabitants should henceforth sow and reap

for them. At sight of these tall, fair-haired men, whose blue eyes so readily flashed with anger, the slender, dark-hued race of the Italian provinces soon understood that they were encountering a race for ever hostile. The word *Cimber* means robber, and for five centuries the Germans gave Rome a right to call them so.

The manners and customs of the Cimbri placed them low in the social scale; they ate raw flesh; they were wont, like the American Indians, to insult their adversaries before the conflict with coarse gestures of contempt, and advanced to battle with war cries. When the enemy was formidable they advanced in a close phalanx, the men in the foremost ranks being bound together by ropes passed through their belts. They fought bravely, and to fall in battle seemed to them the most honourable form of death. After victory followed endless orgies and brutal excesses, and if they

had vowed the spoils to their gods everything was destroyed, men and booty alike. Thus wherever their caprice had led them it was as if a whirlwind had swept over the land.<sup>3</sup>

Such was the first appearance of the Germanic race on the edges of the civilized world; but the Gauls had been no less

Mars.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Mar.*, 11; the same in Festus and Suidas.

<sup>2</sup> Mars of the old Crawford collection. (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 634 A, No. 1436 B.) This naked warrior, with the chlamys on the left shoulder may represent a military hero as well as the god of war.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *History of Rome*,



terrible in Greece; the barbaric condition is the same everywhere; it is well for those who have no trace of it left!

In the Belgæ of Gaul the Cimbri imagined a kindred race; they formed an alliance with them and left under their care, with a guard of 6,000 men, all the booty which would have embarrassed their march; then they proceeded southward, and for over a year Gaul suffered all the evils of the most terrible invasion (110). Upon the banks of the Rhone the Cimbri again found themselves confronted by those Romans whom they had already met in their expeditions eastward, in Illyria, in Macedon, and in Thrace. The immensity of this empire, whose frontiers they found everywhere, struck them with astonishment, and for the first time shrinking from a battle, they asked the consul Silanus to give them lands, offering in return to fight for Rome whenever she desired it. "Rome," rejoined Silanus, "has no lands to give, and desires no services." Thereupon he crossed the Rhone and was defeated (109); the confederated barbarians were not, however, able to force the passage of the river.

In the spring of the year 107 they divided; the Tigurini made their way towards the fords of the Rhone, near Geneva; the Cimbri and Teutones were to attack lower down. The Romans also divided their forces, Cassius Longinus, the consul, engaging the Tigurini, while Aurelius Scaurus marched against the Cimbri. Both armies were defeated; the former passed under the yoke after having seen their consul slain; the latter made their way back into the province in disorder, leaving their general a prisoner in the enemy's hands.

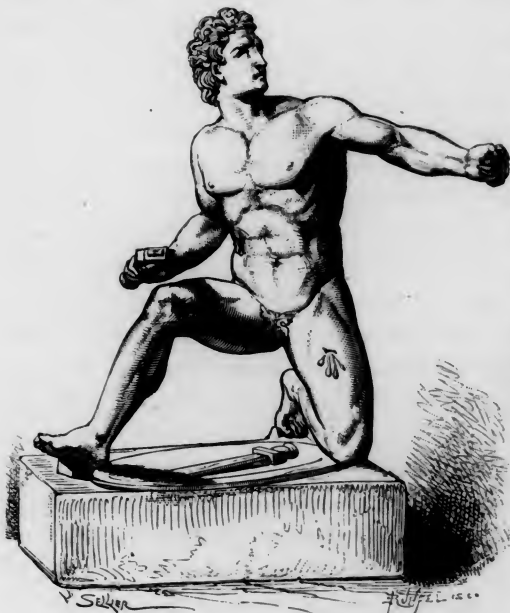
The province was left defenceless, the Alps were no longer guarded, and the prestige of the Roman name began to wane in the minds of these barbarians who had now so often defeated the legions. A council was held by them to determine what route to follow, Scaurus being present, loaded with chains. Being questioned, he intimidated his captors by his bold replies: "I recommend you," he said, "to cross the Alps, set foot in Italy, and you will learn what the Roman power is!" These brave words exasperated a young chief, as the American Indian is said to be irritated by the sarcasms of his prisoner at the stake; he fell upon Scaurus and ran him through the body.

The Cimbri, however, hesitated. In their carelessness they lingered a whole year enjoying their victories. Why should they hasten, indeed, even had they determined upon their next step? The earth was fruitful, the sky mild, their booty immense; were they not in possession of all that they had come to seek? They even suffered the consul Cæpio to sack the capital of the Volcæ Tectosagi, with whom they were in alliance. These Volcæ had, it was said, brought back from their predatory expeditions into Greece an enormous amount of treasure, which they had consecrated to their god Belis by throwing the melted gold and silver into the lake adjacent to his temple. The god could not defend them, however, from the avidity of the legionaries and their chief when divers sought beneath the water for these consecrated treasures. Cæpio obtained 110,000 pounds weight of gold and a million and a half pounds of silver from the sack of Tolosa; this treasure he sent forward to Marseilles, posting accomplices upon the road, however, who killed the guard and carried off the precious booty (106).

The following year the senate sent out another army and a newly-appointed consul, Mallius, to divide the command with Cæpio. This ill-judged measure, the misunderstandings which arose between the two generals, and finally the separation of their forces into two camps, resting upon the Rhone, opposite Orange, brought on a frightful disaster; the two camps, attacked successively, were carried by the enemy; 80,000 Roman soldiers, with 40,000 camp followers or slaves fell under the sword, and the rest were made prisoners. It is said that but ten men escaped; of this number were Cæpio and a young Roman knight, Q. Sertorius, of whom we shall hear later; the latter, though wounded, swam the Rhone without laying off his cuirass or buckler. This was the sixth Roman army which the barbarians had destroyed (Oct. 6, 105).

Before the battle, the Cimbri, to avenge an outrage upon their deputies, had vowed to sacrifice to their gods all that should fall into their hands, and they fulfilled the oath religiously. The men were slain, the horses thrown into the river, cuirasses, arms, and chariots were broken and burned, even the gold and silver was thrown into the Rhone, and from the Alps to the Pyrenees there was one vast scene of devastation.

The defeat at Orange surpassed that of Cannæ, but there was no Hannibal at the head of the Cimbri. Arriving at the gates of Spain, and finding the way open, these barbarians forgot Italy. They were curious to see this new country, and crossing the



Wounded Combatant (from the Louvre).

Pyrenees they proceeded to try their swords upon that race of Celtiberians so tough and obstinate in their mountains. This delay was Rome's salvation. It gave her time to call home Marius from Africa, and send him to guard the Alps, giving him, in spite of the law, a second consulship within three years. The alarm, however, was extreme, but Rome had still in reserve the energy needful against danger. As had been done after the battle of Cannæ, a decree of the senate abridged the time of mourning for the slain, and gave orders that no Italian of military age should leave Italy, forbidding captains of vessels to receive any such on board; satisfaction was also offered to public indignation. A hundred years earlier the senate and the people had gone out to meet the fugitive general from Cannæ, so much respect did the consular authority command even in hands considered incapable; but now law no longer had this supremacy, and a popular vote deprived the defeated general of his *imperium*.<sup>1</sup>

Marius proceeded to take up a position behind the Rhone to the north of Arles, upon the western slope of the mountains (104);

<sup>1</sup> See the following chapter.

he entrenched himself securely, and to be certain of his supplies arriving at all times he employed his soldiers in digging a canal by which vessels from Marseilles and from Italy might avoid the shallows at the mouth of the Rhone. This canal came out upon the shore at a point where the village of Foz now recalls the name of the *Fossæ Marianæ*.<sup>1</sup> The legionaries who were employed in this work were called in derision Marius' *mules*; but by these severe labours he broke up those habits of indolence and luxury which had prevailed for half a century in the Roman camps, and had cost the State six armies. A young soldier, insulted by a nephew of the consul, had slain the offender; instead of punishing the soldier, Marius rewarded him for the act. He also introduced modifications in the soldiers' armour, giving them a light round shield and a javelin which, once thrown, could not be used a second time, for he caused the head of the weapon to be attached to the shaft by a wooden and an iron pin, the former of which breaking spoilt the weapon for use, while the iron pin held the shaft, thus embarrassing the movements of the soldier in whose shield it had fixed. Marius also directed the soldiers to learn the art of fencing, an exercise of great importance in a time when battles were decided in a series of hand-to-hand contests. Before his time the Roman army was arranged in order of battle in three ranks; for this he substituted two, but in the ten cohorts, which had taken the place of the thirty *manipuli*, he combined the different arms, light and heavy infantry, so that each cohort of 600 men was, like our battalions, a copy of the entire legion, whose unity he marked by giving to each its standard, a silver eagle.<sup>2</sup>

Scipio Æmilianus had, some time earlier, during the siege of Numantia, created the general's bodyguard, the soldiers of the *prætorium*, the *prætoriani*, selected from the bravest in the army, excused from all duties but guarding the general's person, and receiving higher pay than the other soldiers. The new Roman army, therefore, was quite different from that of the earlier time.

<sup>1</sup> Upon this subject see the *Géographie de la Gaule romaine* of M. E. Desjardins (vol. ii. p. 199). Marius gave this canal to the Massiliotes, and it became a source of wealth to them from the tolls they levied on vessels going up or down. (Strabo, iv. 183.)

<sup>2</sup> See in vol. i. p. 419, the early military organization.

Rank and position were no longer based on property, but on years of service, and the army was open to those who were on the lists of the census only as *capite censi* (persons without property) and also to foreign contingents, Numidian or Thracian cavalry, Balearic



Roman Eagle.<sup>1</sup>

slingers, light troops from all countries. For the war against the Cimbri, even such remote contingents as those of Bithynia and Phrygia were called in. Thus the nobles disdaining military service, and the class of petty proprietors no longer existing to furnish recruits, the government became more aristocratic as the army became less so. The two great social institutions of Rome, the senate and the army, which once formed a harmonious whole, gradually diverged, and thus the way was

prepared for the advent of an *imperator*.

It cannot be said that Marius was the author of all these changes, but he contributed largely by opening the military career to the proletariat and to the provincials.

Meantime the Cimbri still delayed their coming, and Marius, to familiarize his soldiers with the reforms in their ornament and in the order of battle, employed them in short military expeditions, which presented no serious dangers. In this way Sylla, who had formerly been quaestor with Marius, and now held the position of his lieutenant, defeated in many skirmishes the great tribe of the Volcae Tectosagi, and took their king, Copill, prisoner.

The respite the barbarians allowed Marius had then been well employed, since in restoring discipline he had restored to his legions the certainty of success. A Greek writer goes so far as to say that he made a sanguinary offering to their superstitious temper. Warned by a dream, it is said that he sacrificed his daughter Calpurnia for the purpose of securing the favour of the gods.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch also mentions a prophetess, Martha, who followed him clad in a purple garment, and carrying in her hand a javelin adorned with fillets and garlands.

For three years affrighted Rome forgot her laws, continuing

<sup>1</sup> La Chausse, *Récueil d'antiquités romaines*, v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Dorotheos, *ap. Script. Alex. M.*, p. 156, ed. Didot.

in the consulship and in the military command the man who promised to save her. At the end of this time the barbarians returned from Spain with the intention of now entering Italy. The Cimbri went to the left, turning the Alps in order to come

down through the Tyrol into the valley of the Adige, while the Teutones advanced to meet Marius. The Roman general allowed them the passage of the Rhone. Relying upon his troops and upon the strong position which he held near the sea, the city of Massilia, and the Roman fleets, he hoped to entrap the barbarians in the mountainous region through which they were about to march, to come upon them in some moment of carelessness and destroy them with a single blow. Moreover, he wished to give his soldiers time

to become familiar with the fierce aspect of these disorderly bands. Vainly the Teutones multiplied insults to draw him out of his lines. One of their chiefs came even to the gates of the Roman camp and challenged Marius to single combat, but the general sent word that if the Teuton were weary of life he might hang himself, and on the barbarian's insisting further he sent out a gladiator to him.<sup>2</sup> The Roman army were frenzied with impatience. "The important matter is," he said, "not to gain a victory, but to keep this thick cloud from bursting upon Italy." The general kept himself carefully informed of the enemy's designs, and Sertorius, who understood the Gallic language, penetrated their camp every day in disguise, in the quarter of the Ambrones. The Teutones strove to force the Roman camp, but after three ineffectual attempts decided to go elsewhere. Later the story was told that for six whole days they defiled past the Roman camp in full sight of the soldiers, and were heard to taunt them, crying out, "We are



Phrygian Archer.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a Greek marble.

<sup>2</sup> Frontin., *Strateg.*, iv. 7.  
VOL. II.



going to see your wives; have you any message to send them?" Marius followed them by short marches, waiting for the favourable moment.<sup>1</sup>

Near Aquæ Sextiæ the barbarians stopped, and Marius regarding the place as suitable for a battle, came up and took a position



The so-called Dresden Gladiator.<sup>2</sup>

opposite upon a hill overlooking the valley of the Arc. There was no supply of water on the high ground, and when his soldiers complained the Roman general pointed out to them the river on whose banks the Teutones were encamped. "We shall go in search of water there," he said, "but we must pay for it with our blood; we will begin with fortifying our camp." From their position the Romans could see the Ambrones dispersed over the plain, some seated and eating, others bathing in the Arc or in the warm springs; here a man combing his long hair, there one polishing his weapons, and further back, behind the shelter of the

waggons, priestesses in white garments with an iron belt around the waist, who perhaps at the moment were occupied with their gloomy rites, cutting a captive's throat over the edge of a brass cauldron, that they might read in the victim's blood the fate of the approaching battle.

Meantime the servants of the Roman army having no water for themselves and their animals, were emboldened at the sight

<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to see why he did not, however, by some sudden attack, seek to cut in two this immense and necessarily disordered line. Marius evidently had not the highest military talent any more than he had the highest qualities of the statesman.

<sup>2</sup> Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 865, No. 2206.

of the disorder of the Ambrones, and came down in a crowd towards the river. The barbarians believing themselves attacked seized their arms and advanced, striking their bucklers with a rhythmic cadence, and keeping time to this fierce music as they marched. But in crossing the river they broke ranks, and had not time to form again, when the Romans fell upon them from the heights above with such fury, that they were compelled, after severe loss to seek shelter behind the circle of waggons. There,



however, they encountered a new enemy, their women, who, frenzied with rage and grief, rushed out upon them, smiting alike fugitives and pursuers, or rushing in among the combatants, and, unarmed as they were, seeking to snatch from the legionaries their swords and shields. Day began to wane; the Teutones, who had not fought, were approaching, and the Romans did not pursue their success further.

During the engagement the same battle cry, *Ambra! Ambra!*

<sup>1</sup> M. Ernest Desjardins is of opinion that the great massacre took place in the valley below the hills of Pourrières, and near the valley of that name, *Campi putridi*; that Marius encamped upon the hills on the north of the city; that the ambush of Marcellus was in the forest of Pourcieux, near Mount Olympus or Regaignas. (*Géog. de la Gaule rom.*, vol. ii. p. 327.)

was heard on both sides; it was the Ambrones shouting their own name, and the Italian Ligurians, auxiliaries of Rome, who replied with their ancient war-cry. The two tribes, probably of kindred origin, met after a separation of a thousand years.<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the day the Romans returned to their position, but no songs of triumph resounded through the night in the camp, for the ramparts and the trenches were not yet completed, and a great host of barbarians, who had not taken part in the day's action, were in the immediate vicinity. All night long their threats and lamentations, like the howling of wild beasts, filled the air, and these sounds echoing among the hills filled the Romans with terror. Marius dreaded a night attack from the infuriated horde, but happily they remained within their camp through that night and the following day, being occupied in making ready for the combat.

In the second battle, two days later, the barbarians repeated their imprudent attack upon the hill where Marius was posted, and to which he allured them by a pretence of flight on the part of the cavalry. Repulsed in this attempt, and followed in their retreat by the legions, then attacked from the rear by 3,000 picked men whom Marius had placed in ambush in the woods above their camp, they were unable to resist. The massacre was terrible, as in all these ancient battles, where men fought hand to hand, and where the defeated army might be completely destroyed by the victorious one. Plutarch relates that the fields were so enriched by the bodies of the slain that they became marvellously fruitful, and that the bones of the dead were in such abundance that the Massiliots employed them to wall-in their vineyards. The village of Pourrières, between Aix and Saint Maximin, recalls yet in its name, the *Campus putridus*, the Putrid Field, where this vast massacre took place.

Three thousand men were all who escaped, among them King Teutobokh and some other chiefs, who endeavoured to make their way back to Germany. The Gauls, however, had suffered too much from this invasion not to revenge it, and they pursued the fugitives.

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch the Ligurians called themselves Ambrones, which perhaps indicates kinship with the Umbrians. In vol. i. we have already referred to the uncertainty which exists in respect to the origin of the latter people.

Teutobokh was taken by the Sequani and delivered over to Marius; he was a warrior of colossal height, of whom it was said that he could leap across six horses placed abreast. Marius reserved him for his triumph, together with the best arms and



So-called Trophies of Marius.<sup>1</sup>

richest spoils, and made a heap of the rest of the booty to burn it in honour of the gods. The army were assembled around the pile; Marius, clad in purple, his toga girt about him as for a

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Revue de numismatique* the paper by C. Lenormant, *Les Trophées de Marius*, 1842. The author regards them as having made part of the Nymphæum of Alexander Severus. It is evident, in any case, that, notwithstanding their name, they have nothing to do with Marius.

solemn sacrifice, was in the act of raising a lighted torch, with both hands towards heaven, when some of his friends were seen riding up at full speed; they brought him news that he had been elected consul for the fifth time. The army testified their joy by shouts and the clashing of their weapons, and the officers placed a laurel wreath on the head of Marius. After this brief delay he set fire to the pile, and amid the rejoicings of the soldiers the flames shot up towards the sky (102).

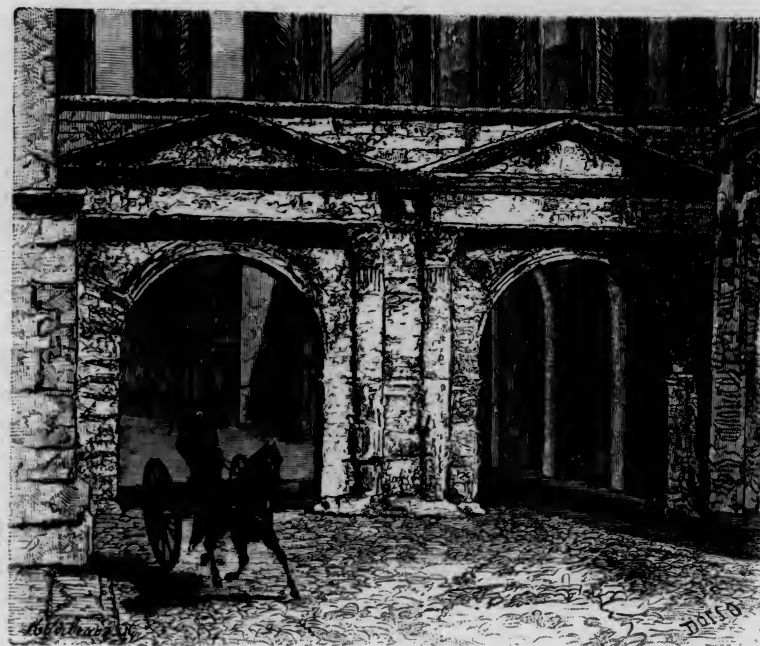
A pyramid was erected at one end of the battlefield in memory of this victory, which was in existence until the fifteenth century. One of its bas-reliefs represented Marius raised upon a shield at the moment after the soldiers had proclaimed him *imperator*.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—THE CIMBRI IN ITALY; BATTLE OF VERCELLÆ (101).

The war was not yet ended, for only the Teutones and Ambrones had been destroyed, while the Cimbri yet remained. Catulus, who had been despatched to guard the road leading over the eastern Alps, had no need to go so far. News from the mountains announced that the enemy were on their way towards the Brenner pass, whence the valleys of the Eisack and the Adige lead down into Italy, and Catulus established himself upon the latter river, in the old Etruscan city of *Tridentium* (Trent), and to bar the road covered himself on both banks of the stream by strong entrenchments united by a bridge. At Trent, the Adige is still a mountain torrent, and is not a serious obstacle to the passage of an army. The true point of defence is lower down, at Verona, but this was not known at that time. When the Cimbri arrived they found the Romans indisposed to issue from their camp, and to insult this cowardice and parade their own strength, they delighted to expose themselves naked to the winter's cold, and scaling the steep cliffs opposite the city, to slide down seated on their bucklers. They did not undertake to force the

<sup>1</sup> Up to the time of the Revolution the village of Pourrières preserved a representation of this monument in its armorial bearings. (Fauris de Saint-Vincent, in the *Magasin encyclopédique* of Millin, vol. iv. p. 314.)

entrenchments of Catulus, but sought to destroy the bridge by casting whole trees into the river, whose shock might destroy the piles, or else they threw in masses of rock as if to fill up the stream. After a few days the terrified legions compelled their general to quit the position. He abandoned in a little fort on the left bank of the Adige a few soldiers, who defended themselves with such courage that the Cimbri, after having compelled their surrender, permitted them to go out on honourable conditions, the



Porta de' Borsari at Verona. (Maffei, *Verona Illustrata*.)

barbarians swearing to the terms upon their brazen bull. This bull, taken after the battle, was carried to the house of Catulus as the first fruits of his victory.

The legions did not make a stand on the plateau of Rivoli, whence they might have held the outlet of the mountains, nor yet at Verona, where they would have commanded the passage of the Adige, now become an important river, but they kept on retreating until they had placed the river Po as a barrier between



themselves and the enemy. The country to the north of this river remained defenceless, and was horribly ravaged by the barbarians, but finding in these fertile lands provisions in abundance, they



Brazen Bull.<sup>1</sup>

remained there awaiting the arrival of the Teutones, and giving themselves up to the enjoyment of their easy victory. And why should they hasten? Up to this moment they had been everywhere successful, and they had confidence that the sword would open to them the road to Rome as it had opened the road to so many other countries. Instead of pursuing Catulus, they passed

the winter and the summer of the year 102 in the Transpadane.

These events had caused the recall of Marius from Gaul. He came to Rome, refused the triumph offered him by the senate, "to re-assure the multitude by seeming to leave his fame as a deposit in the hands of the Fortune of Rome," and by a haughty address raised the courage of all. He then went north again to rejoin his army, which had now crossed the Alps, and to arrange with his colleague the plan of the approaching campaign. It was at this moment that Sylla, wounded by his arrogance, left him and accepted service with Catulus, by whom he was cordially welcomed. With the force of cavalry placed under his command Sylla was able to collect provisions and keep the camp of Catulus well supplied until the end of the war, while that of Marius frequently suffered from want.

The Cimbri were still waiting for the Teutones to arrive, and would not believe the rumours that reached them of their defeat. They even sent deputies to Marius to ask for themselves and their brethren lands and houses in which they might establish themselves. "Do not be anxious about your brethren," the consul rejoined, "they have the land that we have given them, and will keep it for ever." At these words the barbarians broke out in

<sup>1</sup> Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. vi., 1st Series, pl. 93.

threats and abusive language; the consul should be punished, they said, for his jesting language, first by the Cimbri, and later by the Teutones when they should arrive. "The Teutones have arrived," Marius said, "and it is not fitting that you should go away until you have saluted your brethren," and he caused Teutobokh and the other captives to be brought in loaded with chains.

Upon report of this the Cimbri hesitated no longer. Boiorix, their king, approached the Roman camp accompanied by a few horsemen, and asked to have the day and hour fixed for the combat which should decide the possession of Italy. The consul replied that the Romans were not accustomed to consult with their enemies on these matters, but that he would deign to gratify the Cimbri on this point, and it was thereupon agreed that the battle should take place three days later in the plain of Vercellæ. On the appointed day the Cimbri took up a position in the plain, forming a square whose sides measured 6,000 yards. Their cavalry, 15,000 in number, were splendidly adorned, their helmets surmounted by heads of wild beasts with gaping mouths, and above them great crests like wings, adding to the height of the horseman. They were protected by iron cuirasses and white shields, and had each two javelins to throw from a distance, while for the thick of the fight they had long, heavy swords.

When this great army of barbarians set itself in motion, it seemed, says Plutarch, like a furious ocean in high tide. But Marius, like Hannibal at Cannæ, took advantage of the sun and of the wind. Such a cloud of dust arose that presently the Cimbri could not see before them, and whilst the wind blew it in their faces the sun blazed full in their eyes; they were obliged to shade their faces with their bucklers, thus leaving their bodies exposed.

The bravest among the Cimbri, to make sure that their first ranks should not be broken, had bound themselves together by long iron chains attached to their belts. This device caused their destruction, the dead hampering the living. The Romans, attacking from a distance with the formidable *pilum*, made breaches in this line, which they entered and then slew at will. The first ranks being exterminated, the others gave way, and the conquerors pursued the fugitives into their entrenchments. There horrible

scenes took place, of which the Romans were mere spectators. The women, clad in black, and standing upon the waggons, themselves slew the fugitives; they slaughtered their children, throwing them under the wheels or under the horses' feet, and finally killed themselves. One of them having attached her two children, one to each foot, hung herself from the pole of a waggon tilted on end.<sup>1</sup> The men, for lack of trees to hang themselves, put slip-nooses around their necks, fastening the rope to the horns of oxen and pricking the animals to make them run, perished, either being strangled or trodden under foot. Notwithstanding the great number of those who thus perished by their own hand, more than 60,000



Bacchus in India.<sup>2</sup> (See next page.)

were (it is said) made prisoners, twice that number being set down as slain (101). They were perhaps a million of human beings when, thirteen years before, they had left the Baltic shores; of this multitude there now were left but a few thousand captives, destined for the slave markets of Italy.

The honours paid to Marius after this victory testified to the anxiety and alarm which had been felt at Rome. He was called the third Romulus, the new founder of Rome, Camillus having

<sup>1</sup> Florus (iii. 3) and Orosius (v. 16) assert that these women sent to beg the consuls that they should be received among the vestals, and on their refusal, *cum non impetrassent*, took their own lives. It is needless to say that this is simply legendary.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief of a sarcophagus from Zoega. (*Bassiril. ant.*) The expedition of Bacchus into India is famous among the ancients. He was there three years according to some accounts, and fifty-two according to others (Diod., iii. 63, vi. 3), and had to fight against mighty chiefs. But the Pans, Satyrs, and Bacchantes who accompanied him, and his own divine power, made him triumph over all adversaries. He civilized the country he had conquered, introduced into it the culture of the vine, founded cities, and gave laws to them. (Strab., xi. 505; Arrian, *Indica*, 5; Philostr., *Vita Apoll.*, ii. 9.) These legends explain our bas-relief and the presence of the unwarlike troop that follows the

already received that appellation after his victory over the Gauls. Every citizen, on news of the triumph, poured libations in the conqueror's name. He himself fancied he had equalled the exploits of Bacchus in India, and would henceforward drink only from a cup similar to that given to Dionysos; he also caused to be carved on his shield the grimacing head of a barbarian; and Rome believed that she had stifled barbarism in his mighty arms.

<sup>1</sup> Bust engraved on vitreous paste, found at Palestrina, bearing the legend, C. MARIUS VII. COS. (Visconti, *Icon. rom.*, vol. ii.)



Marius.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XLI.

SECOND REVOLT OF THE SLAVES AND NEW DISTURBANCES  
IN ROME (103-91).

## I.—INSURRECTION OF THE SLAVES IN ITALY AND SICILY (103—99).

THE two wars against the Numidians and the Cimbri had made a bloody interlude to the internal troubles of the State. Their results were momentous; Roman rule was consolidated in Africa, and Italy closed for three centuries against the barbarians. But there was much disgrace mingled with a little glory, and that glory belonged almost entirely to one man: the love of the soldiers and the people, the enforced respect of the nobles, a great reputation, divine honours, these are what Marius, five times consul, brought back to Rome. The Eternal City was saved from the Cimbri and Teutones, who would save the Republic from the reviving factions? Did the great soldier possess, like his master, Scipio Æmilianus, the ideas and sentiments of a great citizen, or only the paltry ambition and envious hate of the upstart? Ere long we shall be able to judge.



Venus found at Nuceria  
(Nocera de' Pagani).<sup>1</sup>

What Rome had been before the time of the Gracchi that she was twenty years afterwards: only there was more misery with less hope. The corruption which pervaded Roman society extended even to the political parties themselves; instead of the orderly and useful struggle between

<sup>1</sup> This charming statue is in the Museum at Naples. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl. 632 a, No. 1323 A.)

two great factions of the Roman people, we shall see only the bloody quarrels of some powerful men who, like the Gallic Brenn, mete out justice at the point of the sword. What party—that is to say, what requirements, what views—will Marius represent until his death, or Sylla, until his consulship? The history of the man who at this epoch endeavoured to re-awaken the memory of the sons of Cornelia of Saturninus the tribune, for a moment a king in Rome, will serve to show this decadence in the internal life of the city. The grand scenes of the double tragedy of the Gracchi will be replaced by the outrages of a low party leader.

Like the tribuneship of Tiberius, that of Saturninus, was preceded by a revolt of the slaves. This time the signal went up from Central Italy; it was a foretaste of Spartacus. Conspiracies discovered at Nuceria and at Capua were baffled. A more dangerous insurrection was aroused by Vettius, a Roman knight, who, crushed by debts, armed his slaves and murdered his creditors. He took the diadem and the purple, surrounded himself with lictors and called to him all the slaves of Campania. The prætor Lucullus set out with all haste with 10,000 men. The rebel had already collected 3,500; betrayed by one of his own men he killed himself, so as not to fall alive into the hands of the enemy (103).

The rising was quelled in Campania, but it had already reached Sicily. The masters had quickly forgotten the enactments of Rupilius. Recently, upon the claims of some Asiatic princes, whose subjects had been kidnapped, the senate had ordered the prætor of Sicily to set at liberty all the free men who had been reduced to slavery by violence. A few days later, 800 were freed; but the representations, or perhaps the bribes,



"The fettered Race."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Slave working in chains, from a gem. The galley-slaves of modern Italy still wear chains as represented here. The cut is believed to represent the enchained Saturn after he is dispossessed of his kingdom by his brother Titan. Slaves, on obtaining their liberty consecrated to him their chains.



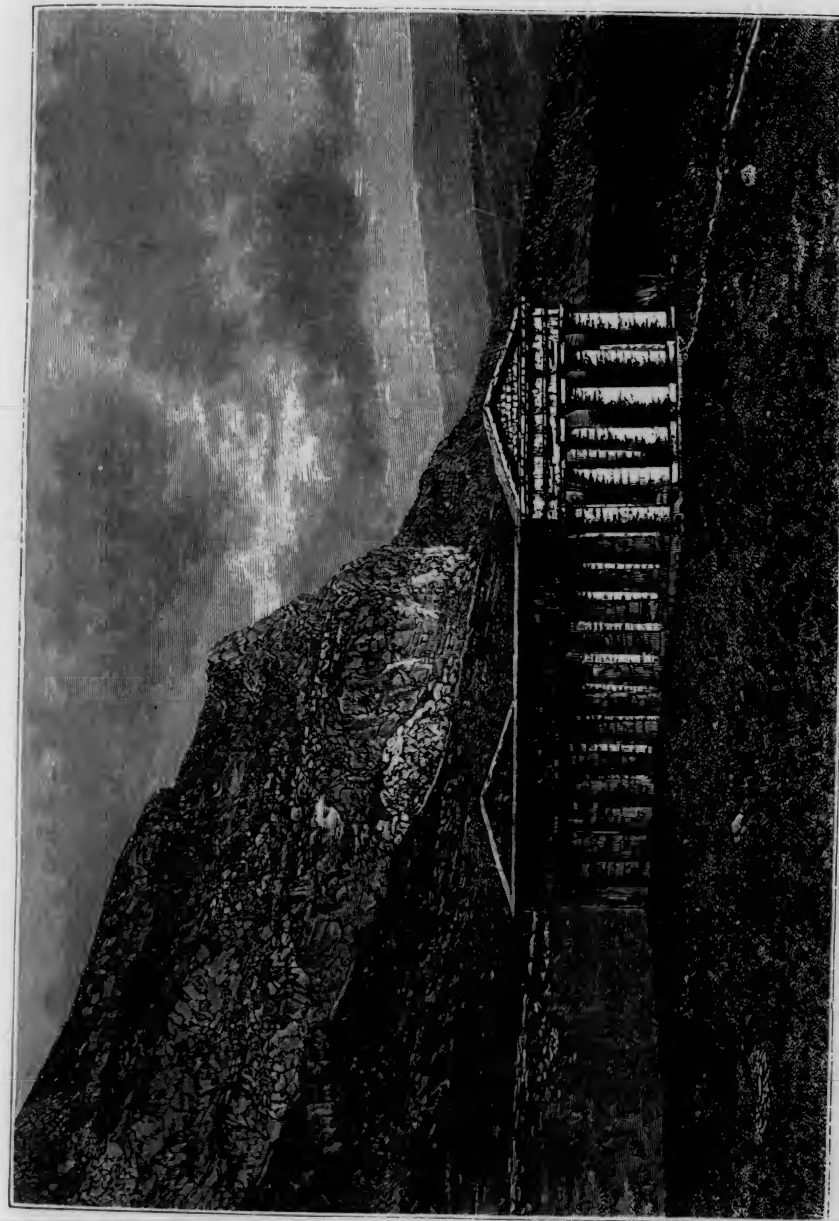
of the masters, put an end to the enquiry; the *tribunal of liberty* opened at Syracuse, was closed, and "the fettered race," not expecting further justice, revolted. A fortunate surprise, which delivered over to the slaves the arms of a part of the garrison of Enna, enabled them to organize in a soldierly manner. The most numerous band took as chief one Salvius, who had mustered 20,000 foot-soldiers and 2,000 horsemen, and very nearly took the fortress of Morgantia. The slaves from the neighbourhood of Segesta and Lilybæum ranged themselves under the command of the Cilician Athenio, who gave out that he was an astrologer, as Salvius had claimed to be an aruspex. Athenio was a former chief of brigands whom the Romans had



Slave taking refuge upon an Altar.<sup>1</sup> (Stage scene.)

captured and sold. He was himself bold and skilful, and accepted only those men who were strong and trained, obliging the others to work for him, and forbidding them to pillage; Messina, the most important city in the island to the Romans, was very near falling into his hands. It was expected that misunderstandings would arise between the two commanders, but Athenio recognized the authority of Salvius, "King Tryphon," who built himself a palace in the city of Triocala. The suspicions and ill-treatment of the new king did not shake the fidelity of his lieutenant; and when Lucullus arrived from Italy with an army which, in spite of the Cimbrian war, the senate had been able to collect, Athenio advised awaiting him in the plain and risking a battle. Sustained

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in terra-cotta from the Campana collection. The slave seems anxious to escape the pursuit of a man armed with a stick. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, fig. 589.



Temple of Segesta. (From a photograph.)

by his courage, the slaves held firm, but on seeing him fall, they fled and took shelter at Triocala (102). After a few days' siege Lucullus retired, and upon hearing that they had named Servilius as his successor, he freely granted to the soldiers discharges and burned his stores; accused at Rome of having sold himself to the slaves, he was punished by a fine, and went into exile.<sup>1</sup>

Servilius was still less fortunate; Athenio, who had only been wounded, took the place of Salvius who died some time after the battle, and displayed an energy which checkmated his adversary. Rome avenged herself by condemning Servilius to exile, and resigned herself to the disgrace of sending the consular forces against these rebels. Manius Aquillius, worthy colleague of Marius, slew Athenio in single combat, dispersed his troops, and had those whom they could catch carried to Rome, to be delivered up to the wild beasts. They cheated the people of their gratification by killing each other; their chief slew the last survivor and then destroyed himself. An enormous number of slaves had perished in these two wars.<sup>3</sup> The most cruel regulations repressed them for the future, the possession of arms was forbidden under pain of death, even the spear with which the herdsmen were wont to defend themselves against wild beasts (102—99).



Coin of Manius Aquillius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Εἴτε διὰ ῥασιμόνῃν, εἴτε διὰ δυσποδοκίαν. (Diod., xxxvi. 8; Plut., *Lucull.*, 1.)

<sup>2</sup> MAN. AQVIL. MAN. F. MAN. N. SICIL. (*Manius Aquillius, Manii filius, Manii nepos, Sicilia*). Soldier raising a kneeling woman. Reverse of a silver coin of the Aquillian family.

<sup>3</sup> Athenæus says 1,000,000 in one war only—the first; but Diodorus estimates the number of slaves engaged in it at 200,000 only. [Both no doubt at random. *Ed.*]

## II.—THE TRIUMVIRATE OF MARIUS GLAUCIA AND SATURNINUS (100).

The Servile war had, like the Cimbric and Numidian, fully exposed the incapacity and venality of the nobles. The disgrace of the nobility had given both voice and courage to the tribunes. Memmius and Mamilius had openly accused the guilty, and sought to re-organize the popular party, who, believing they had found a leader in Marius, raised him to the consulship. His successes, and the confidence reposed in him by the soldiers, who would have no other general, enabled him to retain this office for four years, in defiance of all law. In the interest of public safety the nobles accepted the situation; now, however, under cover of his reputation and his services, the tribunes commenced anew the struggle against the senate, supported by the knights, who were incensed at the loss of half of the *judicia*.

The defeat of Orange and the extortions of Cæpio served as a pretext. Scarcely had the news of his defeat reached Rome than the people wished to deprive him of the *imperium*, to declare him incapable of holding any office, and to confiscate his property. The senate defended the proconsul who had restored to it a share of the judicial authority, but the tribune Norbanus had driven from the *Comitium* the nobles, and two tribunes who had opposed the measure. This tumult became so great that the prince of the senate, Æmilius Scaurus, was wounded in the head by a stone. Cæpio, was deposed, thrown into prison, and a friendly tribune who had liberated him was forced to share his exile. According to other accounts, he was strangled in his cell, and his body dragged to the Gemonian steps. He left two daughters who disgraced themselves by their conduct. This ruin and dishonour of a family once illustrious appeared like a vengeance of the Gallic gods, whose treasures Cæpio had plundered; hence the proverb, "He has Tolosan gold," applied to the man whom a long series of misfortunes seemed to brand with the ban of an adverse fate.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Off.*, ii. 21; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 11; *Brut.*, 44; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, iii. 9; Livy, *Epit.*, lxvii.

This deposition of a magistrate in face of the veto of two tribunes was an open violation of law, but no one noticed it, for the old constitution of Rome was going to pieces.

In the year 104 a measure, brought forward by the tribune Domitius, transferred to the people the election of the pontiffs, a right hitherto exercised by the college itself. Thus, again, a privilege was taken from the aristocracy and conferred upon a venal assembly, venal, as we shall see, when Julius Cæsar, by buying from the comitia the office of pontifex Maximus, opened his way to the higher offices. In 103 Marcius Philippus proposed an agrarian law, and in his speech advocating the measure occur the terrible words we have already quoted: "In the entire Republic there are not 2,000 landowners."<sup>1</sup> The proposal was defeated, but the colleague of Philippus, Servilius Glaucia, to buy the support of the equestrian order, now deprived the senators of the judicature which had been given them by Cæpio. Glaucia, seeking also to gain the allies, made two concessions to them, the first giving citizenship to any Italian who should succeed in convicting a magistrate of extortion, the second increasing the severity of the Calpurnian law *de pecuniis repetundis*, by making the restitution twofold. Thus the tribuneship once more became aggressive, the blood of the Gracchi having restored to it, as it were, its early democratic energy.

Such was the situation in Rome when Marius returned from the Cisalpine. Until now he had been consul in camps only, and he aspired to fill that office in Rome for another year under the eyes of the aristocratic party who had so long scorned him.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24. The date of this Servilian law is uncertain, but must fall between 106 and 101. Walter (*Gesch. des röm. Rechts*, ii. 439) says: "About the year 650," that is, 104 B.C., Cicero speaks of the Latins only and of the free cities, "*Latinis, id est, federatis*." Klenze, the able editor of the Servilian law, thinks that its privileges were granted to all the provincials: "It was at the same time a splendid indemnity for the perils and fatigues of making an accusation, and a sure protection against the vengeance of the next appointed incumbent of the same office, who would doubtless wish to avenge the harm done to his predecessor, and prevent by terror even the most legitimate complaints in the future." (Laboulaye, *Essai sur les lois criminelles des Romains*, p. 241.) Madvig and Huschke do not admit the provincials to the benefits of the Servilian law, and I should be of their opinion were it not, in Section xxiv., the text speaks in general terms of those who *cives Romani non erunt*. It was the provincials and not the Latins who suffered most from extortion; they it was who had most motives for bringing accusations, and most means for proving their charges.



But the nobles were of opinion that this peasant of Arpinum had had honours enough, and when he sought for a sixth consulate they opposed to him his personal enemy Metellus, so that Marius was forced to resort in his canvass to the use of gold.<sup>1</sup> This he never forgave, and from this time forward plunged into a career of base and tortuous intrigue. Calm in battle and in presence of death, Marius lost confidence in the presence of the popular assembly; there the meanest demagogue had more presence of mind. Of course, in the city a political leader was required to control the masses; Marius, therefore, sought out a man to speak for him.

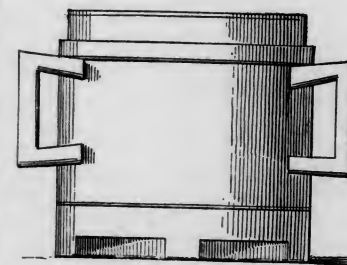
There was living at this time in Rome L. Apuleius Saturninus, a clever orator, without moral weight, but with much ambition and spite, whom a public disgrace had thrown into the popular party. He had been quaestor over the department of Ostia, that is to say, entrusted with the duty of providing for the prompt transit of corn to Rome; during a famine he had been so negligent that the senate felt compelled to replace him by M. Scaurus (104). In the year 102 his tirades against the nobles had given him the tribuneship. At that time Metellus Numidicus held the office of censor, and, for the purpose of avenging the aristocratic party, he made an attempt to expel from the senate Saturninus, and with him Glaucia, that tribune who, when Marius was filling his legions with Italians, had proposed to bestow upon them the right of citizenship. The two, however, stirred up the populace, and pursued the censor as far as the Capitol, where they would have murdered him had not some of the knights interposed and rescued him from their hands. Again blood had been shed in Rome, now unhappily no novelty.

A common enmity towards Metellus had naturally brought Glaucia and his accomplice into relations with Marius, to whom Saturninus had already been useful in the year 102, when Marius was a candidate for his fourth consulship. Saturninus, therefore, was the person whom Marius fixed upon, and he began by inciting the former to ask for a second tribuneship, promising him the votes

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Mar.*, 28, and Livy, *Epit.*, lxix.: *per tribus sparsa pecunia*.

of his veterans. The scheme was unsuccessful. At the election, Nonius, a partisan of the nobles, was about to obtain the office when Saturninus, aided by Glaucia with a band of determined men, fell upon Nonius and assassinated him. On the following day, early in the morning, the murderers collected and proclaimed Saturninus.<sup>1</sup> Marius also obtained his sixth consulship, and Glaucia was made praetor; the three accomplices thus placed themselves at the head of the government, and their administration may be called the first of the Roman triumvirates.

Saturninus immediately began hostilities, availing himself of that official power which lent itself so readily to abuse. He revived again the law of Caius Gracchus for distributions of corn to the people, still further reducing its price, which he fixed at  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an *as* per modium. The senate opposed, as one man, this dangerous measure, as its direct result would be to increase the proletariat, that scourge of Rome. But the tribune, instead of yielding, was only the more aggressive. He proposed, first, a distribution among the poor citizens belonging to the rustic tribes of all the lands in the Transpadane formerly occupied by the Cimbri, an unjust measure, which would have involved the dispossession of the original holders; secondly, the gift of 100 acres apiece in Africa to the veterans of Marius; thirdly, the purchase of lands in Sicily, Achaea, and Macedon for the founding of Roman colonies; and, lastly, to authorize Marius to confer citizenship on three individuals in each colony.<sup>3</sup> It may have been at this time that Glaucia obtained the passage of the law which we have just mentioned in favour of allies or subjects who might have procured the conviction of a magistrate guilty of extortion. Whether this



Modius.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xxxvi. 12; Cic., *pro Sext.*, 17; Livy, *Epit.*, lxix.; App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 28; Plut., *Mar.*, 29.

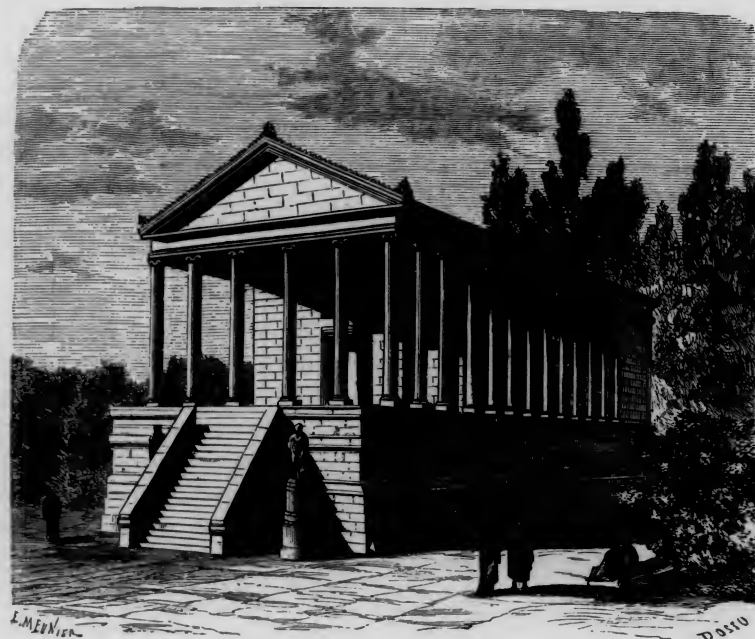
<sup>2</sup> From a terra-cotta lamp. The modius, the largest dry measure of the Romans, was a third of an *amphora* and a sixth of the Greek *medimnus*; it held nearly two gallons.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *pro Balbo*, 21. In this passage the word *ternos* seems to be an error in the MS. The right of conferring citizenship on three persons in each colony would have been alike valueless to Marius and to the allies.

be its date or not, it is clear that the idea of making reparation to those who were not protected by the title of Roman citizen constantly recurs—a certain proof of the necessity for justice in the matter of these well-founded complaints.

An additional clause was added by Saturninus, making it incumbent on the senators, if the law should pass, to swear within five days that they would maintain it, under a fine of twenty talents for refusal. This unusual provision, afterwards employed by Julius Cæsar, was specially aimed against Metellus. On the day of voting a serious riot broke out in the Forum. As in the time of Tiberius Gracchus, many among the populace were not desirous of a law solely for the benefit of the rustic tribes and those of the allies who had been enrolled by Marius. A tribune was prevailed upon to oppose the measure, but Saturninus disregarded the opposition. Heaven was called in. "It has thundered," the senators sent word. "Let them beware!" rejoined Saturninus, "after the thunder there may be hail!" The quæstor Cæpio, who may have been the son of the proconsul recently disgraced, finally had recourse to the method now become habitual; with the aid of an armed band he broke the urns and scattered the votes. Upon this the veterans of Marius gathered, drove the nobles out of the Forum, and the law was passed. Upon this Marius immediately assembled the senate, sharply censured the law, and pledged himself to refuse the oath. When, however, five days later, the senators were called upon to present themselves in the temple of Saturn and have their oaths registered by the quæstor, the consul was the first to obey, under the pretext of preventing an outbreak among the rustic tribes, and asserting that the concession obtained by violence and impiety might at any time be declared invalid. The other senators followed his example, Metellus alone remaining faithful to the previous agreement, that the oath should be refused. This conduct of Metellus had been anticipated, and Saturninus immediately demanded the fine. Metellus either could not, or would not, pay it, and when a crowd of his friends prepared to take arms in his defence, he objected to one drop of blood being shed on his account, and withdrew from the city. Whereupon a decree of the people condemned him to exile.

Marius had obtained the gratification of his ambition and of his hate; his enemy, Numidicus, fled before him; the populace still applauded him; his veterans gave him a blind devotion; the inefficiency of his colleague gave him the entire consular authority; Saturninus gave him that of the tribuneship, and Glaucia of the prætorship. His power, therefore, was absolute, and what did he do with it? Here his political incapacity was revealed.<sup>1</sup>



Temple of Saturn (See last page).<sup>2</sup>

He had no projects; he set on foot no reforms; he took no initiative; but he left Saturninus and Glaucia so free to act that they soon took the lead, and he remained himself in doubt whether he was for the senate and the nobles, whom he did not love, or for the people, whom he despised. In character an aristocrat, he was by habit and position a democrat, and he remained inactive

<sup>1</sup> *C. Marius homo varii et mutabilis ingenii consilique semper secundum fortunam.* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxii.)

<sup>2</sup> Restoration by M. Dutert of the *École des Beaux-Arts*.

between the two factions, seeking to deceive both, and in this double game losing his own honour and the respect of his fellow-citizens. This selfish policy bore its fruits; the day came when the conqueror of Jugurtha and of the Cimbri found himself alone, abandoned by all, in the same city which had once resounded with the noise of his triumphs.

Saturninus had been at first only an instrument; the weakness of Marius soon emboldened him to work for his own interests. His designs have never been clearly understood; perhaps he had none. His policy, it is certain, was shaped from day to day, like that of his former patron. He was constantly surrounded by foreigners and Italians, and on one occasion they were heard to salute him by the title of king.<sup>1</sup> In his public harangues he constantly inveighed against the venality of the nobles, and to accredit his denunciations he publicly insulted the envoys of Mithridates, at the risk of bringing on a formidable war, by accusing them of buying the senators with gifts of money. He also refreshed the recollection of the Gracchi, by presenting to the people a pretended son of Tiberius, who had been, he said, brought up in concealment since his father's murder. The widow of Scipio Æmilianus appeared publicly in the Forum, and denied the claims of this stranger, who was asserted to be her nephew. The populace, however, refused to accept this decisive testimony, and the adventurer, who was, in truth, a runaway slave, was elected tribune.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Lucius Apuleius Saturninus.<sup>4</sup>

Saturninus desired to obtain a re-election himself, and to have Glaucia, who was always involved in his plans, raised to the consular office. He succeeded for himself, but the great orator, Marcus Antonius, obtained one consulship, and Memmius, also a distinguished man, the tribune of the year 111,<sup>3</sup> would have been also elected, had not the band of Saturninus rushed upon him in the Forum and beaten him to death.

This outrage roused the whole city, and the wealthy class,

<sup>1</sup> Flor., iii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ille ex compedibus atque ergastulo Gracchus.* (Cic., *pro Rabirio*, 7.)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> L. SATVRN. (Lucius Saturninus), an M, a monetary symbol, and Saturn in a quadriga, holding a sickle. Reverse of a denarius of the Apuleian family, attributed to Lucius Apuleius Saturninus.

terrified at the acts of violence which the demagogue had incited, gathered around the senate, urging Marius to act with severity against the guilty persons. It is said that while the senatorial chiefs were assembled at his house, Saturninus came thither also, and that the consul, going from one room to the other under divers pretexts, entertained the complaints of both parties at once, temporising with both.<sup>1</sup> This story is very probably fictitious, but the consul's double-dealing cannot be denied.

An act of baseness on his part soon after may be regarded as an attempt to regain public confidence. During the night of the 10th of December, the day on which the tribunes entered upon the duties of their office, Glaucia, Saturninus, the false Gracchus, and Saufeius the quaestor, seized the Capitol. Upon this the senate uttered its formula, *Caveant consules*; the nobles armed themselves, and even the aged ex-consul Scævola was seen, "a virile soul in a decayed body," supporting his feeble steps with a javelin, and marching to defend the laws. Marius, borne along by the general excitement, joined in besieging his late accomplices, and to get the better of them without fighting he cut off the water supply of the Capitol. The conspirators, relying upon his protection, surrendered, and were by his orders confined in the senate-house. It is possible he may have hoped to save their lives, but if it were so his intention was defeated; some of the crowd climbed upon the roof of the building, and tearing off the tiles, pelted to death the two tribunes, the quaestor, and Glaucia, all still wearing their insignia of office. As usual, this first shedding of blood was quickly followed by more, and many persons were slain. Whether aristocratic or popular, a party that has once tasted blood craves for it. A Roman senator, Rabirius (100), took the place of public executioner, cutting off the head of Saturninus, and bearing it through the city upon the point of a pike. The exploit brought him much honour at the time, but, thirty-seven years later, it caused him to be summoned before a tribunal by a partisan of Julius Cæsar, Labienus, whose uncle had perished on this day.

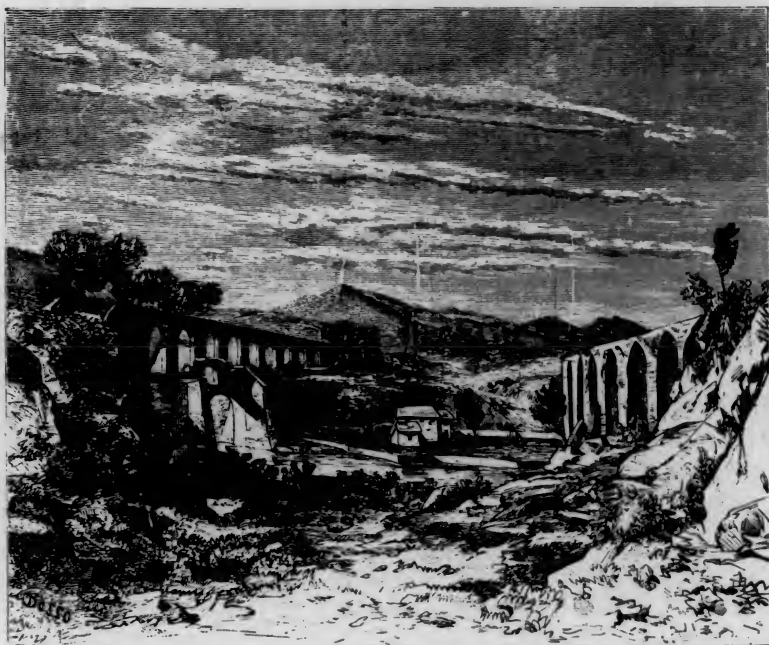
A party consisting only of the ignorant and miserable

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Mar.*, 32.



proletariat can destroy, but never build up. Saturninus had experienced this, finding the same end as Sulpicius, Cinna, Clodius, and so many other demagogues in all ages and all lands. By this catastrophe Marius himself lost, and justly, whatever popularity remained to him.

He strove in vain to arrest the reactionary movement. Instigated by him, Furius, the son of a freedman, who had, not-



Aqueduct near Smyrna.<sup>1</sup>

withstanding his ignoble birth, attained the tribuneship, opposed his veto to the return of Metellus, which had been proposed. Upon the expiration of his office he was arraigned and torn in pieces by a hired mob, who would not even allow him to make his defence. "Thus," says Appian, "each time the comitia met, the assembly was stained with blood." A man who talked of an agrarian law, and who kept in his house a portrait of Saturninus, was banished; the same penalty was decreed in the case of

<sup>1</sup> De Laborde, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 66A.



Pediment of the Capitol.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A bas-relief from the Palace of the Conservators (at Rome), representing a sacrifice offered by Marcus Aurelius, shows on its background a pediment, which, according to Brunn, is that of the fourth temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. (*Annales de l'Institut archéologique*, 1851, p. 289.) [We give the design of the pediment.]

Decianus, who had deplored the murder of the accomplice of Marius.<sup>1</sup> The knights, in the exercise of their judicial functions, avenged themselves for the terror which the poorer class had caused, not merely to the senate, but all men of property. At last, conquered by the tears and prayers of the younger Metellus, who that day gained the sur-

name of *Pius*, the people pronounced sentence of recall in the case of Numidicus. He was at Smyrna, and in the theatre when the messengers arrived, and he waited calmly till the performance was over before he opened the letters which had been brought him. An immense crowd welcomed his return to Rome, giving him almost a triumphal entry into the city (99). Marius was unwilling to witness the return of his rival, and making pretext of sacrifices vowed to Cybele, set off for Asia; he also cherished the hope of bringing about the rupture be-

tween Mithridates and the Republic, which Saturninus had provoked by his insults to the envoys. Marius must have a war to recover



Mars and Venus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 33; Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 11, *de Leg.*, ii. 12, *pro Rabirio*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Museum of the Capitol. (Clarac, *Mus.*, pl. 634, No. 1428.) This group, in Pentelic marble, was found in 1750 near Ostia, in the *Isola sacra*. Venus wears the Latin diadem, the tunic, and the pallium.

his importance (98). He said of himself, "They regard me as a sword, which rusts in time of peace."<sup>1</sup>

There was now for some time a semblance of repose. The death of Saturninus, and Marius' voluntary exile, served as a warning to demagogues. For six years the tribunes had been supreme; never had so many popular laws been passed in so short a time, and still the people did not awake from their apathetic indifference. It was plain that the popular party had ceased to exist, and that the tribunate of Saturninus was the last serious attempt that would ever be made to reconstruct it. His laws were now repealed, his colonies reduced to one feeble settlement in Corsica, and of these famous tribuneships there was left only a stain of blood on the floor of the Curia Hostilia, the ruin of a great reputation, and the well-established certainty that nothing could be done with the Roman rabble. From this time forward, instead of plebeians, there were soldiers, instead of tribunes, there were generals, and civil wars instead of riots in the Forum. Mars, in the depths of his sanctuary, might well shake his spear.<sup>2</sup>

For the moment the aristocratic party seemed again victorious. At home, all the efforts of the popular faction had failed. In order to prevent the tribunes from obtaining advantages from enactments whose import was not thoroughly understood, a consular law in 98, the *Cecilia-Didia*, revived the provision that laws must be announced three *nundinae* before they were voted upon; at the same time it was forbidden that any irrelevant law or amendment should then be proposed, as had been done by Saturninus, and earlier by Licinius Stolo in 367. It is probable that the reaction went even further than existing documents prove. The closing of the schools by the censor Crassus, a great orator, who made it his boast that he was in no way indebted to Greek influence, indicates that the old Roman party was more resolute

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Mar.*, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, iv. 6) has preserved the following senatus-consultum of the year 90: "Julius, son of Lucius, the pontifex Maximus having made known that the spears of Mars in the sanctuary of the *regia* had been shaken without human agency, it was decreed by the senate: that the consul M. Antonius should appease Jupiter and Mars by the offering of great sacrifices; that he should also sacrifice to whatever other divinities he might deem it needful to conciliate; that whatever he should do should be approved; and that if it should be deemed indispensable to multiply the number of victims, offerings should be made to the god Robigus." This divinity was the protector of harvests.

than ever in opposing all innovations. Men were beginning to understand that those who have charge of education hold the future in their hands, and Crassus refused to allow the future to be entrusted to those Greek rhetoricians who had destroyed the Latin schools, and were giving to the Roman youth ideas that their fathers had not known.<sup>1</sup>



Ariobarzanes.<sup>2</sup>

In foreign affairs the haughty and efficient policy of the senate inspired respect and compelled general obedience. In the year 92 Sylla re-established Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, and received an embassy from the king of the Parthians with the same haughtiness that Marius had shown at the court of Mithridates. "Prince," he said, "either endeavour to become more powerful than the Romans, or else do without murmuring that which they ask."

### III.—TRIBUNESHIP OF LIVIUS DRUSUS (91).

Thus at home and abroad the horizon seemed clearer. Livius Drusus, a man of noble rank, judged it a favourable time to bring forward again, with new ideas, the project of the Gracchi to reform the constitution. He was a son of that Drusus whose efforts against Caius Gracchus had been rewarded by the title of *princeps senatus*, while his popular laws had given him the name of the people's friend. By birth and position Livius Drusus was a conservative, but one of those conservatives who believe that the best

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, xv. 11): "It has been reported to us that certain men are establishing a new kind of instruction, and that our youth frequent their schools. We are informed that these men assume the title of Latin rhetoricians, and that the youth, going daily to their houses, remain there in idleness the entire day. Our ancestors decided in respect to the schools their sons should attend and the lessons they should learn. These innovations, contrary to the customs and usages of our ancestors, displease us, and seem to us not good. We have therefore felt it our duty to make known our opinion on this matter to teachers and pupils. We object to it." The censors, not having the imperium, uttered no commands, but the words *nobis non placere* had the weight of an authoritative censure and a condemnation to which the praetor or the aediles would give effect.

<sup>2</sup> Diademed head of Ariobarzanes. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΙΟΒΑΡΖΑΝΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΩΜΑΤΟΥ ΙΓ' (13), and two monograms. Pallas standing, holding a Victory. Silver coin of Ariobarzanes, struck in the thirteenth year of his reign.



way to protect established institutions is to lower the barriers and avoid violent catastrophes. It was, therefore, by no means from hatred to the aristocratic party that he proposed his reforms; his en-



Terra-Cotta Figurine from the Cyrenaica.<sup>1</sup>

lightened mind looked beyond the interests of any class. He endeavoured to solve the twofold problem which had for forty years agitated the contending parties in Rome, namely, to reconcile the senate and the people, and to transform the municipal institutions of the city into the constitution of an empire, now that the masters of a city and its suburbs had become masters of the world. Anyone who endeavoured to bring this about must be regarded as a clear-sighted patriot.

The Gracchi had been reproached with giving two heads to

<sup>1</sup> Aphrodite and Eros. (Heuzey, *Les Figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xli. fig. 1.)

<sup>2</sup> These incessant changes in the Roman judiciary prove that justice had become a sovereign injustice in the Republic, since it was only necessary for a class to gain possession of the judicial functions in order to become supreme in the State.

say—Drusus proposed to restore the judicial authority to the senators, and he set on foot an investigation in respect to venality;<sup>1</sup> at the same time he proposed the admission into the senate of 300 persons of the equestrian order. For the purpose of raising the democracy, the element of strength, and in the hope of relieving the destitution of the lower classes, he proposed distributions of corn, and also promised lands in Italy and Sicily, while to the allies he wished to give citizenship. "Let us bestow everything," he said to his friends among the aristocracy, "that there may be nothing left which can be divided save air and earth, *cœnum et cœlum*."<sup>2</sup> Then there will be no more chance for demagogues to stir up the people with promises." In this, however, Drusus deceived himself, for demagogues are always ready with promises, and the multitude have always faith enough to believe them.

Following the example of Licinius Stolo, the tribune incorporated all these provisions, except the citizenship of the allies, into a single bill. This was contrary to the law passed a few years before, forbidding heterogeneous proposals (*per saturam*); it was, however, a secure method to obtain the success of the measure, since it caught the majority of voters, who cared nothing for politics, and were only eager to secure the increased distribution of corn. Each of his laws, indeed, offended a section of the nation; the senate, who were unwilling to receive the 300 knights into their number; the knights, whom nothing could compensate for the loss of the *judicia*; and the poor, who cared neither for changes in the constitution, nor for the establishment of colonies, which meant the obligation to work for their living. And it was clear to all that Drusus aimed still further at the elevation

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 35. According to Livy (*Epit.*, lxx.), it was his plan to compose the tribunals of both senators and knights in equal numbers, which was fundamentally the same thing.

<sup>2</sup> Flor., iii. 17, and *De Vir. ill.*, 66. But so much extravagance exhausted the treasury, and Drusus was driven to the expedient of debasing the currency. Accepting the common theory of his time, that the State was able to give by its stamp what value it pleased, Drusus established the rule of coinage that out of every eight denarii minted, one should be of silvered bronze. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 18.) Nor should we blame him too severely for this; the theory that money need not have a real value corresponding to that which is given it as a circulating medium lasted long in Europe, and as late as the fourteenth century France made bitter experience of its fallacy.

of the subjects to equality with their masters, while among the allies themselves much anxiety was felt about the colonies promised to the Roman poor, which could be founded only at their expense. The great Etruscan and Umbrian landowners, especially,<sup>1</sup> cared far less for the citizenship offered them than for the territory of which they might be deprived. The other Italians,



Jupiter Capit-  
tolinus.<sup>2</sup>

however, attached themselves to Drusus as their last hope, and crowded about him. Secret meetings were held, and a plan of action determined upon; in short, it was really a conspiracy. His care for his own interests appears in the oath which each conspirator was required to take:<sup>3</sup> "By Jupiter Capitolinus, by the Roman penates, by Hercules, by the sun and the earth, . . . by the demi-gods who founded the Roman State, by the heroes who built it up, I swear that I will have the same friends and foes with Drusus, that I will spare neither substance nor parent, nor child, nor life of any so it be not for the good of Drusus and of those who have taken this oath; that if, by the laws of Drusus, I become a citizen, I will hold Rome as my country and Drusus as my greatest benefactor." During an illness of the tribune, the devotion of the allies was unmistakable, all the Italian cities offering solemn prayers for his recovery, as if on him alone depended their welfare.

We can hardly believe that the formula of the oath given above was a forgery prepared by the adversaries of Drusus to ruin him or dishonour his memory, but, on the other hand, we are not obliged to conclude from it that the tribune was meditating a revolution. He had undertaken a great work, to which the aristocratic and wealthy classes were bitterly opposed; to succeed, he had need of allies, and he naturally sought them among the persons interested, and formed then into an organized force. From their tombs the Gracchi warned him that he must protect himself, and this he did. His method was doubtless a dangerous one, for he incurred the risk of being impelled against his will to desperate

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 36.

<sup>2</sup> CAPITOLINUS. A silver coin of the Petillian family.

<sup>3</sup> Diod., xxxvii. 11. Livy (*Epit.*, lxxi.) speaks also of *coitus, conjurationesque et orationes in concilio principum*.

extremities. About this time, the Marsian, Pompædus Silo, a friend of Drusus, gathered a band, whose numbers were exaggerated to 10,000; these men, it was said, carried concealed weapons, and, led by Silo, advanced through by-ways upon Rome, with the intention of surrounding the senate-house and compelling the senators to grant citizenship to the allies, or, failing that, of ravaging the city with fire and sword.<sup>1</sup> On the way Silo was met by the consular Domitius, who enquired why this crowd followed him. "I am going to Rome, whither the tribune bids us come," was the answer of Pompædus. Upon the positive assurances of Domitius that the senate were voluntarily about to do justice to the allies, he was persuaded to dismiss his followers. If a word was enough to dispel their anger and break up their design, it is plain that neither was in any respect formidable.

Men's minds, however, were greatly excited at Rome, as is shown by subsequent events, and also by an anecdote related of Cato (of Utica), at that time a child four years old. Brought up in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, and accustomed to hear angry discussions about the rights of the allies, the boy had already taken sides with the aristocratic faction. Pompædus Silo, being at his uncle's house one day, said to him, "Will you not beg your uncle to help us in obtaining the citizenship?" and the child refusing, Pompædus seized him and held him out of a window, saying, "Promise me you will, or I shall let you fall." But the boy continued silent, and Pompædus was obliged to release him. It is generally cited to show the resolute character of Cato, but if it were true, the chief point noticeable is the reflection in this fierce young soul of the passions of an oligarchy, who could not brook that Italian nobles should become their rivals for the consulship, or the Italian poor swell the tumults of the Forum.

The city was now divided into two hostile factions of very unequal strength, the partisans of the Italians on the one hand, and on the other a part of the nobles and nearly all the rich citizens of Rome. The equestrian order were the persons most actively opposed to the *Livian* law, for by it they would have lost

<sup>1</sup> Δεινοῦτο δὲ περιστῆσαι τῇ συγκλήτῃ τὰ ὅπλα . . . ἢ μὴ, πυρὶ καὶ σιδηρῷ κ. τ. λ. (Diod. xxxvii. 13.)

the judicial position which rendered them masters of the aristocracy; they would have been deprived also of their monopoly of the world's commerce, since the Italians, on becoming citizens, would have been in a position to dispute this advantage with them; and, finally, the investigations threatened by the tribune were a perpetual danger to the unjust judges so numerous in their ranks, and even a possible peril to every person who had presided

Philippus.<sup>1</sup>

over a tribunal. The senate, meanwhile, remained in the background, as it had been wont to do in every crisis since the time of the Gracchi. In general, however, the senators were favourable to Drusus, who would restore to them the *judicia*, and if we may believe a doubtful anecdote, showed him a deference which justified the tribune's inordinate pride. Being on one occasion in the Forum, Drusus received a message from the senate, requesting his attendance at their place of meeting. "They may come to me," he said, "in the Curia Hostilia, near the rostra," and the senate obeyed. He gave them great offence by doubling their number, but it was advisable for them to show good-will towards the man who, in restoring to them the judicial offices, "plucked them from those ferocious beasts who thirsted for their blood."<sup>2</sup>

The equestrian order had summoned to Rome numerous bands of Etruscans and Umbrians, which the landlords willingly furnished, and they could count upon the aid of the consul, Marcus Philippus. This person, "variable and inconsistent," but especially violent, had, in 104, when tribune, proposed an agrarian law, and had uttered those famous words that are the justification of the Gracchi.<sup>3</sup> Later he had shown himself one of the bitterest persecutors of Saturninus, and now, a personal enemy of Drusus, he reproached the senate with their inactivity, declaring that it was impossible to carry on the government with such a body of men, and that there was need of a new senate. This unbecoming outbreak on the part of

<sup>1</sup> L. PHILIPPVS. Equestrian statue; below, the sign of the denarius. Reverse of a coin of the Marcian family.

<sup>2</sup> The words are those of Cassius, in support of the law of Servilius Cæpio, who, in 106, restored the judgeships to the senate. (Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 52; *Brut.*, 43.)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 515.

the first magistrate of a Republic against its chief assembly produced an indignant burst of eloquence from Crassus, and amid the acclamations of the nobles the following declaration was passed as a resolution: "The wisdom of the senate has never been found wanting to the Republic." "It was a swan's song," says Cicero. While speaking, Crassus was attacked with a pain in the side; fever supervened, and a week later he was dead.

This "swan's song" of the dying Roman was a noble but a useless utterance; on both sides violent acts continued. On the day when the *Livian* law was under discussion, Philippus would have put a stop to the voting, but an officer in attendance on Drusus seized him by the throat with such violence that the blood spurted from his mouth and eyes. "It is only the gravy of thrushes," sneered the tribune, making reference to the sumptuous banquets in which Philippus delighted. The law was passed, and now it might have been supposed that the struggle was over; on the contrary, it recommenced with more bitterness than ever. As soon as the senate were established in the judgeships they allowed the other clauses of the bill to be attacked. "I might well oppose your decrees," the tribune said, "but I shall not

do so, for I am sure that those who commit wrong will soon be punished for it. Consider, however, that in abolishing my law you abolish also the provision concerning the judiciary, which ensures the safety of honest men and the punishment of the guilty. Be careful, then, lest through hatred of me you disarm yourselves."<sup>1</sup> The senate hesitated, and the knights had recourse to the method usual in revolutions. One evening, when Drusus was on his way home, surrounded by a crowd of his clients, he was suddenly struck



Lictor (bas-relief of the Vatican)

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (xxxii. 10) cannot fix exactly the date of the tribuneship of Drusus.



down. The assassin made his escape, leaving his dagger in the wound, which proved to be mortal. "O! my friends!" cried the dying tribune, "when will the Republic again find a citizen like myself."<sup>1</sup> Some time before this, at the Latin festival, the Italian conspirators were intending to kill the consul, but in consequence a warning from Drusus, Philippus escaped (91).

Again a reformer had been slain, and this time the financial oligarchy were responsible for the murder. A few months later a tribune of the aristocratic faction extolled this deed of violence. Political morals had indeed fallen very low, when, not content with their victim's life, the conservative party openly justified the assassination. It is needless to say that no search was made for the murderer. The knights [or, rather, the consul Philippus] took advantage of the consternation caused by this event to compel the senate to use that singular privilege which the Conscript Fathers had always claimed, the right of dispensing with the observance of any given law, and the following decree was promulgated: "It seems good to the senate that the people should not be held to obey the laws of Drusus," as being contrary to the provision of the *lex Cæcilia-Didia*. At the same time an agent of the senate, the tribune Varius Hybrida, a native of Sucro, son of a Roman father and Spanish mother, proposed a law making it treason for any citizen to favour the claims of the allies, and for any Italian to attempt to take part in Roman affairs. The tribunes opposed this, employing their veto, but the knights, drawing swords hidden under their mantles, compelled the acceptance of the *Varian* law.<sup>2</sup> The senate may have then remembered the prophetic words of Drusus. The most illustrious of the senators were soon after accused. Bestia, C. Cotta, Mummius, Pompeius Rufus, and Memmius were banished or went voluntarily into exile. Scæurus himself was accused by Varius. His sole reply was as follows: "The Spaniard, Q. Varius, accuses Scæurus, prince of the senate, of having excited the allies to revolt; Æmilius Scæurus,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 526.

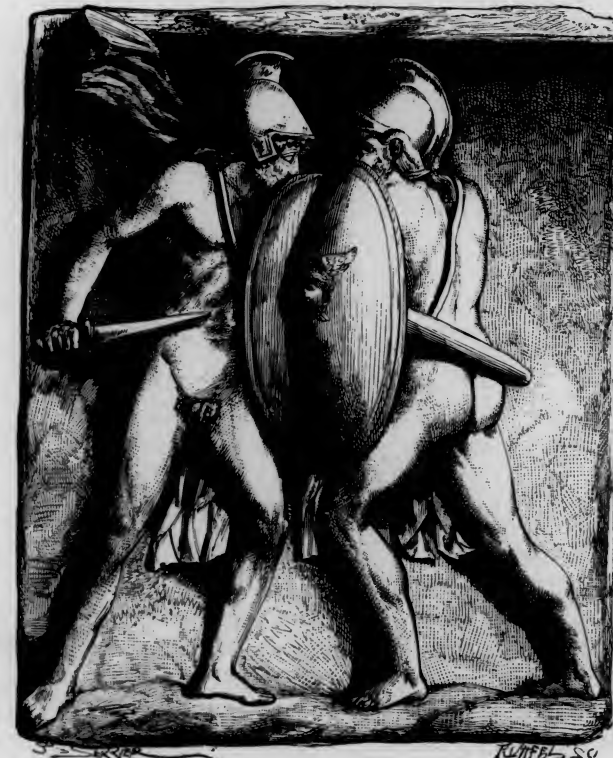
<sup>2</sup> The law of *perduellio*, which condemned the traitor to death, had become obsolete. (Cic., *pro Rab.*, 3.) The *lex majestatis* of Varius only imposed the penalty of exile. Cicero (*de Invent.*, ii. 7) thus defines the crime of *majestas*: *majestatem minuire est, de dignitate aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus potestatem dedit aliquid derogare*. Saturninus had passed a law concerning treason, but we know nothing of it.

prince of the senate, denies the charge. Which of the two will you believe?"

The breaking out of the Social war brought to a close these acts of vengeance on the part of the equestrian order, for it was a tempest that threatened to sweep away everything—people, nobles, and even the State itself.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The Varian tribunal continued sitting and condemning after all other courts were closed by the war, and it was the panic caused by this great crisis, not any abnormal power or fierceness in the knights, which caused the exile of so many important senators. They were, no doubt, the moderate Liberals, who had, at least for some time, favoured Drusus. (Cf. the clear narrative in Neumann, *Verfall der röm. Republik*, p. 475, *seq.*).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée*, p. 194, No. 217.)



Combatants.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XLII.

### THE SOCIAL WAR.

#### I.—CONDITION OF THE ITALIANS.

IN the conquest of the Italian States, Rome had profited by those municipal hatreds which always prevent cities from making concerted resistance; to secure their obedience after the conquest, she had still further increased, by the inequality of the conditions imposed upon them, the old jealousies springing from diversities of origin, language, and religion. The plan succeeded, and, as we have seen, the fidelity of the Italians had resisted the severest tests. But the allies shared the fate of the Roman plebeians; so long as they were deemed needful, they were treated with consideration, but as soon as they became useless, they were despised.

The Roman aristocracy who had allied themselves with the noblesse of all the Italian cities, had drawn many of the latter to Rome by the agreement that whoever had held a municipal office at home, or had left behind him a son to take his place in his own city, should acquire the *jus civitatis*, on coming to reside at Rome.<sup>1</sup> When all the nobles of the *municipia* had thus left their native towns, the obscure crowd remaining were of no account. The treaties regulating their privileges and the distinctions established among their cities were forgotten. They who at Rome no longer had any respect for the "sovereign people," could not be expected to respect the rights of the vanquished. All differences among the Italians were practically effaced by one common oppression, and although the words colony, municipium, præfecture,

<sup>1</sup> *Hi qui vel magistratum (the duumvirate) vel honorem (the ædileship or the quæstorship) gerunt, ad civitatem Romanam perveniunt.* (Gaius, i. 96, and Pliny, *Pan.*, 39.) A third means of obtaining citizenship, accorded later to the Latins, was to convict a Roman magistrate of extortion, but it was not the nobility who had created this privilege.

and the like, continued to exist, and corresponded to what had been real distinctions, the whole Italian world, from a political point of view, was simply divided into two great classes, those who were, and those who were not, Roman citizens.<sup>1</sup>

Within the Roman frontier there was law (*legitima judicia*); outside of it all was arbitrary and despotic (*dominium*). Præneste was free, and treaties had guaranteed her entire independence. But a private individual, Postumius, who went thither to sacrifice in the temple of Fortune,<sup>2</sup> felt himself aggrieved because he had not been received with public honours, and, becoming consul some time after, avenged himself for the fancied slight by laying upon the citizens an onerous and humiliating tax.<sup>3</sup> Locri was an allied city, and the conduct of Pleminius there was notorious. Cales, Teanum and Ferentinum were early colonies, with the rank of municipia. But listen



The Goddess Fortune.<sup>4</sup>

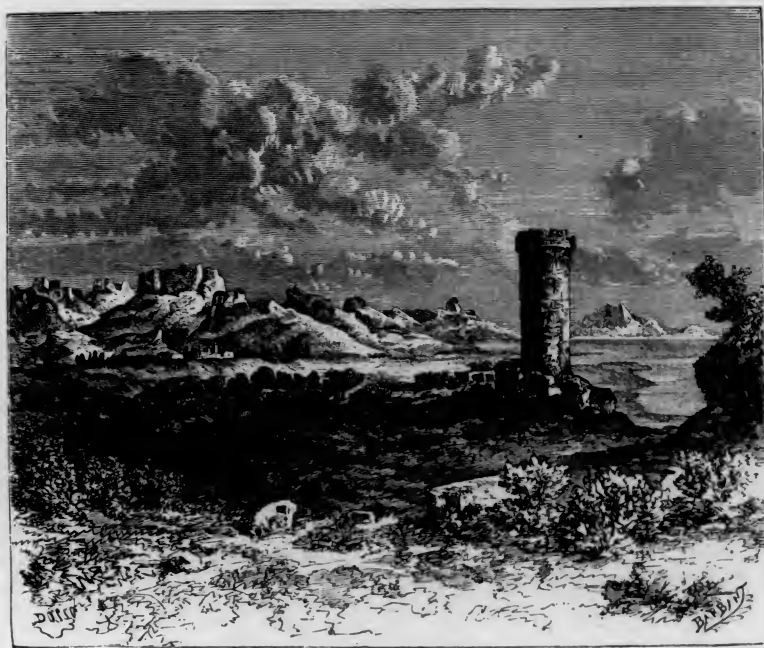
<sup>1</sup> Sallust (*Catil.*, 12) says: *Ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus omnia ea sociis adimere quæ fortissimi viri victores hostibus reliquerant*; and Cicero (*de Off.* ii. 21): *Tanta, sublati legibus et judiciis, exspilatio direptioque sociorum, ut imbecillitate aliorum, non nostra virtute valeamus.*

<sup>2</sup> See this temple, vol. i., p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xlii. 1; Cf. *ib.*, xlii. 3; Val. Max., I. i. 20. Cicero contended against this abuse (*de Leg.*, iii. 8); Livy, xxxiv. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Musée Pio Clementino*, ii. pl. 12. Statue of Luna marble, found at Rome near Trajans

to what Caius Gracchus relates from the rostra: "Recently our consul was at Teanum with his wife, and the latter expressed a desire to go to the men's baths in that city. The quaestor ordered M. Marius to have the baths cleared at once for the gratification of her wish. A slight delay however ensued, the matron became angry, and the consul ordered his lictors to seize Marius, to tear off his garments, to bind him to a post in the open market-place and to beat him with rods—



Ruins of Locri (p. 537).<sup>1</sup>

Marius, the first citizen of the town! At the news of this the inhabitants of Cales forbade by edict the use of the public baths, so long as a Roman magistrate should be in the town. At

Forum. The cornucopia carried by this figure, and the rudder resting between a wheel and a ball at her feet, have caused her to be regarded as the goddess Fortune, the divinity who bestows wealth, but who rules capriciously. She wears on her head a Phrygian *pileus* surmounted by a tower, and from this circumstance is thought to represent the Phrygian Fortune.

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. de l'Inst. archéol.*, vol. ii. p. 3-12.

Ferentinum, for a similar cause, our prætor ordered the arrest of the quaestors, one of whom threw himself off the walls of the city, and the other, being taken, was beaten with rods."

The custom of so-called *liberæ legationes* caused the allies great expense. Any senator wishing to travel for his own business or pleasure, might obtain a "mission," that is the right of having all his travelling expenses paid by the allies through whose towns he might pass. And they were esteemed fortunate if they did



Ferentinum.<sup>1</sup>

not suffer in other ways from his caprice or pride. Again we have an incident related by Caius Gracchus: an inhabitant of Venusia meeting a young man borne in a litter, said, laughing to the bearers: "Is that a corpse you are carrying there?" And the jest cost him his life. The words were of evil omen to a Roman ear, and the traveller, to obviate the presage, made

<sup>1</sup> Dodwell, *Pelagic Remains*, pl. 99. The base of the wall is Pelagic, and the upper part, with the arch, Roman.



the speaker expiate the offence with his life. In an allied city, which Cato does not specify, a consular, Q. Thermus, on pretext that negligence had been shown in supplying him with provisions, caused all the magistrates, who were men of good family and distinguished merit, to be publicly beaten with rods. "And what," says the wise censor, "do you imagine was the resentment that they felt—they, and their fellow-citizens, witnesses of this outrage?"—"But," says Cicero, "we seek to inspire fear rather than affection." In 183, the inhabitants of Naples disputed with those of Nola, in respect to a certain territory. Q. Fabius Labeo, the consul, being selected as arbiter, assigned the lands in dispute to the Roman people. Legally, this may have been justifiable, but politically, it was the height of injustice.<sup>1</sup>

Acts like these did not occur constantly, or in all places. In many cases, on the contrary, the relations between the citizens and the allies were most friendly, and treaties of an oppressive character were not executed to the letter, first because no authority was expressly charged to see to their execution, and secondly, since the public necessity which originally imposed them seemed no longer to exist, private interests had free scope, and transactions were possible which had been at first prohibited. On one occasion, for instance, the Italian troops and those of Rome fraternized for a moment, like kindred meeting again after long separation.<sup>2</sup> But the few excesses committed here and there were enough to prove that they might be committed everywhere; and the more thoughtful Italians said to themselves that however favourably situated any of them might seem to be, no city had any guarantee against the tyranny of a Roman magistrate or the insolence of a citizen. The Roman government itself showed clearly that it was influenced by no respect for the rights of the allies. The senate's decree concerning the Bacchanalia violated their religious liberty, as the Didian and Sempronian laws regulating the expenses of festivals and, by fixing limits in regard to usury, interfered with the civil rights.<sup>3</sup> It was manifest to all

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 3; *De Off.* ii. 8; *De Off.*, i. 10; Val. Max., vii. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις στρατιῶται . . . , συγχρόνως οἰκίους καὶ συγγενεῖς κατενόουν, ὅς ὁ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας νόμος ἐπεποιήκει κοινωνῆσαι τῆς τοιαύτης φιλίας. (Diod., xxxviii. 15.) See p. 564.

<sup>3</sup> Didius extended the Sumptuary law of Fannius to all Italy, and Sempronius did the same



that, notwithstanding the diversity in titles, there existed in Italy the two great classes, the sovereign people, and the subject people, and that the former made capital out of the latter.

Moreover, another serious hardship fell upon the Italians. Since the middle-class at Rome had ceased to exist, the burden of all the wars undertaken by the Republic fell upon them, while their soldiers, twice as numerous as the Roman force, were scornfully excluded from the legions, and were sometimes not allowed



Naples—Arcade of the Aqueduct called Ponti Rossi.

to share in the pillage after a victory, or in the distributions that followed a triumph; <sup>1</sup> and at best they received less than was given to the legionaries. In self-sacrifices, devotion, and death they had equal share, but in honours and rewards they were made to feel

in regulating usury. It often happened that the *socii* accepted the civil laws of Rome. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8.)

<sup>1</sup> At the triumph of C. Claudius Pulcher, in 177, the allied soldiers received but half as much as was bestowed upon the legionaries. (Livy, xli. 13.)



their inferiority. Their chiefs were Romans, and yet the greatest generals of the day, Marius and Scipio, preferred them to the legionaries. Their blood paid for the world's conquest, but of the world's plunder they were denied their share.

The legal rights of the allies were also very limited. Most of them were not at liberty to engage in traffic or acquire land outside the little territory belonging to each city. The prætor denied to their property the inalienable character of *quiritarian* ownership;<sup>1</sup> denied to them, as heads of families, the Roman paternal authority; and to their title of citizen of their own city the rights of appeal and of voluntary exile. He who could say *civis Romanus sum*, saw justice arrested in the province, and the law lose its severity in Rome. Though guilty of the greatest crimes, he was free of penalty by going into voluntary exile beyond the gates of the city.<sup>2</sup> The Italian, condemned for similar offences, perished under the rod.<sup>3</sup> The Roman paid no tax, and lived by the sale of his vote, and his testimony, and by public distributions; the Italian, instead of receiving anything, was obliged to spend for the pay and maintenance of the contingents required from the allies.<sup>4</sup> Even the enjoyment of their natural advantages was denied them. They were forbidden to work the mines<sup>5</sup> which had enriched Etruria, and were required to pay a duty on the stone and marble which they extracted from their quarries. The greed of the publicans weighed most severely upon the provinces, but in Italy there was one tax, the *portorium*, which was farmed out. And, to conclude the list of their grievances, the very agrarian laws designed to alleviate the condition of the Roman proletariat, did so by despoiling the Italians.

Thus we see that the allies, who were [mostly] identical with

<sup>1</sup> The *legitimum dominium* gave the owner right, when he had lost possession of an object, to demand by the *rei vindicatio*, its gratuitous restitution at the hands of any person into whose power it had in any way come, and to take it from him, in case of refusal. The *mancipatio* secured the strongest guarantees to the buyer.

<sup>2</sup> In this case his property would be confiscated, but with a little forethought he was able to protect it by putting it in trust.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Turpilius. . . *verberatus capite pœnas solvit, nam is civis ex Latio erat.* (Sall., Jug., 69.)

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Livy, xxiii. 5; xxvii. 9. *Italia stipendiaria*, says Tacitus. (Ann., xi. 22.)

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 4. Near Volaterra there were rich copper-mines, and gold-mines near Vercellæ.

the Romans in language and in manners, received no profits from conquest or honours from their military services, and enjoyed neither the political privileges nor the civil rights of Roman citizens. The son of a freedman in Rome was of more consequence than this or that

brave Italian soldier who had assisted a consul in gaining a victory. It was, therefore, natural that the Italians should aspire to this title, which relieved from taxes, opened the career of official rank, and raised them to be among the masters of the world. All the prerogatives of the Roman citizen were not equally objects to be desired; to the poor or even the middle class



Coin of Venusia.<sup>1</sup>

dweller in Venusia or Ariminum, what mattered the right to vote in the Campus Martius and to help in electing a consul? Could the poor Italians leave their work and make the journey to Rome on all the *nundinæ*? Political rights were of little value to them, but it was not so in respect to the civil rights included in the *jus civitatis*. Among themselves the allies had their own laws, equitably regulating their mutual relations. But Roman citizens now formed a considerable part of the inhabitants of the peninsula. They had business relations constantly with their Italian neighbours, wherein the inferior condition of the Italian was perpetually made apparent, and he was made to suffer, not merely in his pride, but in his interests. The ravages of the second Punic war, the destruction of agriculture, the decrease in the class of petty proprietors had left a great deal uncultivated and unclaimed. Now a man having lawful possession of anything (*civilis possessio*) could, if he were a Roman citizen, convert this

<sup>1</sup> Wolf's head. Extremely rare coin of Venusia. *Cabinet de France.*

into quiritary ownership by the fulfilment of certain definite conditions, or by an uninterrupted possession, for one year if it were personal property, and for two years if real. But if he were not a citizen this was impossible; his *possessio* could never be changed



As of Venusia.<sup>1</sup>

into *dominium*, and he might at any time be deprived of his property: *adversus hostem* [mark the odious formula] *æterna auctoritas*. By the *rei vindicatio* the quiritary owner could recover his possession; by the *negatoria actio*, he could defend it against any one putting obstacles in the way of his complete ownership under pretext of some right (*servitus*) acquired over it.<sup>2</sup> But only

one having the *dominium* was placed under the protection of these legal proceedings, and the *dominium* could belong only to the citizen. In the legal relations of debtor and creditor, the *jus civile* allowed the creditor to bring a suit to obtain payment of the stipulated sum. But, natural obligations founded upon the *jus gentium*, existing, that is to say, outside the protection of the Roman civil law, did not allow an action to be brought against the debtor. Between Romans and Italians marriages were frequent; but no legal consequences resulted from these unions except to such of the allies as held the *jus connubii* and the *jus commercii*; otherwise the Italian could neither buy nor inherit of a citizen or at least these acts were not shielded by the strong protection which the Roman law afforded when they passed between citizens. Lastly, their liberty had not the guarantee of an appeal to the

<sup>1</sup> Coin from the Cabinet de France.

<sup>2</sup> The formula of this legal proceeding was: *Jus illi non esse ire, agere, etc.*; hence its name, *actio negativa* or *negatoria*. Gaius, *Inst.*, iv. 3; *Dig.*, viii. § 2.)

people, nor had their lives that of the *Porcian* and *Sempronian* laws.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding all the inconveniences of their situation, there were for a long time only individual efforts on the part of the Italians to obtain the right of citizenship. In 187, it was found that 12,000 Latins were living in Rome, and had given their names to the censors; they were at once expelled by order of the senate. Others had recourse to fraud, and under a feigned sale gave up their sons to some citizens who at once enfranchised them. In 177, a new inquiry brought to light a great number of aliens who had thus entered into citizenship by aid of the prætor's wand and the freedman's cap. These persons the senate also expelled, and prohibited, though unsuccessfully, these fictitious sales.

Not infrequently the Latin cities complained of this desertion, as the exodus to Rome left heavier burdens in the matter of taxes and of military service on the rest, and the senate made no allowance for a decrease of population.

This movement of the inhabitants of Latium towards Rome extended itself to the rest of Italy. In 177, the Samnites and the Pelignians made appeal to Rome to send back to them 4,000 of their citizens who had established themselves at Fregellæ, a city of Latium, where they enjoyed the privileges of the Latin name, and whence they might later make their way into Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the allies were gradually coming into the city, when an unexpected event had the effect of making this movement general. As a result of conquest, the greater part of Italy had now become public domain. Hence followed the occupation by noble Romans of an immense amount of very fertile lands without fixed boundaries lying in the neighbourhood of Rome, and of similar occupations by wealthy Italians of territory more remote from the city, or lying at a distance from the high roads. When the agrarian law, brought forward again by the Gracchi, alarmed all persons holding public lands, these Italians found themselves

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heineccius, *Elém. du droit rom.*; Hugo, *Hist. du droit rom.*; Laboulaye, *Hist. du droit de propriété foncière en Occident*; Marezoli, *Droit privé des Romains*; Rudorff, *Röm. Rechtsg.* Bethmann-Holweg, etc.

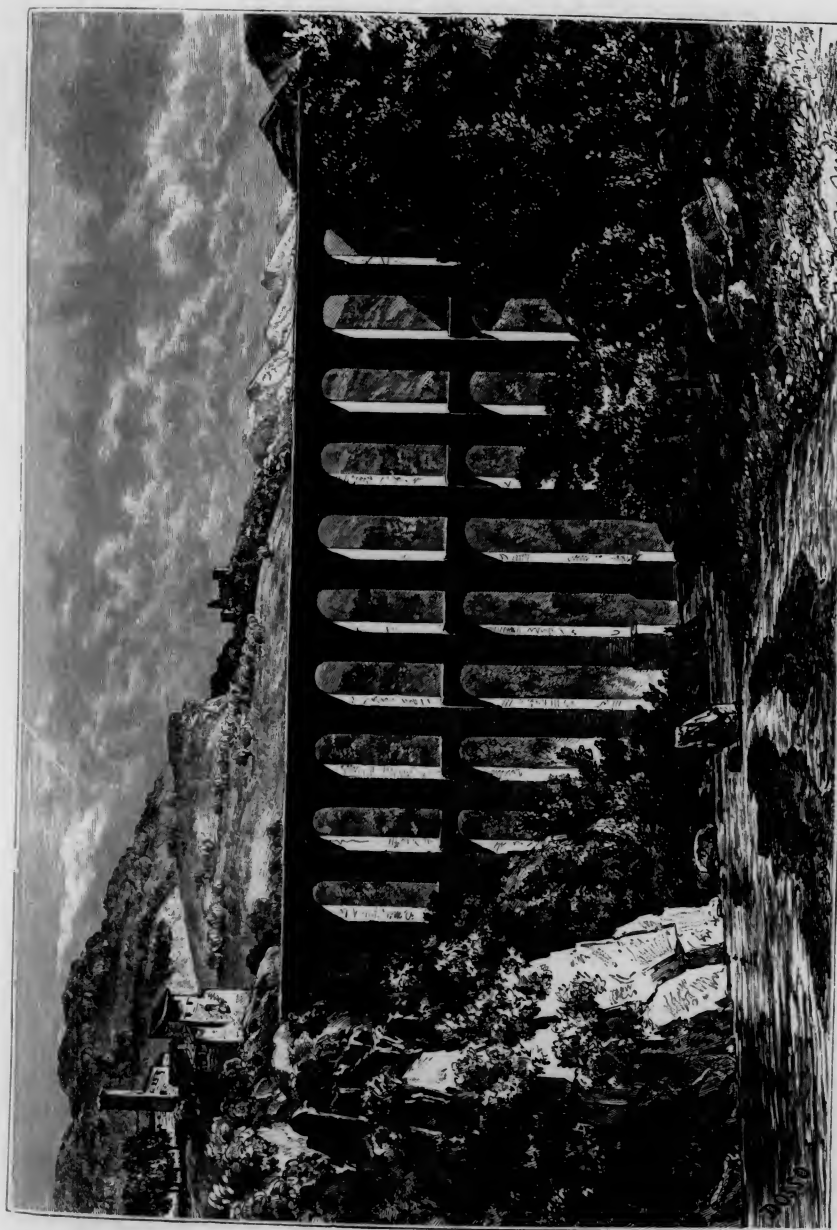
<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxix. 3, xli. 8, 9.  
VOL. II.

united by a common and urgent interest, and could not but unite with the Roman holders in an effort to prevent the passing of the law, or failing that, obtain citizenship if possible and compel the people to divide the land with them. This motive, combined with the long-cherished desire to obtain full civil rights, and with the legitimate ambition of men like Papius and Pompædus, conscious of their own ability and chafing at the obscurity of a Marsian or Samnite *municipium*—brought about the explosion so long repressed. The insurrection was formidable, for it was no longer the ill-concerted revolt of a few cities, for a moment enemies, but the waking up of a nation.

In leading her allies to the conquest of the world, in holding united beneath her standards for two centuries men of Etruria, Samnium, Magna Grecia, and Umbria—in giving, in many important respects, the precedence to the Italians over the provincials, Rome had been unconsciously an agent in forming a great nationality. Eighty colonies, founded throughout the peninsula, had carried with them<sup>1</sup> the language and blood of the Latin race, although they had not crushed out the native languages or the local traditions. But native diversities were disappearing according as oppression destroyed the political differences. By their common interests and misfortunes, all the Italians subjected by Rome were united and had come to feel their mutual kinship. By degrees the idea of a common country had sprung up among them, and the word spoken by Scipio Æmilianus had been heard with a thrill of emotion from the Po to the Straits of Messina.

We have already referred to what may have been Scipio's secret intention and the share intended for the Italians in its fulfilment; but his death arrested these designs, and after his time it was the popular leaders who supported the cause of the Italians. The promises of Fulvius brought about the insurrection at Fregellæ, which this consul was constrained to leave to its fate, being sent by the senate to carry on the war in Transalpine Gaul. Caius Gracchus had not time, nor had he the ability, to carry out the

<sup>1</sup> In the Sabellian region the Oscan language still existed, and instead of the word *Italia* of the Marsian medals we find *Vitellu* on those of the Samnites. The Sabellian league of the north (see vol. i. p. ci.) was more Roman than that of the south, and in a large part of Magna Grecia the Greek language was still the speech of the people.



Aqueduct of Spoleto.



vast plan he had conceived. Marius did not propose any political measures, but he enrolled many of the Italians in his legions, and he encouraged the hopes of all of them by giving citizenship upon the field of battle to 1,000 Umbrians and to certain men of Iguvium and Spoleto.<sup>1</sup> Marius was censured for this act as an encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Roman people. "Amid the din of arms," he replied, "I could not hear the voice of the law."<sup>2</sup> The Italians who gathered about Saturninus had used the word "king," but his death and the aristocratic reaction which followed the exile of Marius again brought disappointment to their hopes. Finally, the consuls of the year 95 raised to its height the exasperation of the allies by driving out of Rome all the Italians at that time residing in the city (under the law *Licinia-Mucia*).<sup>3</sup>

This was not the first of the decrees of expulsion; we have already mentioned those of 187 and of 177, and 125. Thus, to interfere with settled habits and established business was to cause the ruin of many and to secure the hatred of all.

The Italians left Rome bearing in their hearts the need for vengeance after so many humiliations. Drusus attempted to pacify them, and it was his death which decided them at last to take arms. Two Latin historians recognize the justice of their claims.<sup>5</sup> The Marsians took the lead, and Pompædus Silo, who belonged to this nation, was the soul of the war.



As of Iguvium.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The aqueduct of Spoleto (p. 547), a work worthy of the Romans and often attributed to them, appears to have been constructed in the seventh century by the Lombard dukes.

<sup>2</sup> He seems to have done the same in Africa after the capture of Jugurtha. (Cæs., *Bell. Afr.*, 35.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Off.*, iii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> IKVPINI (*Iguvini*), and a cornucopia. Ancient coin of Iguvium.

<sup>5</sup> Florus and Paternus. *Cum jus civitatis*, says the former, *socii justissime postularent Causa fuit justissima*, says the latter.

## II.—FIRST YEAR OF THE SOCIAL WAR.

The struggle we have now to describe was a war of singular character, unlike any in ancient history. It was formidable, short as it was; it cost more blood than had ever before been shed [except by Hannibal] in Italy, and yet, contrary to all ancient usage, neither of the two adversaries desired to destroy the other. The Italians, a few of their leaders excepted, did not seek to destroy Rome, neither did Rome wish to exterminate the Italian peoples, and before the war was ended the victors granted to the vanquished what the latter had asked for before the first battle had been fought. [In fact, the real victory lay with the Italians.]

With the aid of Drusus the allies had expected success; upon the failure of his projects, and the beginning at Rome of a sanguinary reaction, certain to spread throughout Italy, nothing was left to them but an appeal to the sword. A few years earlier, on the breaking out of the Cimbrian war, they had been reluctant to furnish the contingent required by Rome, and only the urgent persuasions of Sylla had brought them to recognize a danger common to all Italy.<sup>2</sup> And now



Oath of the Eight Nations.<sup>1</sup>



The Sabellian Bull Goring the Roman Wolf.<sup>3</sup>

eight nations, as follows, the Vestini, Marrucini, Frentani, and the inhabitants of Picenum (dwellers on the Adriatic coast and in the rich valleys of the Aternus, the Sagrus and the Tifernus), the Marsians, Pelignians, and Samnites in the mountains, and the Apulians in the south of the peninsula, bound themselves by oaths, interchanged hostages, and concerted a general rising. For the first time entertaining the idea of union, they proposed to form a republic after the model of Rome, having a senate of 500 members, two consuls, and twelve prætors, and taking for their capital city the fortified town of Corfinium

<sup>1</sup> Q. SILO. Eight Samnite chiefs swear upon a sow held up by a kneeling soldier. Reverse of a unique silver coin of the Social war.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Sylla*, 4.

<sup>3</sup> C. PAAPI, in Oscan characters. The Samnite bull driving his horn into the head of the Roman she-wolf. Silver coin of Bovianum or Corfinium.

in the Apennines, in the heart of the revolted country. They gave their capital the significant name of Italica,<sup>1</sup> and later they struck a coin representing the Sabellian bull attacking the Roman she-wolf. The revolt was, in fact, a new Samnite war, the nations foreign to the Sabellian race taking no share in it.<sup>2</sup> The Bruttians as a nation had ceased to exist; Magna Grecia was deserted; Campania was entirely Roman, with the exception of a few localities, Herculaneum, for instance, which declared against the senate; the north of Italy, the Etruscans and Umbrians, whom Rome had so often saved from the Gauls and had now lately



The Minerva of Herculaneum.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Atque appellarant Italiam*. (Vell. Paternus, ii. 16.) The medals bear the word *Italica*. (Cf. Diod., xxxvii. 1.) Their senate had authority only in respect to the conduct of the war; the brief duration of this federal republic gave no time, however, for any very definite organization. [Whether this confederation, indeed, copied the Roman model is more than doubtful. The appointment of two generals was necessitated by the twofold scene of operations, and, indeed, the geographical nature of the confederacy. But it is more important to consider whether the senate of the league was not *representative*, as the personal attendance of its citizens would be well nigh impossible. If this idea was, indeed, adopted, its defeat was the gravest disaster which ever happened to Italy.—Ed.] The idea of imitating Rome was not a new one; the Italians of Scipio's army in their Spanish revolt gave their two leaders the title and insignia of consuls. (Livy, xxviii. 24; Flor., iii. 19.)

<sup>2</sup> In Etruria the descendants of the Lucumons held all the land, and a popular insurrection would have been as formidable to them as to the Roman nobles.

<sup>3</sup> Minerva, with helmet and ægis, is represented in an attitude of combat. This beautiful

protected against the Cimbri, together with the people of Latium, remained faithful.

The senate, upon receiving information of all these movements, despatched emissaries in every direction. One of these spies reported to the pro-consul Servilius that a certain hostage was to be delivered at Corfinium by the Asculani; the proconsul at once hastened to Asculum, where, upon his using violent and threatening language, the people of the town fell upon him and murdered both Servilius and his lieutenant,<sup>1</sup> and then turned their fury upon all the Romans resident in Asculum, not sparing even the women, many of whom they scalped. It was the signal of war.

Let us now endeavour to estimate the strength of the two sides. In the time of the Gallic invasion the Etruscans, Latins, and Umbrians had agreed to furnish upwards of 120,000 soldiers, while the Sabellians and Apulians could muster 200,000. The proportion is that of three to five, and is likely to have remained



Coin of Heracleia Pontica.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Carystus.<sup>3</sup>



Bocchus.<sup>4</sup>

about the same. The Italians remaining faithful to Rome were therefore able to furnish at the outbreak of the Social war a contingent equal to three-fifths of the entire force of the allies.<sup>5</sup> In Rome there were, according to the last census, at least 400,000 citizens.<sup>6</sup> Besides this, an army was raised by Sertorius among

statue, now in Naples, was one of the first brought to light by the excavations at Herculaneum, and when unearthed had still traces of gilding on the head and on the pallium. [The stiff drapery and pose mark it as one of those archaizing attempts so common in Roman Greek art. What we know as pre-Raphaelite taste existed as pre-Phidian among Roman amateurs.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Font.*, 14; App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 36; Dion., *fr.*, 287.

<sup>2</sup> ΗΡΑΚΛ. Turreted female head, personification of the city. The reverse, a quiver, a club, and a bunch of grapes. Silver coin of Heracleia Pontica.

<sup>3</sup> Head of Hercules. On the reverse, ΚΑΡΥ. Silver coin of Carystus.

<sup>4</sup> REX BOCV (Bocchus). Griffin and a symbol. Silver coin. (De Luynes, *Essai sur la numismatique des satrapies de la Phénicie*, p. 104.)

<sup>5</sup> Much importance has been attached to the Marsians, but in 225 they, together with the Marrucini, the Frentani, and Vestini, were not able to bring into the field more than 24,000 troops. (Polyb., ii. 24.)

<sup>6</sup> The census of the year 125 gave 300,736 citizens; that of 114, 394,336. (Livy, *Epit.*,

the Cisalpine Gauls;<sup>1</sup> the kings of Numidia furnished cavalry; Bocchus sent Moorish infantry, and, if, as we know, the cities of Heracleia upon the Euxine, Carystus, Miletus, and Clazomenæ, supplied ships, many other cities nearer Rome must have furnished assistance in some form, Marseilles and Rhodes especially, so devoted to the prosperity of the Republic.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, Rome was yet mistress of nearly all the great cities in the very midst of the revolted territory, her former colonies, established usually in strong military positions; moreover, the public treasury contained a great quantity of gold in bullion.

Thus at the senate's command were forces and resources thrice or four times greater than those possessed by the allies, and to this we must add a habit of command and of undertaking great affairs, unity in the direction of the campaign, and the experience of generals and discipline of soldiers lately trained by two great wars.

And still further, Rome found herself able to bear, in the midst of this struggle, the weight of domestic difficulties and seditions. In the city an upright prætor was assassinated by the usurers whom he had endeavoured to bring within the bounds of law;<sup>3</sup> in the army a consular lieutenant was killed by his own soldiers; and even a consul, Porcius Cato, perished, perhaps by the hands of his own people, after having escaped from a first outbreak. The public confidence was in no way impaired by all this.



Coin of Miletus.<sup>4</sup>

lx. and lxxiii.) All the MSS. agree in giving these figures. If it be said that there had been heavy losses by the Cimbrian war, we may reply that the Italians lost in that war as well as the Romans. It is, moreover, well known that the population of Rome even increased during the second Punic war. [No doubt by the many fugitives from Hannibal's devastations.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 27, following Sallust and Plutarch (in *Sertorius*).

<sup>2</sup> A senatus-consultum of May 22, 78, decreed honours to three captains from Carystus, Clazomenæ, and Miletus for their services in the Italic war. (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 203.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiv. and lxxv.; Val. Max., IX. viii. 3; Diod., *fr.*, cxiv.; it was the prætor Sempronius Asellio.

<sup>4</sup> Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΜΙΛΕΣΙΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ. A lion looking at a star. Silver coin of Miletus.



From the Capitol, where they were in session, the senate could see rising behind the Sabine hills the smoke of conflagrations kindled by the enemy, but not a single soldier was called back from the provinces. And as on the day when, according to tradition, Hannibal from his camp, looking down into Rome, saw troops destined for Spain march out from the opposite gates of the city, so now, in the most critical period of the present struggle, the senate sent away an army to crush revolted Salluvii in Transalpine Gaul. They did still more; defying Mithridates, to whom the allies had appealed for aid, the senate re-established upon their thrones two eastern kings, Nicomedes of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.<sup>1</sup>



Mithridates VI. (Eupator).<sup>2</sup> combatants, weary of fighting, should be willing to return to their former friendly relations? Happily for Rome the war was a short one.

The two Italian consuls, Pompædus, the Marsian, and Papius Motulus, the Samnite, divided the army and the provinces; the former to operate in the north, to incite to revolt, if possible, the Umbrians and Etruscans, and to penetrate by way of the Sabine country into the valley of the Tiber; the latter to move southward towards Campania, and advance upon Rome through Latium. Protected by the two main armies, the lieutenants, Judacilius, Lamponius Afranius, Vettius Scato, and Marius Egnatius were expected to carry the places in the interior which made resistance, and drive the Roman garrisons out of Lucania and Apulia.



Nicomedes III.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy's *Epitome*, lxxiv., places the rehabilitation of the two kings in the year 90, and Clinton accepts that date. (See *Fasti Hellen.*, in the appendix to vol. iii., "Kings of Bithynia," p. 419.) [But the crisis of the Social war was then over.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> From a tetradrachm.

Before blood was shed the leaders of the allies made a last effort, sending deputies to the senate with a proposal to lay down arms if the citizenship should now be granted them; but the senate refused to listen.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Motulus.<sup>2</sup>

A hundred thousand men opened the campaign, it is stated, by the siege of Alba in the Marsian country, Æsernia in Samnium, and Pinna in the country of the Vestinii, three fortified towns, which it was considered dangerous to leave unsubdued in coming down from the mountains.



Coin of Æsernia.<sup>3</sup>

The senate, on their part, sent into the field 100,000 legionaries, and directed their first efforts towards confining the insurrection within the Apennines. The consuls at this time were Julius Cæsar and P. Rutilius (90); the former occupied Campania and endeavoured to enter Samnium; the latter, for the purpose of covering the Sabine country, took up a position behind the Tolenus, an affluent of the Velinus,<sup>4</sup> and closed the Tiburtine road, the only one entering the hilly Marsian country, and no doubt the route by which Pompædus proposed to descend.<sup>5</sup> Perperna, with 10,000 men thrown between the two consular armies, defended the approach to Latium by way of



Coin of Asculum.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 39; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> MVTIL EMBRATVR [imperator] in Oscan. Head of Pallas. On the reverse C. PAAPI, in Oscan; two chiefs swearing alliance upon a sow held up by a kneeling soldier. Silver coin of the Social war.

<sup>3</sup> AISERN and a head of Pallas. On the reverse, an eagle destroying a serpent. Coin of Æsernia.

<sup>4</sup> The Velinus falls into the Nar, which is itself a branch of the Tiber. All these valleys, it will be seen, come out upon that river, which forms the great highway between the central Apennines and Rome.

<sup>5</sup> ΑΣΚΑΑ. Victory before a palm tree. Reverse of a coin of Asculum, which Strabo and others call Ἀσκαλον.

<sup>6</sup> Appian is of opinion that the Liris was the base of operations for the army of Rutilius. Ovid (*Fast.*, vi. 565) places the consul on the Tolenus, which is more probable, since Carseoli is upon this river, and since, moreover, its valley is the outlet from the Marsian into the Sabine country. The head waters of the two rivers, separated by Mounts Grani and Carbonario, are, however, but five miles apart, and the Roman troops no doubt were entrenched behind them both, thus protecting the whole of Latium against the Marsi.

the mountains;<sup>1</sup> Marius and Cæpio, with two army corps, manœuvred upon the wings of Rutilius' legions to give aid to Perperna in the south, and in the north to the proconsul, Cn.



Coin of  
Lucania.<sup>2</sup>

Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, who was endeavouring to enter Umbria by way of Picenum, while Sulpicius, another legate, was advancing into the country of the Pelignians. It was expected that these two generals, making a flank movement around the army of Pompædus, would attack Corfinium, which had had the presumption to accept the rôle of a rival of Rome, and Asculum, the city whence had been given the signal for the war. In the south-east Crassus was to operate in Lucania, in the rear of the Samnite Motulus,<sup>3</sup> while a large force was retained in Rome itself, where posts were set at the gates and upon the walls,<sup>4</sup> and T. Piso was directed to see to the fabrication of arms.<sup>5</sup>

The Romans had not, however, completed their arrangements when the Italians, attacking furiously at every point, surprised the legions and caused them to fall back. The consul, J. Cæsar, imprudently attacking the Samnites, was defeated by Vettius Scato, and driven back behind Æsernia.<sup>6</sup> This city, watered by an affluent of the Volturnus, and Venafrum, nearly opposite to it, on the other side of the same river, and situated on the Latin road, close the long valley of the Volturnus leading up from Campania into the interior of Samnium. Though poorly provisioned, Æsernia made a heroic resistance, but Venafrum was given into the power of Egnatius by treason, and its garrison massacred. The defeat of Perperna completed the destruction of this line, with which



Coin of  
Nuceria.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The position of Perperna is not stated by Appian; it may possibly have been between Rutilius and Pompey.

<sup>2</sup> ΛΟΥΚΑΝΩΝ. Jupiter walking. Reverse of a Lucanian coin.

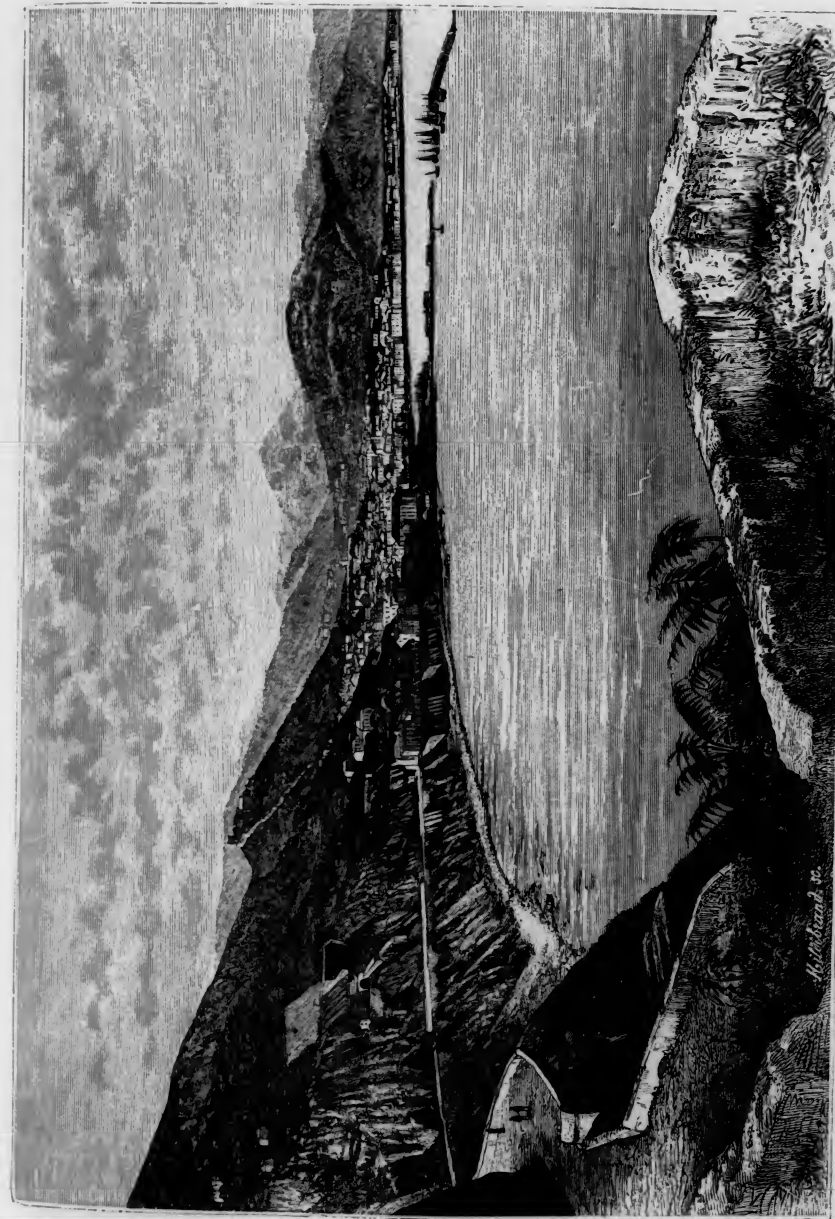
<sup>3</sup> These positions are nowhere laid down, either in Appian or in Diodorus; hence the Social war is usually an inextricable chaos. They, however, became evident, as does the plan of the campaign, from an attentive study of the localities and events of the war.

<sup>4</sup> Ὡς ἐπ' οἰκίῳ καὶ γείτονι μάχισα ἰργη. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 40.)

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, in *Pis.*, 36.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Diod., xxxvii., *Frag.*, and Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> NVKPINVM ALAFATERNUM, in Oscan characters. A wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Nuceria.



Gulf of Salerno (from the north).

the senate had hoped to hem in the chief centre of the insurrection. Through the breach which he had thus made Papius Motulus, the Italian consul, invaded Campania, leaving a blockading corps to mask Æsernia.<sup>1</sup> Avoiding the strong cities of the northern part of Campania, Motulus hastened southward, where he had secret friends. Treason gave Nola into his hands, and its garrison of 2,000 men were received into his army, with the exception only of the officers, whom he condemned to perish by starvation. From this time it became the established custom of the Italian generals to make this distinction among their Roman prisoners, putting to death the knights and nobles, and enrolling the slaves and common soldiers in their own army.

The cities on the shores of the Bay of Naples and the Gulf of Salerno, Minturnæ, Salernum, Stabiae, Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Liternum were constrained to join the allies; a few other cities yielded, and the Italian general obtained in all 10,000 foot-soldiers and 1,000 horse; he also armed all the slaves who came to him. But Naples, which even after the war refused citizenship, remained faithful as in the time of Hannibal; Nuceria, surrounded by places which had yielded to the enemy, stood firm, and Acerræ, a few miles south of Capua, braved with heroic resistance all the efforts of the allies, while Capua, filled with citizens, served the Roman troops as arsenal and place of refuge. The second year of the war Magnius, a Capuan, levied a whole legion at his own expense in the country of the Hirpini.

The access to Latium from the south was closed, but at the very gates of Rome the Tiburtini for a moment wavered in their fidelity to the Republic. From their city the Capitol was visible, and they had command of the military road, which, following the course of the Anio, plunged into the mountains and gave access to the country of the Marsians. It was, therefore,

Coin of Acerræ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The city compelled its slaves to go out, and they were made welcome in the camp of the besiegers; also the two Roman leaders, L. Scipio and L. Acilius made their escape. The people in the city were reduced to eating dogs *kai τὰλλα ζῶα*. (Diod., *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119, and App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 41.)

<sup>2</sup> Jupiter and a victory in a quadriga. AKERL, the city's name in Oscan, and four balls, indicating a *triens*. Reverse of a bronze coin of Acerræ.



of the first importance to prevent the defection of Tibur; the senate used no violent measures, but a decree proposed by the prætor L. Cornelius assured the Tiburtini that the senate relied



Lucius Cornelius.

upon their fidelity, an excellent means of leading them to renounce their design, if they had formed one, by showing them that they had become objects of suspicion.<sup>1</sup>

Half Campania meanwhile had been lost, and the cities of Lucania and Apulia, feebly assisted, had fallen one by one into the power of the enemy; Grumentum, the strongest place in Lucania, being left exposed by the defeat of Crassus, was taken by Lamponius,<sup>2</sup> and Judacilius made himself master of

Canusium and Venusia. Pinna, also in the country of the Vestini, yielded, but not until after the inhabitants had seen their children, who were in the enemy's hands, brought out in view of the walls, and threatened with death, and had still refused to surrender.<sup>3</sup>

Other greater successes brought encouragement to the allies. Cæsar, in the endeavour to relieve Acerræ, fell into an ambush laid by Egnatius in a narrow gorge, and could not rally the remnant of his army until they had fled as far as Teanum,<sup>4</sup> the position which, after the battle of Cannæ, the Romans had made the base of their resistance. In the meantime the other consul, Rutilius, being drawn by Vettius Scato into an ambuscade on the other side of the Tolenus, perished there with a portion of his army. Marius was not far distant, and, notified by the sight of many dead bodies floating down the Tolenus that an action had

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *de iis rebus peccatum non esse*. This senatus-consultum is still extant (Orelli, No. 3114); it has no date, but many reasons lead to the conclusion that it belongs to the period of the Social war. With this bronze tablet there was also found at Tivoli the bust of the prætor Cornelius, which we give from the *Iconographie romaine* of Visconti, pl. iv. No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A fragment of Diodorus seems to begin at this point a narrative of a single combat between Lamponius and Crassus.

<sup>3</sup> Diod., fr. xxxvii. 20, and *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Appian wrongly places this defeat after Cæsar's victory, of which mention will be made later.

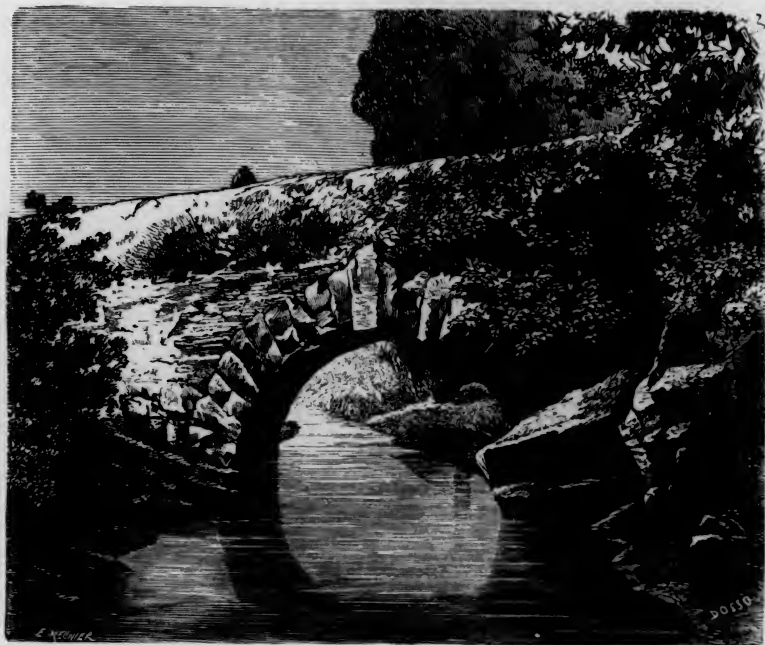
taken place, he hastily crossed to the enemy's side of the river, and marched rapidly into the camp of the victors, who were occupied in gathering their spoils on the battlefield.

After the defeats of the two consuls, came that of Pompeius, against whom three Italian generals were united, the successes in the south having left them free to move northward and join their forces to arrest his advance. It had been the design of Pompeius to besiege Asculum, but defeated by superior numbers, he had fallen back upon Firmum, where Afranius held him fast. This retreat upon the Adriatic left Umbria unprotected; numerous Italiot emissaries hastened thither, and soon the fidelity of the Etruscans and Umbrians began to give way.<sup>1</sup> In Latium even, there were symptoms of danger, and it is probable that at this time it was known that the allies were intending to send a deputation to Mithridates. Consequently when news of all these disasters and perils was received at Rome—when, especially the dead bodies of Rutilius and other persons of importance who had been slain, were brought home—the mourning in the city was as great as in the darkest days of the second Punic war. To prevent excessive discouragement, the senate limited the time of mourning, and made a decree that for the future the funeral rites should be performed where the deceased had fallen, whether he were chief or soldier. Another senatus-consultum ordered all citizens to assume war dress; even the freedmen were armed and were formed into twelve bands, who were posted at Ostia, at Cumæ, and no doubt also all along the Appian Way.

Fortunately for Rome her geographical position, which in the past had been so helpful to her growth, now helped her salvation. Placed behind the line of battle, and in a central position, permitting her to receive by her river all needful supplies, and, by her military roads, to send them rapidly forward to her legions, she fed her armies without difficulty, and followed a fixed plan. The Italiots, on the other hand, without ships and without harbours, were hampered by the lack both of food and munitions. Communicating among themselves only across the central mass of the Apennines, where rise the highest summits of the chain, they

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 47.  
VOL. II.

could not concert their movements and frequently attacked at random. They lacked siege material, and after they had taken a few cities by surprise or treason, they could do no more. Finally they had no foreign aid, while Rome had many allies whom her great reputation kept faithful. But a few months elapsed after the beginning of hostilities before the assistance which Rome had asked from the kings and nations friendly to



Roman Bridge over the Ostian Road.

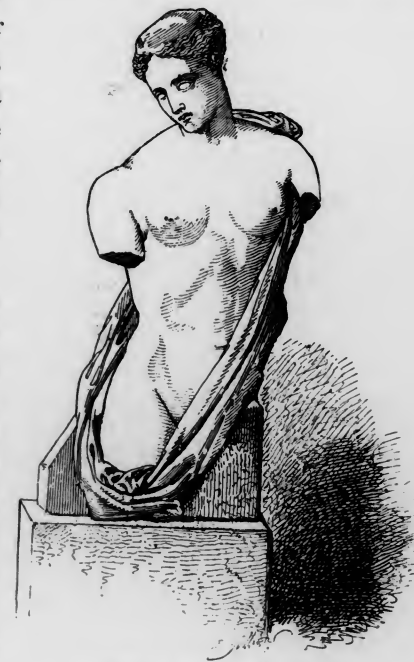
her, began to arrive. Sicily distinguished herself by her eagerness in furnishing all kinds of supplies needful for armies.<sup>1</sup> Ten thousand Cisalpine Gauls whom Sertorius had brought to the consul Cæsar, after his defeat by Egnatius, and many thousand Moors and Numidians who came to him from Africa, gave him confidence again to take the offensive. He marched upon Acerræ,

<sup>1</sup> *Siciliam nobis non pro penaria cella, sed pro ærario illo majorum vetere ac referto fuisse: nam sine ullo sumptu nostro, coriis, tunicis, frumentoque suppeditando, marimos exercitus nostros vestivit, aluit, armavit.* (Cic., *II in Ferr.* ii. 2.)

between Naples and Capua, for the purpose of raising the siege of that town, and, notwithstanding the desertion of many of the Numidians when Motulus exhibited to them in royal attire Oxyntas, a son of Jugurtha, found interned at Venusia, Cæsar slew 6,000 of the enemy, and was able to throw a body of troops into the town. This news arriving at Rome calmed the public mind, and the garb of peace (toga) was resumed.<sup>1</sup>

In the north, the legate Sulpicius, after defeating the Pelignians, had hastened to the aid of Pompeius, at that time shut up in Firmum; a double attack, concerted by the two Roman generals, put the allies to flight, and Pompeius at once proceeded to close the approaches to Umbria by recommencing the siege of Asculum.<sup>2</sup>

The senate had united what remained of the defeated army of Rutilius with the troops under the command of Marius and Cæpio; but, distrusting Marius, had given equal authority to the two generals,<sup>4</sup> and Cæpio, dazzled by a slight success, allowed himself to be again drawn into a snare by Pompædus Silo. The proconsul and a great number of Romans were slain. This disaster, and the loss of Æsernia, which at last yielded, compelled the senate to give to Marius, instead of the insignificant force hitherto entrusted to him, the



Psyche [or Venus] of Capua.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.; Orosius, v. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Asculum was upon the *via Salaria*, the only road crossing the Apennines from this side.

<sup>3</sup> Torso of an admirable statue found in the Capuan amphitheatre (*Mus. Borbon.*, No. 203).

<sup>4</sup> Livy, *Epit.* lxxiii.; *Æquatum ei cum C. Mario esset imperium.*

whole of the original consular army. The veteran general soon restored discipline, and by skilfully choosing impregnable positions, checked the victorious Marsians—"If you are so great a general," one of the leaders of the allies said to Marius, "why don't you come out and fight?" "If you are so skilful, why don't you force me?" the Roman rejoined. He did, however, fight them at last, and killed the prætor of the Marrucini, Herius Asinius. But the peasant of Arpinum, the former accomplice of Saturninus, the man who had given citizenship and a place in his legions to so many Italians, was reluctant to fight against the party he had formerly favoured, and in which he still had his best friends. On one occasion his army and that of Pompædus chanced to meet; friends and kindred recognized one another; they called out to each other by name, and exchanged salutations, while even the two generals allowed themselves to converse as friends, and discuss the prospects of the much desired peace. The soldiers on both sides finally mingled freely,<sup>1</sup> and the scene was like a meeting of townsmen for some peaceful object.

Had Marius been at this time, as he was during the Cimbrian war, in command of all the forces of the Republic, he might then have made an end of the Social war, and again had occasion to say that amid the clash of arms he had failed to hear the voice of law; but the senate, suspicious of his intentions, had left him powerless to decide alone upon the conduct of the war, and, at this very moment, Sylla, his former lieutenant and now his enemy, was following him with an army.

Sylla had made his way but slowly, hitherto. In 94, he was defeated at the elections, only obtaining the prætorship the following year by the use of money. When he threatened a consular with his official authority the other had retorted: "You do well to use it; doubtless it is indeed yours—by right of purchase." Being sent into Asia, though without an army, to keep Mithridates in check, he had driven the king out of Cappadocia, and had returned to Rome with a high reputation as a skilful politician. An offering in the Capitol by Bocchus, representing himself delivering up Jugurtha to the quæstor of the Numidian army, had

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xxxvii.: 'Ἡ πᾶσα σύνοδος ἐκ πολεμικῆς ἡμέρας εἰς πανηγυρικὴν διάθεσιν μετέπεσεν.

deeply incensed Marius. He had sought to destroy these statues, and the matter would doubtless have come to violence, had not the Italian insurrection supervened. Marius avoided energetic action in this war; on one occasion he had refused to complete a victory, and all the profit and honour of the day fell to the share of Sylla, who had followed the enemy, routed them, and gained an entire success. In all this Marius showed himself unchanged. As tribune he had caused the defeat of a popular law; as consul he had publicly reviled the senate. He was a friend of Saturninus, yet caused his death; a partisan of the Italians, yet fought against them at the head of the legions of Rome, and these he held back on the eve of victory; his conduct was always in contradiction to his convictions. Compromised in the eyes of the senate and the people in the affair of Saturninus, he had exiled himself from Rome, and now, after doing harm enough to the Italians to make them regard him as an enemy, yet not enough to secure the gratitude of the Romans, he resigned his command, alleging infirmities, and withdrew, angry and envious, to his villa at Misenum, while Sylla came forward to take his place and to found his own fortunes by the same war in which those of his rival had been ruined.

While the military movements of which we have spoken were going on in Campania and the country of the Marsians, two prætors had been sent to display the standards of Rome to the Umbrians and Etruscans, and to chastise two cities, Fæsulæ and Oriculum, which had sided with the Italians.<sup>2</sup> This moment of unexpected good fortune was seized by the senate to make a concession which should not have the appearance of being extorted. The Julian



Bocchus delivering Jugurtha to Sylla.<sup>1</sup>



Fæsulæ.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sylla, seated between the kneeling Bocchus and Jugurtha, the latter being bound; behind Sylla, the name Felix, which he assumed later. Reverse of a silver coin of the Cornelian gens.

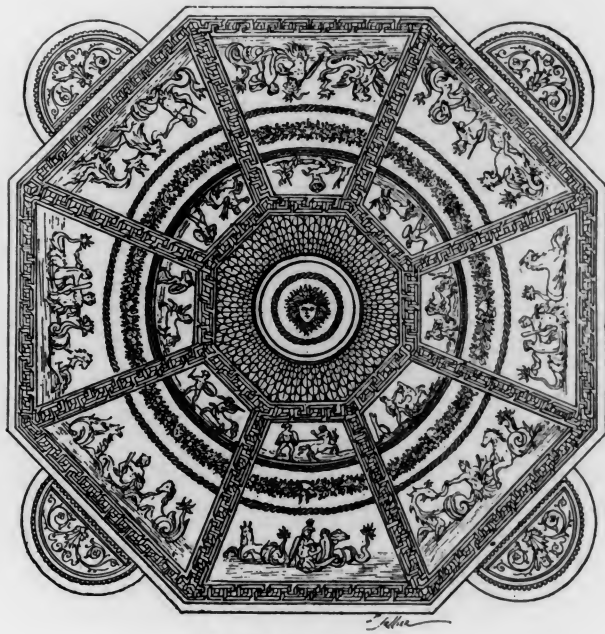
<sup>2</sup> Flor., iii. 18; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiv. Oriculum, which had enjoyed great prosperity owing to its position on the Flaminian Way, is called in some inscriptions *splendidissima civitas*. The admirable mosaic represented here, now in the Vatican, was found in this city.

<sup>3</sup> Flying gorgon. Silver coin of Fæsulæ.



law of the consul Cæsar offered citizenship to all inhabitants of cities not involved in the revolt, on condition that each of them came to Rome within sixty days, and declared before the prætor that he accepted all the rights and obligations of the *jus civitatis*.

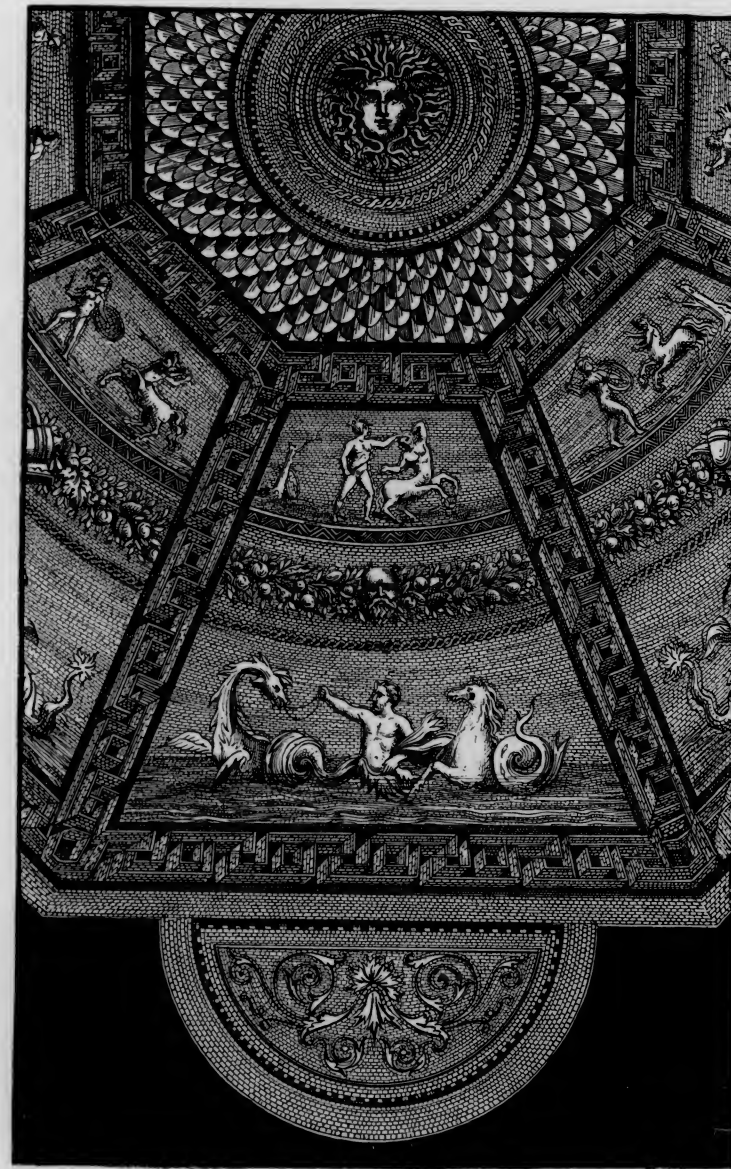
This concession, which confirmed the fidelity of some, while exciting the hopes and regrets of others, was one of the ablest



Mosaic from Oriculum.

strokes directed against the Italian confederation. In order to conquer her enemies Rome introduced divisions among them; it was her old and always successful policy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [It is, however, certain that this great concession *was* extorted from a reluctant majority of the senate by the real fear of the Italian power. The defeats of Rome were such that had she not weakened her enemy, another campaign might have brought her to her knees.—*Ed.*]



Mosaic at Oriculum. (Detail of a section.)

## III.—SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE SOCIAL WAR (89—88).

Rome, taken unawares in the first year of the Social war, had, for a time, experienced only reverses; during the last months of the year success seemed evenly divided, but the second year



Ascoli (Asculum p. 570).<sup>1</sup>

opened with a general attack on the part of Rome.<sup>2</sup> The new consuls, Cn. Pompeius and Porcius Cato, opposed the confederates in the north. Sylla, who was the consular legate of Porcius, and J. Caesar, who remained, as pro-consul, in command of the southern army, were ordered to drive Papius Motulus out of Campania; the prætors Cosconius and Luceius were to recover the cities of Apulia, and Gabinius those of Lucania. The very considerable forces entrusted to these generals placed them in a position to fulfil the expectations of the senate. Porcius penetrated the Mar-sian country, and attacked the allies repeatedly, but at last fell, mortally wounded, in the attack upon a camp near Lake Fucinus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod., xxxvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> From an engraving of the sixteenth century. *Bibliothèque nationale.*

<sup>3</sup> He may have been killed by the younger Marius in revenge for severe language used respecting his father. (Orosius, v. 18; Vell. Patern., ii. 16.)

and the Marsians took advantage of this success to send an army into the region of Etruria, and again attempt to rouse the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Pompeius, who was blockading Asculum, came out of his camp, defeated the Marsian corps, and returned to draw more closely the lines of the siege. Judacilius, however, succeeded in



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.



No. 4.

Sling-bullets found at Asculum.<sup>2</sup>

passing through the lines; Asculum was his native town, and he was determined either to save it or perish with it. In the city he found only discouragement; feeling, then, that the allies' cause was hopeless, he caused a funeral pile to be erected in front of the principal temple and a couch prepared upon its top; he then gathered his friends for a last banquet, took poison, and, lying down upon the pile, ordered it to be set on fire. These brave soldiers were of savage temper, and the men of that day loved vengeance. Judacilius had despatched before him all the inhabitants of the city who were suspected of desiring peace. The rest had no better fate. When Asculum

opened her gates the victors spared none save the women and children.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 50; Vell. Patere., ii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxv., lxxvi.; Flor., iii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> The earthworks recently constructed under the Roman ramparts of Asculum have brought to view, especially in the bed of the *fiume di Castello*, an affluent of the Tronto, many leaden projectiles to be used in slings. Of these a number bear a double inscription, proving that they served both sides in turn. These inscriptions are names of chiefs, devices, insults addressed to the enemy, even revelations made by traitors:—No. 1. *Pompe[ius]*, first inscription; *Judacil[ius]* *Picen*, second; missile thrown first by the besiegers and sent back by the city. No. 2. *Fricas Rom[anos]* ("You rub the Romans"). No. 3. *C. Marius*: this general was not present at the siege, but he doubtless sent Pompeius munitions bearing his name. No. 4. *Peristis servi* ("Death

To save this bulwark of the league, Vettius Scato had marched thither with a large force. The armies for some time hesitated to engage. Parleys took place, and Cicero, at this time serving his first campaign, was present at an interview between Scato and the consul's brother, who had ties of hospitality with the Italian. "By what title shall I address you?" said Sextus Pompeius, and the Marsian replied, "Call me your host; in spirit I am so still, although by necessity I am your enemy."<sup>1</sup> They failed to come to terms. The action was severe, and the retreat of the Italians disastrous. They fled in midwinter across the crest of the mountains. Pompeius, following them in hot haste, found whole cohorts which had fallen exhausted in the snow and had perished from cold. Scato, their leader, also perished. A story



No. 5.



No. 6.



No. 7.

Sling-bullets found at Asculum.

to slaves"); upon another we read, *Feri Cassium* ("Strike Cassius"); upon still another, *V[indicamus] justa* ("We claim that which is just"). These three missiles prove that a battle with the gladiators of Spartacus took place under the walls of Asculum; we know that a general of the name of Cassius commanded in that war. Fifty years later this city saw other military events, of which history says nothing, but there are found leaden projectiles cast for the war of Perugia in the year 40; thus No. 5 bears on one side in Oscan characters, that are to be read backwards: *C[aius] Paapi Cai [filius]*, which were the names of the great leader Papius Mutilus, and on the other side: *L. XI. DIVOM IVLIVM* ("Eleventh legion, the divine Julius"). No. 6. *L. Antoni periste* ("Death to L. Antonius"), the brother of the triumvir who had shut himself up in Perugia. No. 7. *M. Anto. imp.* (M. Antonius imperator). This was a missile which the enemies of Octavius marked with the name of their leader.

M. Ernest Desjardins, from whom we borrow these illustrations and their description, has placed beyond all doubt, in his learned work on the leaden missiles found at Ascoli, the authenticity of these curious relics. The custom of inscribing upon projectiles names, threats, insults, or even traitorous information, was habitual. (See Caesar, *Bell. Hisp.*, 13, 18, and 19.) We shall have more to say by and bye in respect to the war of Perugia.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, *Philipp.* xii. 11.



was told of his last moments, which Seneca, the great declaimer of philosophic sentences, has preserved to us. "Being made prisoner, he was brought before Pompeius, when one of his slaves who followed him snatching a sword from a soldier of the guard, struck Scato, crying out, 'I enfranchise my master; it is my turn next,' and killed himself."<sup>1</sup> The story is extremely theatrical, but by no means impossible.

The defeat of Vettius Scato<sup>2</sup> was followed by the submission of all the neighbouring nations, the Marrucini, the Vestini, and the Pelignians surrendering at discretion, and even the Marsians laying down their arms.<sup>3</sup> Upon his return to Rome Pompeius obtained a triumph; behind his chariot walked a boy destined one day himself to be consul, Ventidius the Asculan. In Apulia the prætor Cosconius had defeated and killed Egnatius, the ablest of the generals of the allies, and after him the Samnite Trebatius. Most of the cities opened their gates to the Roman general; in two days he had subjugated the Peucetians, on the north of Tarentum, and Brundisium, so that when Metellus Pius had recovered Venusia,<sup>4</sup> the whole province was restored to peace.

Cæsar, having died of illness early in his proconsulship, the whole weight of the war in Campania had fallen upon Sylla, who had exhibited in this campaign his wonted zeal and activity. Stabiæ, first attacked, was destroyed, and Herculaneum and Pompeii surrendered; near Pompeii, Sylla, after a first rebuff, forced the



Bronze Lamp found at Stabiæ.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Benef.*, iii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Livy (*Epit.*, lxxvi.) attributes the subjugation of the Marsians, *aliquot præliis fracti*, to Murena and Metellus Pius. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 21) gives to the allies in this battle more than 60,000 men, and 75,000 to the Romans. This is evidently an exaggeration. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 50) speaks only of 5,000 slain.

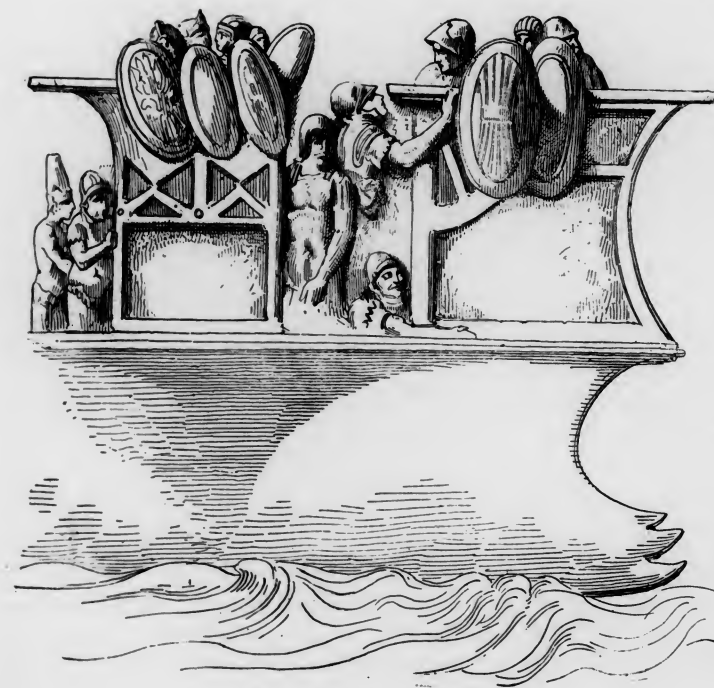
<sup>3</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 52. *In deditionem accepit.* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxvi.)

<sup>4</sup> The taking of Venusia possibly occurred in the following year (88). (Cf. Diod., *fragm.*, xxxvii.)

<sup>5</sup> This double lamp, found at Stabiæ in 1782, is preserved in the museum of Herculaneum. At the time it was found, the wick, folded in the interior of the vessel, was perfectly intact, after an inhumation of seventeen centuries. (Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompéi*, vol. vii., 3rd Series, pl. 39.)

lines of the Samnite Cluentius, and pursued him as far as the city of Nola. There he found a formidable camp, and in an imprudent attack upon it, a portion of his army narrowly escaped destruction. He rescued them, however, and received from them the finest of all the military rewards, the obsidional crown.<sup>1</sup> Cluentius had been killed in the conflict.

Livy relates an occurrence of this campaign which is almost



Marines Fighting on Shipboard.<sup>2</sup>

unparalleled in the history of Rome; the admiral of the fleet, Postumius Albinus, ordered to act in concert with Sylla, was slain by mutineers, who accused him of treason.<sup>3</sup> The accusation was certainly false, but these marines, recruited from the very lowest

<sup>1</sup> Appian (i. 50), for the first time since the beginning of the war, gives large figures, 30,000 men slain in the rout, and 20,000 in the second battle.

<sup>2</sup> Scheffer, *Mil. nav.*, in *Addend.*

<sup>3</sup> *Epit.*, lxxv.

classes, had not the ingrained respect of the legionary for discipline.<sup>1</sup> "These men are mine," said Sylla, "since they have committed a crime," and in expiation he required from them a victory, which they gave him by the defeat of Cluentius.

By these three successes, that of Pompeius in the north-east, Sylla in the south-west, and Cosconius in the south-east, the allies were, as they had been in the first Samnite war, driven out of the plains which extend along the base of the Apennines. Since the Pelignians had abandoned the cause, the allies had transferred their senate and seat of government to Bovianum.<sup>2</sup> Pompædus Silo was placed in command of their remaining forces, now but 30,000 men,<sup>3</sup> but he called the slaves from all sides to liberty, and armed as many as 21,000 of them. Papius Motulus had had recourse to the same expedient in Campania, Judacilius in Apulia,<sup>4</sup> and the last Italian army endeavoured to call out the Sicilian slaves. Rome herself had armed her freedmen; it was quite as much a servile as a social war. Pompædus sought to add to it



Coin of  
Bovianum.<sup>5</sup>

still further a foreign war by asking aid from Mithridates, who received at the same time secret appeals from the provincials of Greece, Africa, and Asia. It became needful that Rome should put an end to this war, for all whom she oppressed were about to rise and unite: the last blows were struck by Sylla. Deceiving Motulus by skilful manœuvres, he crossed mountains reputed impracticable, and suddenly appeared

<sup>1</sup> This spirit of discipline was, however, beginning to be enfeebled. Of this we have already had many proofs. Still another was given in this war: Porcius Cato would have been stoned by his mutinous soldiers if, as Dion Cassius relates (*fr.*, 100), they had found stones in the ploughed fields where they were encamped; failing this, they threw at him clods of earth, which did him no harm.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, xxxvii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus (*ibid.*) calls *μεγάλην δύναμιν* this army of 30,000 men that had been gathered with difficulty by calling out all who had already served; the armies in this war were, it is evident, not so strong as the rhetoricians have represented them. Florus (iii. 18) regards this war as more formidable than that of Hannibal, and Velleius Paterculus affirms that it cost Italy 300,000 men; but he magnifies the forces of Cinna in 84 to thirty legions, and the losses in the two Servile wars to 1,000,000 of slaves. With but one exception Appian speaks always of moderate losses: Cæsar, before Æsernia, loses 2,000 men; Perperna, 4,000; Crassus, 8,000, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 42: *δοῦλους ἰσχυράτους*.

<sup>5</sup> SABINIM (written backwards). Soldier standing, a couchant ox at his feet. Reverse of a silver coin of the Social war, attributed to Bovianum. One of the results of the Social war

in the neighbourhood of Æsernia. The Italian consul hastened thither to save so important a place, but was defeated, and carried into the city mortally wounded. The taking of Bovianum, the second capital of the league, terminated this prosperous campaign, in which Sylla had conquered the consulship. Pompædus Silo recovered the place later, it is true, after a victorious engage-



Vase from Nola (pp. 573, 576).<sup>1</sup>

ment, and made a triumphal entry with the same pomp displayed by Roman generals in similar circumstances; but a short time after he fell in a skirmish while seeking again to rouse Apulia<sup>2</sup> (end of the year 89).

The *Plautian-Papirian* law,<sup>3</sup> which extended the benefits of

was the closing of mints throughout Italy. Henceforth Roman money alone was current in the peninsula.

<sup>1</sup> A winged Hebe with a caduceus in her hand. *Cabinet de France*, No. 4862.

<sup>2</sup> Livy (*Epit.*, lxxv.) says that he was killed in a rencontre with Mamercus Æmilius, and places the capture of Asculum at some point of time after his death, which is manifestly an error.

<sup>3</sup> The following is the text of this law as given by Cicero in the *pro Archia*, 4: *Data est civitas . . . si qui fœderatis civitatibus adscripti fuissent: si tum, cum lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent, si sexaginta diebus apud prætorem essent professi*. This law had been proposed by the two tribunes, M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. Three prætors

the *Julian* law to all the inhabitants of the allied cities, from the Po to the Straits of Messina, another of the consul Pompeius Strabo (89), which granted the *jus Latii* to the Transpadane, and especially the judicious moderation of the senate in the use of their victory, took away all force and all danger from what remained of the war. The leaders of the insurrection had perished; the Italian senate, which had taken refuge at Æsernia, was dispersed; only the Samnites, the Lucanians, and a few cities still held out, Nola, for instance, which Sylla, now consul, returned to besiege. Numerous bands also were haunting the Apennines. In the hope of reawakening the Servile war in Sicily, these scattered remnants of the Italian army essayed to seize Rhegium. Having been defeated in this attempt by the vigilance of the prætor, C. Norbanus, they fell back into the trackless forests of the Sila, whence they came forth to have a share in the sanguinary conflicts of the Marian and Syllan factions. These new disasters, results of the former, were soon to fall upon the Italian peninsula—proscriptions of individuals, military devastations of cities, and the Italian people long remembered this warfare, in which the blood of Italy and of Rome flowed so freely. Under the emperors, men still spoke of it as a war more terrible than those of Hannibal or of Pyrrhus: *nec Annibalis nec Pyrrhi fuit tanta vastatio*.<sup>1</sup> And, in truth, never in so short a time had any country so great loss of human life and devastation of cities.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.—CITIZENSHIP GIVEN TO THE ITALIANS.

Although defeated, the Italians had forced their entrance into citizenship. They were no longer strangers in Rome, no tribune ever again should insolently drive them forth; they were sharers

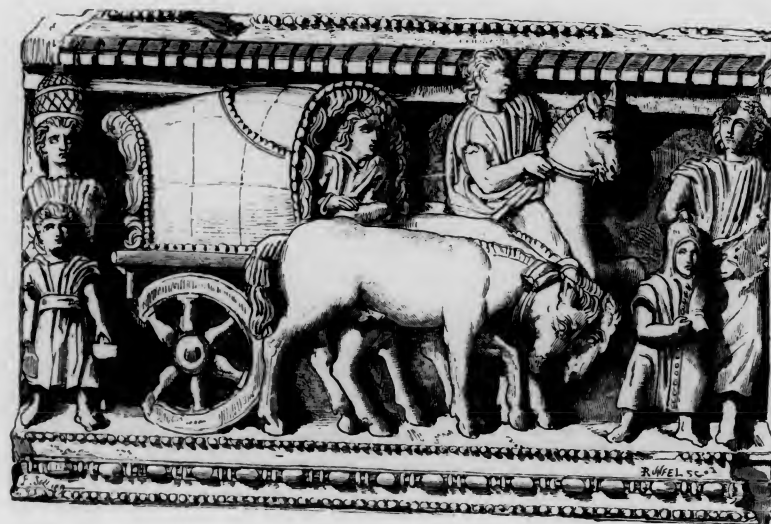
received the declamations—Appius Claudius Pulcher, P. Gabinius Capito, and Q. Cæc. Metellus Pius. “Appius,” says Cicero, “kept his registers carelessly, and the levity of Gabinius took all credence from his.” (*Ibid.*, 5.) The *Julian* law had given the *jus civitatis* to all faithful allies: the *Plautian* law gave it to all the allied cities, some of which, however, as we shall see, preferred to retain their own customs; and the *Plautian-Papirian* law, in order to create even in these cities a Roman party, permitted any individual of them to come to Rome and take the rank of citizen.

<sup>1</sup> Florus, iii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> [It was another case of wanton and stupid blundering on the part of Rome, followed by

henceforth in the renown and the imperial power of the people-king; the Forum belonged to them; the world was theirs; they were Roman citizens.

But when, after the first excitement was past, they re-read those *Julian* and *Plautian* laws which had made so many among them ready to lay down their arms, when they saw that it was requisite to be in Rome within sixty days to give their names to the prætor, many began to see that the journey was long,



Travellers.<sup>1</sup>

and the time allowed very short.<sup>2</sup> The rich, however, all hastened to Rome; and the vagabond crowd whom no ties held

frightful consequences. Had the *Julian* and *Papirian* laws been passed three years sooner, and not extorted from them by the war, all this misery would have been avoided, and the further devastation of Italy saved.—*Ed.*]

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.* pl. 151 bis, No. 794.) A Roman family travelling, riding the ancient cart called *carpentum*. (Cf. Saglio, p. 927.)

<sup>2</sup> The usage, later established by laws, of accepting a valid for citizenship the registration made by the local magistrates in the case of the *fundani*, was perhaps already in existence, and would have afforded relief in this matter. Still further relief was granted by the permission, which seems to have been given in certain cases, to appear by proxy (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.*, vi. 86); but all had not the means of doing this, and many believed that the surer way was to obey the law strictly, and present themselves in Rome within the sixty days. The designating of three prætors to receive the declarations proves that extraordinary measures were required to provide for the registration of the new citizens.



at home, also made their way thither; but whatever representatives of the middle class yet remained in Italy, hesitated. The roads were not safe, armed bands traversed the country in every direction, plundering, since they could no longer fight; besides this, in the Greek cities most of the inhabitants were disinclined to abandon their hereditary laws and adopt those of a city devoted only to war, and despising traffic.<sup>1</sup> Thus the yeoman remained upon his farm, and the trader of Naples, Tarentum, Puteoli, in his city. And so the designated time went by, and the praetor had registered but a small minority of the Italians, perhaps not over 80,000 men.<sup>2</sup>

But another disappointment awaited the new citizens at Rome. Instead of taking their places in the thirty-five tribes already

<sup>1</sup> The *jus civitatis* was to be formally adopted by the people obtaining it; the nation then became *fundus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8), and its inhabitants were *fundani*. But a man could not be both a citizen of Rome and of some other city; he must choose between them. (Cf. Corn. Nep., *Att.*, 3.) Cicero says this in so many words: *Ex nostro iure duarum civitatum nemo esse possit, tum amittitur haec civitas . . . cum is . . . receptus est . . . in aliam civitatem.* (*Pro Caelina*, 34; Cf. *pro Balbo*, 13.)

<sup>2</sup> It is generally held that all Italy gained at that time the right of citizenship. But Cicero, in his oration *pro Balbo*, speaks of certain States only who shared the right; he mentions a concession of citizenship made by Crassus to an inhabitant of *Alatrium*, also speaks of the *Papian* law which again, in the year 66, expelled the *peregrini*. The census, too, which before the war represented the number of citizens as 394,336, gives the number in the year 86 as only 463,000. It is true that Velleius Paterculus says (ii. 15) this war cost the Italians 300,000 men, and the Romans as many more; that is to say, in a period of two years more than double the number killed during the second Punic war; but the exaggeration of this statement has already been shown. The Italian losses of this war do not account for the smallness of the increase in the Roman census. But one explanation is possible, which is that all Italy did not receive at this time the citizenship. Many cities of the allies hesitated, or refused to accept it, as three Hernican towns had done in 306. (Livy, ix. 43.) Brundisium did not have it; for Sylla, on his return from Asia, *ἔδωκεν ἀτίλειαν*. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 70.) We are told that Cinna, at the approach of Sylla, asked help from all the cities of Italy, from those especially who had lately received the citizenship. (App., *Bell. civ.* i. 76.) His army was therefore divided, not into legions but into cohorts, because it contained many more allies than citizens; and Plutarch says (*Mar.*, 35): "The Italians having been subdued, there was further talk of conceding to them the right of citizenship. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 17) says: *Victis adflictisque . . . quam integri universis civitatem dare maluerunt*. We shall see later that Sulpicius sells it to any who will buy, and Carbo, in 84, gave it as a reward. (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiv.) Livy's Epitome expressly says of the Marsians, Vestini and Pelignians: *in deditionem accepti*, that is to say, reduced to the condition of subjects; of the Hirpini, he says *domiti*; while the Lucanians under Lamponius were still in arms. After these explanations it will be understood how erroneous must be the estimates founded on the assumption that the figures given by the census at Rome can be used to determine exactly the population of the entire peninsula. Niebuhr says (vol. i. p. 387) in his lectures published in London: "It is a very common but erroneous opinion that the *lex Julia* conferred the privilege of Roman citizens upon the Italians, who in fact never acquired those privileges by any one law, but gained them successively, one by one."

existing, there were created for them eight or ten<sup>1</sup> new tribes, according to the former custom, and these new tribes voted last in the comitia, so that the Roman people retained its position of superior importance. Politically, therefore, the Italians derived but an illusory advantage from this concession; in respect to civil rights, the reign of law being at an end, this new title gave them neither guarantees against oppression nor any more security in their daily lives; their admission to citizenship was, however, one of the greatest events in the history of the Republic, and an immense gain in the matter of equality. Instead of being herself the State, Rome was soon to be only the capital; and furthermore, if certain of the Italians became Quirites, the people of the provinces might become so; already treaties permitted it to Sardinians, Spaniards and Africans; The Germans and the Japodes, people yet too barbarous, are the only ones formally excluded.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the Italians who gathered in their new capital, augmented its noise and crowd and disorder. We have referred to the character of the new elements added to the population of Rome: a few rich men who at once united with the aristocracy, like Asinius Pollio, and all the beggars in Italy, hastening to profit by the gratuitous distributions of food, and to sell their new votes to the highest bidder. Doubtless this war did not pass over Roman society without deeply agitating it: in the lower strata, there was a drawing together of all the oppressed; in the higher, it had been made clear to the nobles that they could no longer monopolize the privileges of citizenship. These two facts were sure to have their results; but, for the moment, the Italian had gained only an empty title, and Rome, only recruits for her mobs, and for the approaching civil war.

<sup>1</sup> Velleius Paterculus (ii. 20) says eight; Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 49) ten. After Sylla, we find only the thirty-five tribes again. (Cf. Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 7; *Verr.*, i. 5; *Philipp.*, vi.) This suppression was doubtless effected by Cinna, distributing the new citizens among the thirty-five. Italy had at that time but three kinds of cities remaining: *municipia*, colonies and *praefecturae*. (Cic., *pro Sextio*, 14, 32; in *Pison.*, 22, 51; *Philipp.* iv. 3, 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *pro Balbo*, 14 and 18. The Insubrii, Helvetii, and some barbarians of Gaul were also excluded. At the same time that this concession was made to the allies, the tribune Plautius Silvanus (89) obtained the passage of a decree of the popular assembly taking away from the tribunals of the knights the decision in cases of high treason (see p. 585).

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### RIVALRY OF MARIUS AND SYLLA.

#### I.—THE DISPUTE FOR THE COMMAND IN THE WAR AGAINST

##### MITHRIDATES.

SYLLA had gained greatly in importance since the day when, as Marius's quaestor, he had put an end to the Numidian war. With the superstition common to most great men, who believe in their luck—that is to say in their genius—he had devoutly cherished the memory of this first favour of the gods, and all his life he had no other seal than that representing Bocchus delivering up to him Jugurtha.<sup>1</sup> Marius at first took no offence; in the Cimbrian war he accepted Sylla again as his lieutenant without jealousy, and saw him obtain a victory over the Tectosagi. It was not until the year 102, when Marius had the aid of Saturninus and resorted to low popular intrigues to obtain the consulship for the fourth time, that his lieutenant, at last remembering that he himself was the scion of an illustrious patrician house, refused any longer to serve an upstart who was seeking to make of the consulship a royal position, without so much as thanking the nobles for their patience. Sylla now offered his talents and activity to Catulus, and contributed largely to the success at Vercellæ (101). For seven years, however, he remained without further advancement, forgetting, though no longer young, his ambition in his pursuit of pleasure. At the age of forty-four, he had failed in an attempt to obtain the prætorship, and had decided to buy it; after which, in order to become popular for the future, he had given magnificent public games,

<sup>1</sup> *Traditione Jugurthæ semper signavit.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4). See p. 565.)

among others a lion-hunt in the circus, with a hundred lions given by Bocchus (93).

The following year, being pro-prætor in Cilicia, he did two things which drew upon him the eyes of the Eastern world, and the applause of the Roman people. With a small army he re-established in Cappadocia Ariobarzanes I., whom Mithridates had driven out, and he received an envoy, whom Arsaces IX., king of the Parthians (called "the Great" by reason of his conquests), had sent to offer his friendship and ask that of Rome, with such haughtiness, that the Parthian, it was said, returned to tell his master that there could be no doubt the Romans were a most powerful nation. This time Marius was irritated; he, too, had been in Asia, but had traversed the Asiatic countries almost unnoticed, and now his former quaestor was returning thence with great fame. Then the incident of Bocchus' votive offerings (p. 565) occurred which changed this silent displeasure into violent enmity, when both generals were compelled to set off in all haste for the Marsian war. Circumstances constantly bringing them together envenomed their hatred. We have spoken of the inefficient conduct of the one, and of the other's brilliant services. All the honour of the war redounded to Sylla, and it was not yet ended—Nola, the Samnites and the Lucanians yet resisting—when the general received the reward of his zeal and of his successes. The people with unanimity gave him the consulship and with it the command of the army against Mithridates (88).



Arsaces IX.<sup>1</sup>

But there was another man who also desired this lucrative command, and, in the hope of obtaining it, disgraced his grey hairs and his past reputation. Marius was at this time sixty-eight years of age, he had recently built himself a house near the Forum, and every day he might be seen in the Campus Martius, sharing in the exercises of the Roman youth, riding and throwing the javelin, to show that age had not impaired his physical powers, and that the illness of which he had complained during the late war, had completely disappeared. But the people

<sup>1</sup> Head of Arsaces IX., from a tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.

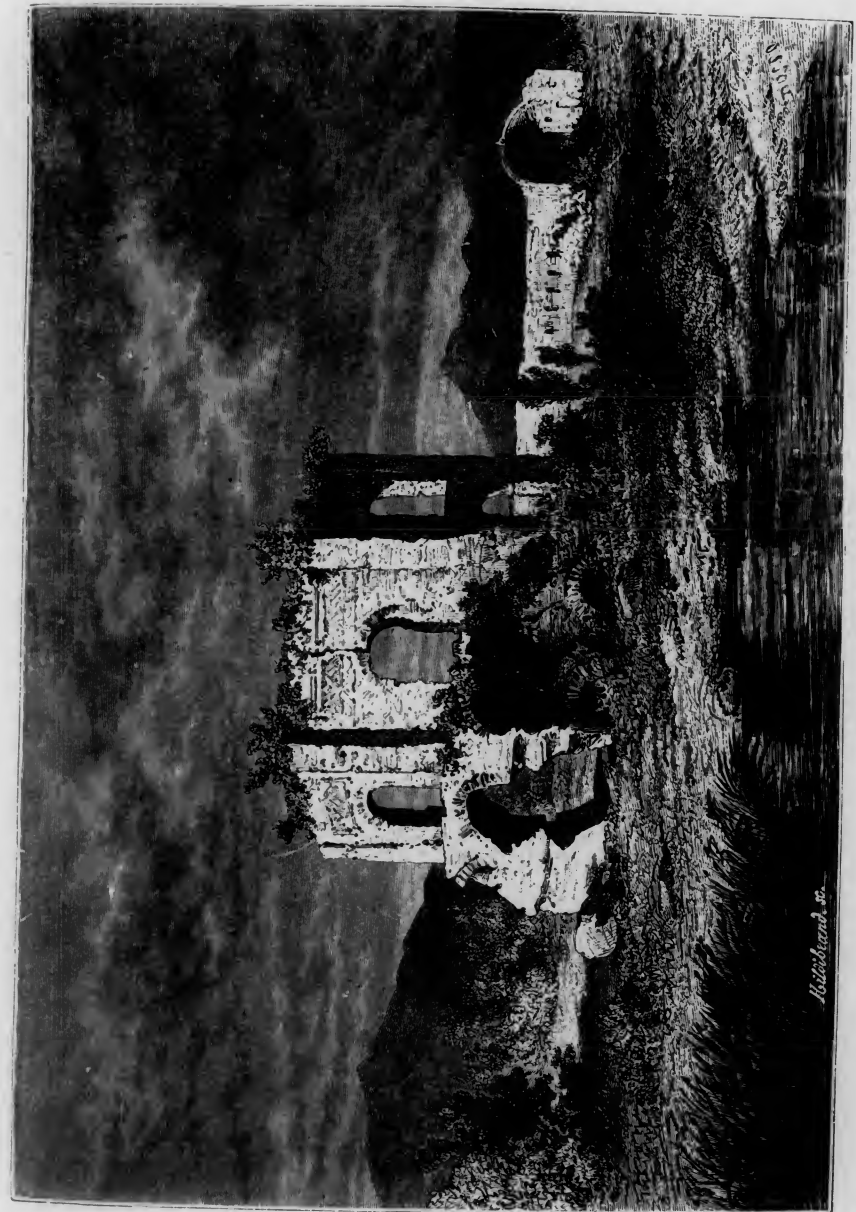
looked with contemptuous pity upon this senile ambition; he was advised to return to his elegant villa on the promontory of Misenum, or to the waters of Baïæ; <sup>1</sup> upon this he resorted to other measures.

The new citizens had quickly comprehended the intentions of the senate; their eight votes left them always in the minority, and their nobles complained of being without influence, their poor, of finding buyers for a worthless vote. Marius conceived the idea of employing their discontent to serve his own designs. Between himself and them an alliance was easy, their friendly relations being of early date; he made them an offer to repair the senate's injustice and disperse them among the thirty-five tribes. As he had done thirteen years before, he made use of a tribune, Sulpicius, as the requisite lever.

Sulpicius had distinguished himself in the Marsian war, where he had served as legate under Pompeius Strabo, and in the judgment of Cicero, who had heard him, he and Cotta were the most eminent orators of his time. "Of all whom I have known," says Cicero, "he was the most pathetic, and so to speak, the most tragic. His voice was powerful and sweet; his gestures elegant and graceful, but with the grace suited to the Forum, not that which is requisite for the theatre." <sup>2</sup> The Sulpician *gens*, one of the noblest in Rome, had doubtless, like many patrician races, a plebeian branch to which our tribune belonged, for without it he could not (except by adoption, which is not mentioned) attain to this office which enabled him to agitate the entire Republic. He obtained his election with the support of the nobles whose interests he had served up to that time (88); and one of the consuls of that year, Pompeius Rufus, was his intimate friend. He at first supported the laws, by opposing C. Julius Cæsar's attempt to obtain the consulship before he had served as prætor, and he served the animosities of the financial aristocracy by opposing the proposition to recall those who, under the *Varian* law, had been condemned to exile. Lastly he demanded that any senator in debt to the amount of 2,000 denarii, should forthwith be excluded from the curia.

<sup>1</sup> From the *Voyage pittoresque à Naples et en Sicile*, Paris, 1782, vol. i., 2nd part, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Brutus, 55.



Temple of Diana at Baïæ.

Nicholas P.



This care for the senatorial dignity, and this respect for the laws appeared meritorious, in an age when men no longer respected anything. The year before, a sad instance had been seen of this contempt for gods and men. The Social war had overthrown the fortunes of many, and the disturbances in Asia caused by the invasion of Mithridates had made great havoc in the financial world. Insolvent debtors clamoured for the abolishment of debts, and the prætor Asellio directed the judges to grant them the benefit of the old laws against usury, laws useful perhaps in a small agricultural town, but most objectionable for an empire. The creditors complained loudly, and, a tribune placing himself at their head, they set upon the prætor while he was offering in full costume a sacrifice before the temple of concord, and killed him. Some of the assassins pursued him into the temple of Vesta, where no man was permitted to enter.<sup>2</sup> In vain did the senate promise a reward to anyone who should denounce this murder and double sacrilege.

The tribunes Plautius and Papirius profited by the excitement, once more to reorganize the tribunals. A plebiscitum deprived the equestrian order of their exclusive right to fill the judicial offices, decreeing that every year

Concord.<sup>1</sup>Vesta and her Temple.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino. The head of the goddess has been replaced by that of the younger Faustina, an irreverent custom, but one much practised during the empire. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpture*, pl., 760, No. 1858.)

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Veiled head of Vesta. C. CASSIUS VEST. The reverse, a round temple, surmounted by a statue of Vesta; within, a curule chair; at the left, an urn; at the right, a tablet, with the letters A and C (*absolve* and *condemno*). Silver coin of the Cassian family.

the people should appoint the members of the *questiones perpetuae*, each of the thirty-five tribes electing fifteen judges, to be chosen from the three orders, senatorial, equestrian, and simple citizens. It was a bad measure, for the judges were chosen by those amenable to them, but still preferable to giving the judicial offices to a single order, which made that order the master of the State. Varius, the agent of the knights' revenges, being cited before the new judges, was condemned by the operation of his own law.

Meanwhile Sulpicius, who had at first appeared as the friend of the nobles, had become the tool of Marius. No other cause than debt can be assigned for his sudden change. Pursued by his creditors Sulpicius saw no way to escape from them when his term of office should have expired. Marius displayed the treasures of Mithridates before the tribune's eyes; the latter yielded to the temptation; the agreement was concluded, and Sulpicius began to play the part of Saturninus, whom from that time forward he blamed for his slowness and timidity. He surrounded himself with a guard of 600 young men, also ruined by debts and profligacy, whom he called his anti-senate,<sup>1</sup> and was followed moreover by a crowd of Italians who wore concealed weapons; many murders spread terror through the city. To render himself master of the comitia, he proposed the recall of all the partisans of the Italian cause who had been banished by the operation of the *Varian* law, and the redistribution among the thirty-five tribes of the newly made citizens and the freedmen.<sup>2</sup> The consuls Sylla and Pompeius Rufus at once proclaimed the *justitium*, or cessation of all public business. But while they were haranguing the people, Sulpicius presented himself in the Forum and demanded the withdrawal of this proclamation. The consuls refusing, Sulpicius let loose his band; Pompeius fled, after having seen the murder of his son, and Sylla only escaped by taking refuge in the house of Marius. There had as yet been no open rupture between the two, and Marius protected him. But the latter was sufficiently involved in the approaching civil war for men to be surprised that he shrank from one additional crime. As usual, he had not courage to go through with his policy. Presently,

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Brut.*, 89; *Plut.*, *Mar.* 35; *Sylla*, 8; *Vell. Pat.*, ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Livy. Epit.*, lxxvii.; *Appian, Bell. civ.*, i. 55; *Cic., ad Herenn.*, ii. 28.

this hesitation disappeared. Sylla, however, refuses him credit for this moment of generosity; for in his *Memoirs* he told how he was seized by the sicarii of the tribune, led to the house of Marius and with a poniard at his throat, forced to withdraw the proclamation.

Sulpicius remaining master in the Forum, passed whatever laws he pleased, and while waiting for the treasures of the king of Pontus, he sold the right of citizenship for ready money.<sup>1</sup> He also seems to have abolished, in the interest of the knights, the *Plautian* law concerning the judiciary, in order to gain them over to his party;<sup>2</sup> at all events they were destined to profit by the proscriptions of Marius, so much so, indeed, as to acquire the appellation of "cut-purses."<sup>3</sup> Appointed by the comitia to take the command against Mithridates, Marius sent two tribunes to the six legions encamped before Nola to assume the authority in his name, but Sylla had been before him. The soldiers, not very eager to make an Asiatic war under a general who pushed discipline to the extreme of cruelty, and pillaged for himself only, stoned the envoys of Marius, and after this decisive conduct Sylla had little difficulty in bringing them back with him to Rome. The officers, however, felt scruples of conscience, and all abandoned him with the exception of one quaestor. Luckily his colleague Pompeius came to join him, and, with the authority of the consulship, to give an aspect of legality to his proceedings.<sup>4</sup> It was the first army for more than two centuries and a half that had marched with standards upon Rome, but, being led by the two consuls, it had the air of hastening to the defence of the laws rather than to attack the country. We note, however, that this dangerous example was set by the chiefs of the aristocratic party.



Sylla's Dream.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If this sarcasm of Plutarch (*Sylla*, 8) is true, Sulpicius could not have found many purchasers for the *jus civitatis*, since earlier laws had given this right to all those Italians who had been able to become citizens.

<sup>2</sup> M. Belot, in his learned *Histoire des chevaliers romains* (vol. ii., p. 263), expresses his belief that the *Plautian* law was not abolished until the year 80, by Sylla.

<sup>3</sup> *Multas pecunias abstulerant ex quo sacularii appellati.* (*Ascon., ad. Cic., Tog. Cand.*, p. 90, Orelli.)

<sup>4</sup> Sylla lying on the grass; on one side a Victory holding a palm, on the other Diana. Reverse of a silver coin of the *Æmilian* family.

<sup>5</sup> He himself esteemed this decision on the part of Pompeius as one of the most fortunate events that had ever occurred to him.

Plutarch, who believes in dreams, relates that Sylla began in this enterprise with a certainty of success, because he had seen in a dream a goddess, either Selene, Minerva, or Enyo, the Cappadocian divinity, putting into his hand a thunderbolt with which to smite his enemies. Sylla, very sceptical, though quite

as superstitious withal as Plutarch himself, had no need of these supernatural encouragements. As soon as he decided to draw the sword against those who had but a plebiscitum on their side, his success was certain.

The senate, ruled by Sulpicius, sent two prætors to meet Sylla and forbid him to advance, but they narrowly escaped being torn in pieces. Other deputies came to ask his conditions; these he gave, promising to come no further, and in the presence of the envoys he caused a camp to be marked out. But as soon as they had gone, he despatched a force to



The Venus of the Esquiline.<sup>1</sup>

seize the Colline and Esquiline gates, while a legion, executing a flank movement around the city, established themselves on the north, at the end of the *pons Sublicius*, in order that the attack might be

<sup>1</sup> Statue discovered in 1874 upon the Esquiline, on the site of the gardens of Ælius Lamia (*Gazette archéol.*, 1877, pl. 23), a work probably of Roman origin, whose heavy forms are widely different from the divine elegance of Praxiteles and his school.

made from both sides simultaneously. At daylight he entered the sacred enclosure of the Roman walls, within which law or liberty existed no longer, but whither no Roman soldiery had ever before penetrated in arms for a fray. Marius had vainly endeavoured to collect an army. Even the slaves, whom he promised to enfranchise, came to him in but small numbers.<sup>1</sup> A very unequal conflict took place near the city walls; the Marian party threw down tiles from the house-tops, and the partisans of Sylla retaliated with lighted arrows, which set fire to the buildings in many places. The latter quickly drove back their adversaries all along the Subura, as far as the temple of Tellus, at the foot of the Esquiline hill; and a legion, which had entered by the *Porta Trigemina*,<sup>2</sup> now appearing in the rear, the terrified crowd rushed into the side streets and fled, their leaders having already disappeared. In the evening, camp fires were lighted in the Forum. It was a doubly sacrilegious conflict, for at that moment Mithridates in Asia was massacring 80,000 Romans whom the civil war gave up defenceless into his hands.

Sylla caused his troops to observe the severest discipline, and used with moderation this easy victory. Twelve persons only were proscribed, without legal proceedings, it is true, and without the right of appeal. This was the first of these fatal lists which were to take the place of justice, and to make of Rome during the next half century a bloodier arena than that of her amphitheatres. Sulpicius, betrayed by one of his slaves, was captured in the marshes of Laurentum and killed. Sylla freed the slave as a reward for obeying the edict, but ordered him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock for having betrayed his master. The head of Sulpicius was placed above the rostra, the first of those hideous trophies with which all parties in turn disgraced the theatre of peaceful contests in early Rome. Marius succeeded in making his escape; Sylla had set a price upon his head notwithstanding the opposition of Quintus Scævola, the hereditary enemy of all violence. "You may dispose of my life," said the old man; "at my age the sacrifice is light, but never believe that your power

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*Mar.*, 35) says that only three came to him.

<sup>2</sup> It seems probable, at least, that this was the legion posted at the *pons Sublicius*, which entered by the nearest gate, *porta Trigemina*, and attacked the Marians in the rear.



or your soldiers will make me vote for the death of a man who once saved the Republic."<sup>1</sup> On the following day Sylla called together the popular assembly, where at this moment he was sure of finding no opposition. After explaining that he had been compelled by factions to have recourse to arms, he caused the abolition of the laws of Sulpicius, on pretence that they had been passed in spite of religious prohibitions, and in violation of the Hortensian law, he also secured the passage of certain laws in the interests of debtors, the tenor of which we do not now understand.<sup>2</sup> Thus the violence of Marius had forced Sylla to unite himself with the aristocratic faction; the one stooped to the Italians and to the slaves in the interests of his own ambition; the other, to make an end of the seditions of the tribunes, went over to the nobles, and was already meditating the establishment of an oligarchy upon the ruins of all popular liberty. However, when the time of the consular elections arrived Sylla left full liberty to the voters. Two candidates whom he presented, his nephew Nonius and Ser. Sulpicius, were defeated; Cn. Octavius, a partisan of the senate, was elected, and then a friend of Marius, L. Cinna, whom Sylla had endeavoured to secure before the election by a solemn oath of fidelity to himself. The oath was taken in the Capitol, Cinna holding in his hand a stone, and declaring in the presence of a numerous crowd, "If I keep not for Sylla the friendship I promise, I consent to be thrown out from the city as now I throw this stone out of my hand." A strange guarantee in an epoch like this, an oath taken upon the altars of the gods! Sylla soon learned what it was worth; as soon as his term of office had expired the new consul had him accused by a tribune.

That day doubtless Sylla repented his moderation, and he made up his mind concerning his future reforms; but he was not yet in a position to speak and act as a master; it was needful for him to test the devotion of his troops, and to strengthen himself by that military renown which has so often slain liberty. Leaving, therefore, at Rome the factious consul and the accusing tribune, he departed to join his army and boldly embarked for Greece,<sup>3</sup> feeling certain that, with his victorious legions and the

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Patere., ii. 19; Vell. Max., III. viii. 5.

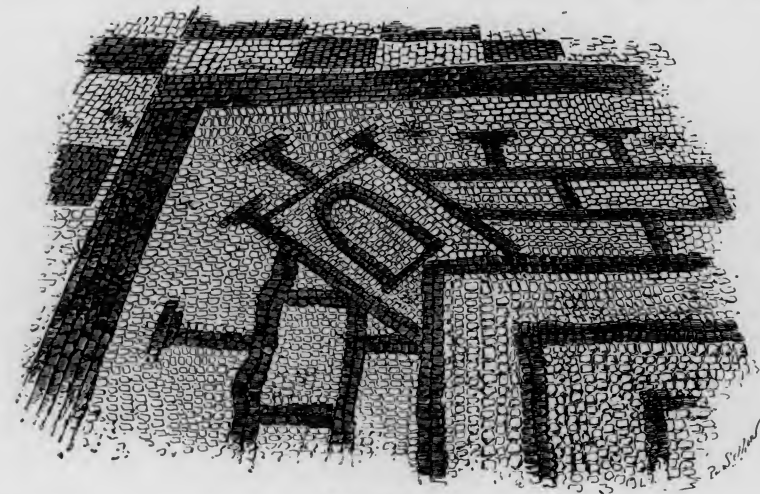
<sup>2</sup> Festus, s.v. *Unciaria lex*.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 10; Cicero, *Brut.*, 43.

spoils of Asiatic victory, he could at any time re-open his road to Rome (Spring of 87).

## II.—FLIGHT AND RETURN OF MARIUS; PROSCRIPTIONS; HIS SEVENTH CONSULSHIP (87—6).

Marius fled from his fortunate rival. We may here follow the graphic narrative of Plutarch. "Those that were with him were dispersed as soon as he had escaped out of the city, and



Mosaic at Ostia.<sup>1</sup>

when night came on he hastened to a country house of his, and sent his son to provide necessities; he went himself to Ostia where his friends had prepared a ship, and hence, not staying for his son, he took with him his son-in-law, Granius, and weighed anchor.

"Young Marius made his preparations, and, the day breaking, was almost discovered by a party of horse; but a farm steward, foreseeing their approach, hid Marius in a cart full of beans, then yoking his team and driving towards the city, passed through those that were in search of him. Thus young Marius escaped to a ship that was bound for Africa. His father, having put

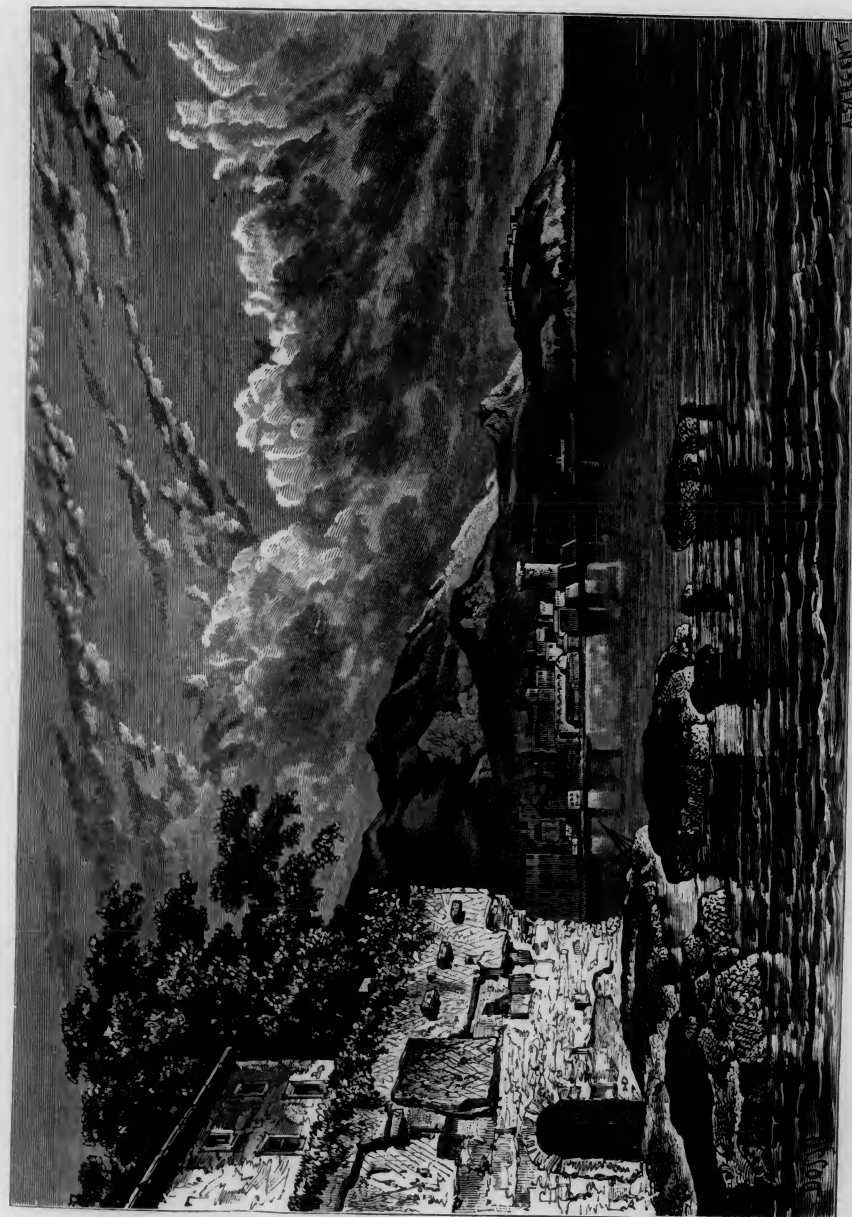
<sup>1</sup> Mosaic of the *thermae* at Ostia representing the walls and gate of a city.

to sea, passed along the coast of Italy, in no small apprehension of one Geminus, a great man at Terracina, and his enemy; and therefore bade the seamen hold off from that place. They were indeed willing to gratify him, but the wind now blowing in from the sea, they were afraid the ship would not weather out the storm. With difficulty they rounded the promontory of Caieta (*Gaëta*);<sup>1</sup> and Marius being indisposed and sea-sick, as, moreover, they were scant of food, they made for land, and reached the shore near Circii.

"The storm now increasing they left their ship and wandered up and down without any certain purpose. At length, though late, they lighted upon a few poor shepherds who had nothing to relieve them; but knowing Marius, advised him to depart as soon as might be, for they had seen a party of horse that were gone in search of him. Finding himself in a great strait, especially because those that attended him were not able to go further, being spent with their long fasting, for the present he turned aside out of the road, and hid himself in a thick wood, where he passed the night in great wretchedness. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, he travelled by the sea-side, encouraging his companions not to fall away from him before the fulfilment of his final hopes, for which, in reliance on some old predictions, he professed to be sustaining himself; for it is certain Marius, in his exile and greatest extremities, would often say that he should attain a seventh consulship.

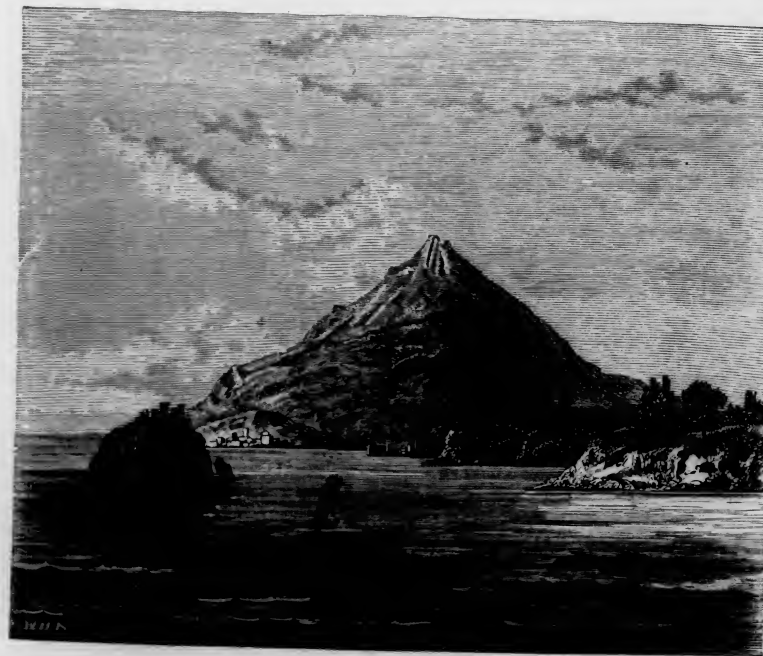
"When Marius and his company were now about twenty furlongs distant from Minturnæ, they espied a troop of horse making up towards them with all speed, and by chance, at the same time, two ships under sail. Accordingly they ran, every one, with what speed and strength they could to the sea, and plunging into it, swam to the ships. Those that were with Granius, reaching one of them, passed over to an island opposite called Ænaria (*Ischia*). Marius himself, who was heavy and unwieldy, was with great pains and difficulty kept above the water by two servants, and put into the other ship. The soldiers were by this time come to the sea-side, and thence called out to the seamen

<sup>1</sup> The illustration representing Gaëta is from an engraving of the *Æneid*, of the Duchess of Devonshire, 1819; vol. ii. pl. 1.



Gaëta.

to put to shore, or else to throw out Marius and then they might go whither they would. Marius besought them with tears to the contrary, and the masters of the ship, inclining first to one, then to the other side, resolved at length to answer the soldiers that they would not give up Marius. As soon as these had ridden off in a rage, the seamen again changing their resolution, came to land, and casting anchor at the mouth of the river Liris, where



Island of Aenaria (*Ischia*).

it overflows and makes a marsh, advised him to land, refresh himself on shore, and take some care of his discomposed body till the wind came fairer; which, said they, will happen at such an hour, when the wind from the sea will calm, and that from the marshes rise. Marius following their advice, did so, and when the seamen had set him on shore, he laid him down in an adjacent field. They, as soon as they had got into the ship, weighed anchor and departed, as thinking it neither honourable to deliver Marius into the hands of those that sought him, nor safe to protect him.



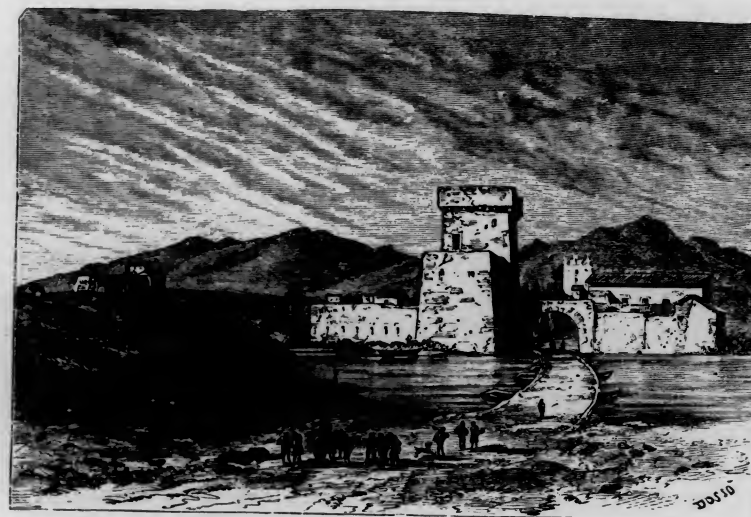
"He, thus deserted by all, lay a good while silently on the shore; at length, collecting himself, he advanced with pain and difficulty, without any path, till, wading through deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came upon the hut of an old man that worked in the fens, and falling at his feet besought him to assist and preserve one who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns beyond his expectation. The poor man, whether he had formerly known him, or was then

Terracina.<sup>1</sup>

moved with his superior aspect, told him that if he wanted only rest, his cottage would be convenient, but if he were flying from anybody's search, he would hide him in a more retired place. Marius desiring him to do so, he carried him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a hollow place by the river side, where he laid upon him a great many reeds and other things that were light and would cover but not oppress him.

<sup>1</sup> Pelasgic remains of a bridge. (Dodwell, *Pelasgic Remains*, pl. 109.)

But within a very short time he was disturbed with a noise and tumult from the cottage, for Geminus had sent several from Terracina in pursuit of him; some of whom happening to come that way frightened and threatened the old man for having entertained and hid an enemy of the Romans. Whereupon Marius arising and stripping himself, plunged into a puddle full of thick muddy water; and even there he could not escape their search, but was pulled out covered with mire and carried away naked

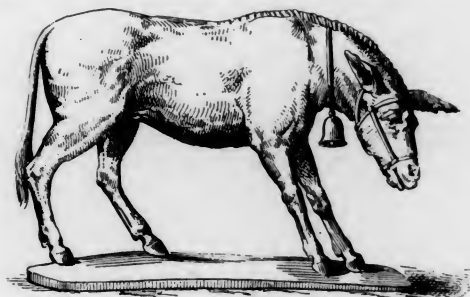
Minturnæ.<sup>1</sup>

to Minturnæ and delivered to the magistrates. For there had been orders sent through all the towns to make public search for Marius, and if they found him, to kill him; however, the magistrates thought convenient to consider a little better of it first, and sent him prisoner to the house of one Fannia.

"This woman was supposed not very well affected towards him upon an old account. But Fannia did not then behave like one that had been injured, but as soon as she saw Marius, remembered nothing less than old affronts, took care of him according to her ability, and comforted him. He made her his returns and told her that he did not despair, for he had met

<sup>1</sup> Chenavard, pl. vi.

with a lucky omen which was thus: when he was brought to Fannia's house, as soon as the gate was opened, an ass came running out to drink at a spring hard by, and gave a bold and encouraging look, first stood still before him, then brayed aloud and pranced by him. From which Marius drew his conclusion

Bronze Ass.<sup>1</sup>

and said that the fates designed his safety rather by sea than land, because the ass neglected his dry fodder and turned from it to the water. Having told Fannia this story, he bade the chamber door to be shut, and went to rest.

"Meanwhile the magistrates and councillors of Minturnæ consulted together and determined not to delay any longer, but immediately to kill Marius, and when none of their citizens durst undertake the business, a certain soldier, a Gallic or Cimbrian horseman (the story is told both ways) went in to him with his sword drawn.<sup>2</sup> The room itself was not very light, that part especially where he then lay was dark, whence Marius' eyes, they say, seemed to the fellow to dart out flames at him, and a loud voice to say out of the dark: 'Fellow, darest thou kill Caius Marius?' The barbarian hereupon immediately fled, and leaving his sword in the place, rushed out of doors, crying out this: 'I cannot kill Caius Marius.' At which they were all at first astonished, and presently began to feel pity and remorse and anger at themselves for making so unjust and ungrateful a decree against one who had preserved Italy, and whom it was bad enough not to assist. 'Let him go,' said they, 'where he please to banishment, and find his fate somewhere else; we only entreat pardon of the gods for thrusting Marius distressed and deserted out of our city.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From an antique figurine.

<sup>2</sup> This was one of the *servi publici* of the city.

<sup>3</sup> We do not learn that Sylla punished this conduct of the magistrates of Minturnæ. They sheltered themselves behind the story of the Cimbrian, very likely a fiction invented by them to excuse their conduct. They had by this means the appearance of having obeyed the will of

"Impelled by thoughts of this kind, they went in a body into the room and taking him amongst them, conducted him towards the sea-side; on his way to which, though every one was very officious to him, and all made what haste they could, yet a considerable time was likely to be lost. And one Belæus (who afterwards had a picture of these things drawn and put it in a temple at the place of embarkation) having by this time provided him with a ship, Marius went on board and hoisting sail, was by fortune thrown upon the island Ænaria, when meeting with Granius and his other friends, he sailed with them for Africa.<sup>1</sup> But water failing them in the way, they were forced to put in near Eryx in Sicily, where was a Roman quæstor on the watch who all but captured Marius himself, and did kill sixteen of his retinue

Sailing vessel.<sup>1</sup>

that went to fetch water. Marius, with all expedition loosing thence, crossed the sea to the island of Meninx, where he first heard the news of his son's escape with Cethegus, and of his going to implore the assistance of Hiempsal, king of Numidia.

"With this news, being somewhat comforted, he ventured to pass from that isle towards Carthage. But he was scarce got ashore with a small retinue, when an officer met him and said: 'Sextilius the governor forbids you, Marius, to set foot in Africa; if you do, he says he will put the decree of the senate in execution and treat you as an enemy to the Romans.' When Marius heard this he wanted words to express his grief and resentment, and for a good while held his peace looking severely upon the messenger. At last Marius answered him with a deep sigh: 'Go tell him that you have seen Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage.'

the gods, shown by the "Panic terror" which had fallen upon the barbarian. Probably they were glad not to destroy a man who was so conspicuously the friend of the Italians.

<sup>1</sup> From Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

"In the interim, Hiempsal, king of Numidia, dubious of what he should determine to do, treated young Marius and those that were with him very honourably; but when they had a mind to depart, he still had some pretence or other to detain them, and it was manifest he made these delays upon no good design. However the hard fortune which attended young Marius, who was of a comely aspect, touched one of the king's concubines, and she finding means to convey them away, he escaped with his friends, and fled to his father. As they were going by the sea-side, they saw two scorpions fighting which Marius took for an ill omen, whereupon they immediately went on board a little fisher-boat, and made towards Cercinas, an island not far distant from the continent. They had scarce put off from shore when they espied some horse sent after them by the king with all speed making towards that very place from which they were just retired. And Marius thus escaped a danger, it might be said as great as any he ever incurred."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the aspect of affairs in Italy was changing. The absence of Sylla and the incapacity of Octavius had encouraged Cinna to bring forward again the schemes of Sulpicius. The new citizens gathered about him, and the rich men of the party went so far as to offer him 300 talents.<sup>2</sup> Whether he gave or sold to them his support, is of little consequence; in return for his protection they were to deliver to him the comitia; this was the real bargain. Supported by several tribunes, Cinna proposed to distribute the new citizens among the thirty-five tribes, and with the idea that if he were to cause the recall of Marius the latter might feel bound to be useful to him, he proposed a recall of exiles. On the voting day a majority of the tribunes opposed these measures, and a sanguinary conflict broke out in the Forum between the old citizens and the new, the former under the command of Octavius, the latter of Cinna. The latter, driven from the place, strove to excite the slaves in the city to insurrection. We have already seen Caius Gracchus, and later the friends or leaders of the Italians, resort to this measure. But whether Italians, slaves, or proletarii, in all cases they formed but an untrained and

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Mar.*, 35-40.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *de Div.*, i. 2; *de Nat. deor.*, ii. 5; *Philipp.*, xiv. 8; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 64, i. 65.

disorderly band. The old citizens easily remained masters of Rome, and the senate, dealing with a consul as the elder Gracchus had once dealt with a tribune, by decree declared Cinna deprived of his office, and appointed in his place Corn. Merula, the flamen of Jupiter. If we may believe Appian, Cinna was even deprived of his title of citizen.<sup>1</sup> This time 10,000 men had perished. There was much illegal action and much bloodshed; but for more than half a century Rome was to see nothing else.

The Social war was not yet at an end, although after Sylla's victories it had no longer any importance. The Samnites and Lucanians had not yet made their submission; many cities in Campania still held out, and Appius Claudius was blockading Nola, which had a Samnite garrison.



Coin of Cinna.<sup>2</sup>

Cinna presented himself to the Italians as a victim of his devotion to their cause, and received from them both men and money; he then drew away the troops blockading Nola, accusing the senate of having violated in his person both the rights of the consulship and those of the citizens who had elected him.<sup>3</sup> Numerous levies made throughout Italy<sup>4</sup> increased his army, and the Social war seemed about to recommence. When Marius heard this news he set out in all haste, and soon landed at Telamon in Etruria with about 1,000 Moorish and Numidian horse and foot, and 6,000 slaves, whom he attracted by the promise of liberty. Sertorius counselled Cinna not to

<sup>1</sup> Cicero soon after this pleaded that it is not lawful to withdraw from any man the *jus civitatis*; but in a time when law was perpetually violated, it is not impossible that the senate should pass such a decree against Cinna; I do not, however, believe it. The Conscript Fathers had not even the right to degrade a magistrate. In the affair of Catiline they decided that Lentulus should abdicate the praetorship, *ut P. Lentulus, quum se praetura abdicasset, tum in custodiam traderetur*. But Cicero very carefully explained to the people that Lentulus, before being led to prison, had resigned his office, *magistratu se abdicavit*. (iii. *Catil.*, 6.) Caesar also was suspended from office, not displaced. (Suet., *Ces.*, 16.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of Janus; on the reverse, the prow of a ship; a denarius, X, and the legend, CINNA, ROMA.

<sup>3</sup> See in Appian (i. 65) his discourse and his base flatteries of the soldiery.

<sup>4</sup> Velleius Paterculus (ii. 20) exaggerates, as usual, these levies, representing the whole number as thirty legions. Appian (i. 66) says only: *χρήματά τε καὶ στρατιὴν συνετέλουν*.



associate himself with this ambitious and vindictive old man. But Marius appeared so humble that Cinna believed in his disinterestedness, and gave him the title of proconsul with the insignia. Wearing an old toga, with unshaven beard and eyes fixed upon the ground, Marius seemed still weighed down with the sentence of proscription. But as soon as he saw himself among the soldiers all his old activity revived. Four armies, under Marius, Cinna, Sertorius, and Carbo marched upon Rome; the lines of supply were cut, Ostia seized, and cargoes prevented from going up the river, so that the city was threatened with famine. Octavius and Merula made useless preparations for defence, widening the moat, closing the gaps in the walls and covering them with machines, but refusing, although greatly urged, to arm the slaves, being unwilling themselves to do, they said, what they blamed in their adversaries.

The senate had still two armies and two generals in Italy, Metellus Pius, opposing the Samnites in the south, and in the north Cn. Pompeius, who to keep the allies in check had retained his army since his consulship. Sylla had sent him a successor, the consul Pompeius Rufus, whom the soldiers massacred, at the instigation, perhaps, of the other Pompeius, who was called Strabo, or the Squinting.<sup>2</sup> When the civil war broke out this clever man found himself in much embarrassment; his antecedents and his preferences led him towards the senate, yet he feared that the Syllan party, if victorious, would call him to account for the consul's death, and besides, in these troublous times, when no one was sure of the morrow, it seemed to him better to have an army of his own, and to take no risk of losing it by engaging in any decisive action. Therefore he advanced slowly towards Rome, and was in sight of the Colline gate when Cinna and Sertorius attacked it;<sup>3</sup> there was fighting all day without decisive results, and a short time after this Strabo was killed by lightning (87). Metellus was recalled by the senate, who



Pompeius  
Rufus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Q. POM. RVFI RVFVS COS. Head of Pompeius Rufus.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 63; Val. Max., IX. ix. 2. Velleius Paterculus (ii. 21) draws a faithful portrait of this personage: *Ita se dubium mediumque partibus præstitit ut . . . huc atque illuc unde spes major potentie adfulsisset se exercitumque deflecteret.*

<sup>3</sup> Orosius, v. 19; Zonaras, x. 1. The *Epitome*, lxxix., of Livy places this affair later, and upon the Janiculum, which may have been a second engagement.

ordered him to make whatever terms the Samnites required; they exacted citizenship for themselves and their allies, and the restitution of the booty which had been taken from them, the release of the Samnite prisoners, and the extradition of deserters. Metellus refused, but Marius sent word to them that all should be granted, and they came over to his side. Meanwhile Metellus returned to Rome with his troops, but a military tribune opened a gate of the Janiculum to the Marians. Desertions began from the senatorial army, which was discouraged by the delays



Mouth of the Tiber.<sup>1</sup>

of Octavius and his efforts to conduct a civil war in strict accordance with legal forms, and was also decimated by a contagious disorder which carried off more than 20,000 soldiers. The slaves, too, were constantly flocking to the camp of Marius,<sup>2</sup> and at last Metellus, judging the cause lost, fled to Africa, and the senate prepared to negotiate. Cinna was to be recognized as consul on condition that no blood should be shed.<sup>3</sup> Cinna refused

<sup>1</sup> The Devonshire *Virgil*, vol. ii. pl. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxx.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 69.

<sup>3</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 69. The fragmentary *Annales* of Granius Licinianus, which have recently been discovered, add a few details, but unimportant.

to take an oath to this effect, but added that for his own part he would never knowingly cause any man's death, and he even advised Octavius to go away. But the deputies saw at his side the stern and scowling Marius, and they returned terrified into the city.

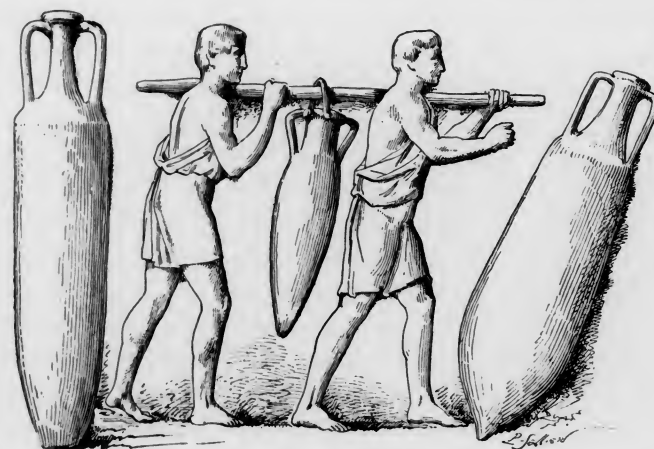
Cinna and Marius soon were at the gates. "A law drove me out," Marius said, "and only a law can permit me to return." The comitia were accordingly summoned, but only three or four tribes had voted when Marius, throwing off the mask, entered, surrounded by the slaves whom he had enfranchised, and a massacre at once commenced. Octavius was killed sitting in his curule chair, and his head was placed above the rostra.<sup>1</sup> P. Crassus, the father of the triumvir, L. Cæsar, who had distinguished himself in the Social war, his brother Caius, Atilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, C. Numitorius, M. Bæbius, the most important personages in Rome, perished. The assassins had orders to kill all not specially protected by Marius. A former prætor, Ancharius, presented himself before Marius at the moment when the latter was offering sacrifices in the Capitol, and was murdered on the spot. In the case of some there was a parody of justice; Merula, the substituted consul, and Catulus, the conqueror of the Cimbri, were cited before a tribunal. They did not await sentence, but the former inhaled the fumes of charcoal, and the latter opened his veins in the temple of Jupiter, "under the very eyes of the god" whose pontiff he was. Beside the corpse of Merula was found a tablet declaring that before dying he had laid aside his insignia of *flamen dialis* according to the ritual. The friends of Catulus had implored Marius for his life, obtaining no other reply than simply the words, "He must die."

The great orator Marcus Antonius had hidden himself in a peasant's hut. The peasant, sending to buy at the tavern more wine than his accustomed supply, excited the curiosity of the innkeeper, who questioned the slave, and hastened to betray the proscribed man; Marius wanted to go and kill his enemy with his own hand, but was restrained, and a tribune with some soldiers was sent to perform the act, but Antonius, by his eloquence,

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch relates (*Mar.*, 42) that a Chaldean amulet was found upon his body. Sylla also wore one. These sceptics were extremely superstitious.

arrested them, persuaded them to lower their swords until the tribune, who had remained outside, was forced to enter and break the spell by cutting down the orator with his own hand. It is said that Marius, when the head of his enemy was brought to him, took it into his hands and addressed it with insults.<sup>2</sup> Cornutus was saved by his slaves. They prepared a funeral pile in front of his house, and placed on it a corpse which they had picked up in the road; as soon as they saw the assassins approaching at a distance they set fire to the pile. The Sicarii believed their work already done, and sought no further.

For five days and nights murder went on without interruption,



Wine Dealer's Sign.<sup>1</sup>

penetrating even to the most sacred places and the very altars of the gods. From Rome the proscriptions extended over all Italy; men were slain in cities and on highways, and it was forbidden, under pain of death, to bury them, the corpses remained where they had fallen until wild beasts or birds of prey had devoured them. The senators had only this privilege, that their severed heads were placed on the rostra. The slaves who had been let

<sup>1</sup> At Pompeii (from a painting).

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 73. Val. Max., iv. 2: . . . *inter epulas per summam animi ac verborum insolentiam aliquandiu tenuit*. This Antonius was the grandfather of the triumvir. He is one of the interlocutors in Cicero's treatise *de Oratore*.

loose added to murder rapine, theft, and every outrage. Cinna and Sertorius were the first to weary of this butchery. One night, with the troops from Gaul, they surrounded 4,000 of the satellites of Marius, and slew them to a man.<sup>1</sup>

Sylla, meanwhile, at the head of his victorious army, could not be reached; even his wife, Metella, with her children, had escaped. Marius declared him a public enemy, confiscated his property, and abrogated his laws.<sup>2</sup> Rome must still have had great strength, or her opponents have been extremely feeble, for her to be able to exhibit with impunity to the world an army and its general proscribed at the moment that they were fighting their country's enemies! It is plain also that the man who, being situated thus, was willing to postpone his private vengeance until he had satisfied the vengeance of his country against their foes was no ordinary man. Marius felt this, and although with Cinna he had, on the 1st of January, 86, taken possession of the consulship without the formality of an election, he was alarmed at the prospect of being soon obliged to encounter Sylla. In the night he seemed to hear a menacing voice, which said to him: "The lair even of the absent lion is formidable!"<sup>3</sup> To escape from these terrors Marius plunged into debauchery, which hastened his end. Piso related that, walking one evening with himself and some friends, Marius talked to them much of his past life, of the favours and rebuffs that he had received from Fortune, adding that it was not the part of a wise man to trust himself longer to her inconstancy. Saying these words he embraced them, bade them adieu, and returning home he took to bed and never again rose. Pursued even to his last moments by dreams of military glory and visions of battle, he gesticulated in his delirium like one at the head of an army, springing up in bed, commanding a charge, shouting victory. On the seventh day he died, in the seventieth year of his age, and in his seventh consulship (13th of January, 86).

The funeral rites of Marius were worthy of him. Fimbria attempted to immolate as a human sacrifice the pontifex Maximus,

<sup>1</sup> Probably after the death of Marius; Appian, however (*Bell. civ.*, i. 74), places this execution before his seventh consulship.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 71; Plut., *Mar.*, 43; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxx.; Vell. Patern., ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> This is hardly probable, and is doubtless borrowed by Plutarch from Sylla's own memoirs, who naturally wished to represent his enemy dying amidst terrors inspired by himself.

Mucius Scaevola, whose only offence had been to seek to mediate between the two parties, and the pontifex fell, but not mortally wounded. Later, when he had in some degree recovered, Fimbria cited him before a tribunal, and on being asked for what crime, he rejoined: "Of not having received my weapon deep enough." Marius had set an example of these human sacrifices in causing L. Cæsar, the ex-censor, to be cut in pieces on the tomb of Varius.<sup>1</sup>

Shall we say that this man did more harm or good to his country? If there had been no Marius, doubtless some other man would have conquered the Cimbri and saved Italy, and this other perhaps would not, when loaded with years and military renown, have thrown Rome into civil war, and inaugurated as a political measure and an act of statecraft the murder of whole classes of citizens. Without Marius, Sylla would not have been what he was. We have paid honour to the Gracchi notwithstanding their faults; we must condemn the sterile ambition of the man who was not even a good partisan.

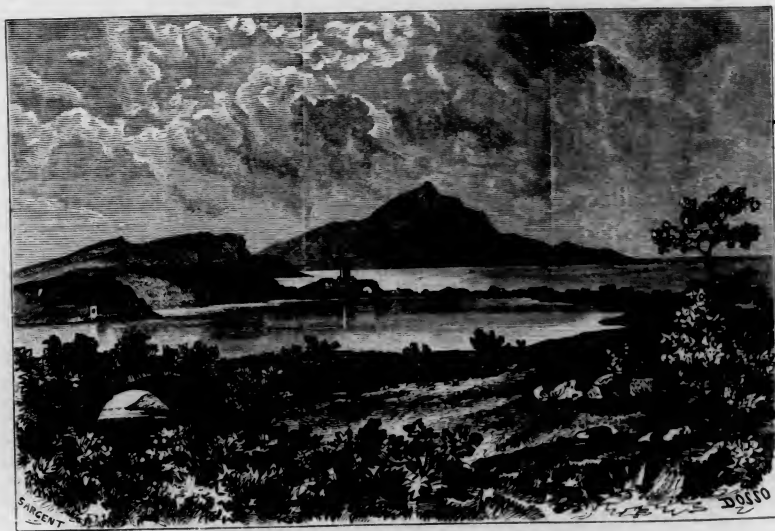
Cinna, left alone, found himself unequal to his task. A violent but inconsistent person, he never carried out either his moderation or his violence, so that while he irritated by his audacity, he ruined himself by his irresolution. Valerius Flaccus, whom he selected for successor to Marius in the consulship, brought to that office neither great talents nor much reputation. He reduced all debts to one quarter of their amount by permitting copper to be paid instead of silver, an *as* for a denarius, and then set off for Syria to dispute with Sylla the glory and profit of the war against Mithridates. By his own authority Cinna continued himself without election for the two following years, 85 and 84, in the consular office, giving himself for colleague Papirius Carbo,<sup>2</sup> whereby it will be seen that the people never had less share in public affairs than under this so-called "popular government." An apparent calm prevailed; murders had ceased, but still every day apprehension drove out of Italy and to the camp of Sylla those members of the old nobility who were yet left in Rome. The new Quirites distributed among the thirty-five tribes by the operation

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Rosc.*, 12; Val. Max., IX. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *A seipsis consules per biennium creati.* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiii.) During his consulship Papirius Carbo erected, in obedience to a *senatus-consultum*, an equestrian statue to Marius.



of the Sulpician law, which a decree of the senate confirmed in the year 84, reduced to silence the tribunes, the senate, and the old citizens, and delivered the State over to Cinna, who as consul for four years successively exercised an absolutely royal authority, but knew not how to do anything, not even to prepare a defence against Sylla by fortifying the harbours and rendering them inaccessible to his fleet. Like his patron Marius, Cinna was one of those ambitious men who desire power, but are incapable of using it, and it is noteworthy with what facility their party, formed of all



Tomb, said to be of Marius, near Lake Fusaro.<sup>1</sup>

the lower orders in the State, accepted even an incompetent master.

There was, however, among these self-seekers one man who bestowed some thought upon the public interests. Since the time of Drusus a depreciation of the currency had appeared so convenient a resource that it had been frequently employed, until, Cicero says, "at this time no man knew accurately what he possessed!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. The *lago di Fusaro* (*Acherusia palus*) is a little salt lake between Cumæ and the promontory of Misenum, communicating by a narrow channel with the sea. The funeral rites of Marius were performed at Rome, not at Misenum, and later we shall see that Sylla caused his rival's tomb to be destroyed, and the ashes it contained to be thrown into the Tiber.

<sup>2</sup> These plated coins were not official counterfeits any more than are our bank-notes, which

In 84 the prætor Marius Gratidianus put a stop to the forced circulation of these plated denarii, and had them exchanged at the public treasury for pieces of true metal.<sup>1</sup> The evil had become so great that the prætor appeared a public benefactor; statues of him were erected, and almost divine honours were paid to him, wax candles and incense being burned before them. These men, who recompensed with such homage a simple municipal measure, will be ready to do much indeed for those who will give them peace and security. As a matter of chronology the empire is still remote, but in the manners of the time we are already very near it.

have no intrinsic value, and they were received like the rest in payment of public dues. But as nothing distinguished them from denarii of real silver, they encouraged counterfeiting, and left men uncertain as to what they really possessed. Accordingly, when in critical moments the State multiplied the plated denarii, the disquietude became general. (Cic., *de Off.*, 20, 80; Cf. De Witte, *Revue numism.*, 1868, p. 181, and Lenormant, *Hist. de la monn.*, i. p. 231.)

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 9, and xxxiv. 6.



Victory (Pompeian painting).

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCES.

#### I.—A PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR.

FOR forty years the Roman world had been shaken by the constantly renewed claims of the Roman poor, of the Italians, and of the slaves; it was now to be again agitated by the efforts of the provincials to obtain relief. Each successive war was more formidable. The Gracchi had attacked only the privileges of the nobles; the Italians, only those of Rome; Mithridates threatened the very existence of the empire, for he found its subjects with their patience exhausted.

Elsewhere we have explained the theoretical organization of the provinces, we will now examine the facts.

Appian, referring to the favourable terms granted by Gracchus to the Celtiberians, adds: "But when the senate grants privileges to any people, this condition is always included—that they shall be in force only so long as it shall please the Roman people."<sup>1</sup> In other words, notwithstanding the distinctions which we have set forth, the provincials were subjected to Rome's absolute sway, and to the unlimited authority of the proconsul, the representative of Rome;<sup>2</sup> so that their condition depended much less upon the law than upon the character of the ruler who came among them. If he were intelligent, honest and kindly, the province prospered; if he were hard and grasping, it groaned under the most revolting oppression.

"The cities," wrote Cicero to his brother, the governor of the

<sup>1</sup> Δίδωσι δ' ἡ βουλὴ τὰς τοιαύτας δωρεάς, αἱ προστιθεῖσαι, κυρίας ἕσθαι μέχρι ἂν αὐτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοκῇ. (App., *Iber.*, 44.)

<sup>2</sup> *Prætor improbus cui nemo intercedere possit.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 12.) The condition of the provincials was expressed in these words: *in arbitratu, dicione, potestate, amicitia populi Romani.* (*Lex Repet.*, v. 1.)

province of Asia, "no longer contract debts. Many are relieved by your care from the enormous burden of those formerly contracted; many cities, almost deserted, owe to you their revival. There are no more seditions and discords among the people. The administration is in the hands of the enlightened class.<sup>1</sup> Mysia is purged of brigands; throughout the province murders are repressed, and peace is established; security again exists upon the high ways and in the fields, and what is more, in the cities and in the temples, where robbery and pillage were formerly practised with the greatest boldness and success. Burdens and tributes are more equally distributed. You are always accessible. The poor and weak are admitted to your tribunal and your house. In a word, nothing in your conduct is severe or cruel. For three years you have governed Asia, and not one of the numerous temptations that a province offers—neither pictures, nor precious furniture, nor rare stuffs, nor the charm of beauty, nor the allurements of wealth—have made you for a moment forget the strictness of your principles." In these eulogies, which were but counsels in disguise, Cicero depicted a governor such as the Roman world had rarely known; elsewhere he shows what these masters of the world really were, by immortalizing the infamy of one of them.

The prætor Dolabella, on setting out for Cilicia, his province, took with him C. Licinius as lieutenant.<sup>4</sup>

At Sicyon in Achæa, Licinius demanded money of the chief magistrate of the city, and upon his refusal, shut him in a cell in which he caused a great



Coin of Halicarnassus.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Tenedos.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrarentur* (ad Quint., i. 1, 8).

<sup>2</sup> ΑΛΙΚΑ(ρνασίων) ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ. Conventional bust of Herodotus upon a bronze of Hadrian, struck at Halicarnassus.

<sup>3</sup> Heads of Jupiter and Juno, united like the double-faced Janus. On the reverse, TENEAIQN. Two edged-axe (*bipennis*), bunch of grapes, owl, and monogram, in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Tenedos.

<sup>4</sup> The gentile name of Verres is not known, nor do we know the *gentilitium* of Marius Servilius or Mummius. It is quite probable that these upstarts had none.

fire of green wood to be set burning; he then compensated him-

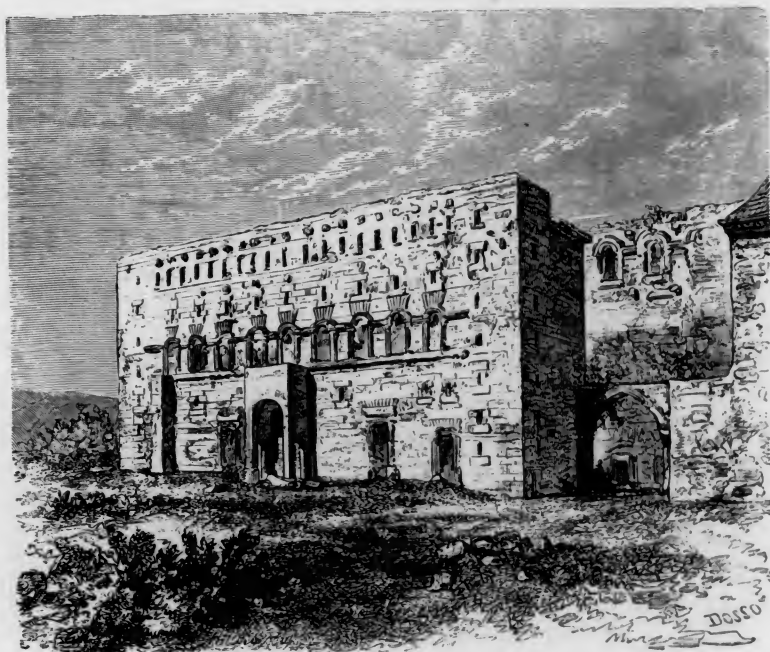


Temple of Perga.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Lampsacus.<sup>2</sup>

self by carrying away the most beautiful statues and pictures that could be found. At Athens, sharing the spoils with his prætor, he plundered the Parthenon; and at Delos, the temple of Apollo; at Chios, at Erythræ, at Halicarnassus, at Tenedos, at Aspendus in Pamphylia, all along



Theatre at Aspendus in Pamphylia (exterior).<sup>3</sup>

his road, the same acts of rapine were perpetrated. Samos

<sup>1</sup> ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕΣ ΥΠΙΛΙΟΣ. Temple of Diana of Perga, with her image. Reverse of a silver coin of Trajan.

<sup>2</sup> Head of Pan. Reverse, the Hippocampus, or according to M.M. L. Müller and de Chanot (*Gazette archéol.*, 1875, p. 113), Pegasus. Gold stater of Lampsacus.

<sup>3</sup> Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. iii. pl. 232 bis. The interior of this theatre (next page) is from the same work, pl. 232. [This splendid building, unfortunately so inaccessible that few civilized men have seen it, is by far the best preserved ancient theatre in the world. It is apparently Greek with Roman building added in most parts.—Ed.]



The Theatre at Aspendus in Pamphylia (interior).



had a temple venerated by all Asia; he plundered both temple and city, and when the Samians complained to the governor of Asia, they were told that they must address themselves to Rome. At Perga was a statue of Diana entirely covered with gold which he caused to be torn off; the people of Miletus sent one of their best ships to convey him, being one of ten the town owed to Rome; he kept and sold it. At Lampsacus, he sought to do violence to a daughter of the first citizen of the place; her father and brother had the courage to protect the girl, and in the struggle a lictor was killed. Licinius seized this pretext, accused them of an attempt upon his life, cited them before the governor, acting himself as witness and as judge; and both father and son were beheaded in the market-place of Laodicea. As yet, he had no public office, but what was his conduct when Dolabella made him his pro-quæstor! Pamphylia, Lycia and Pisidia were overwhelmed with requisitions for corn, leather bags, sailors' clothing; there was exemption for all who were able to purchase it. Dolabella himself accused his pro-quæstor of having made a profit of 2,567,000 sesterces (about £20,000), which placed him in a position to buy the prætorship.

Invested, in 76, with the urban prætorship, Licinius during a year made merchandize of justice at Rome, and on the expiration of his term of office, obtained the government of Sicily, the province nearest home, and usually most gently treated because it was full of Roman citizens. Many calamities had fallen upon this lovely island, the Punic wars, the Servile wars, the publicans; but nature repaired all losses by her abundant harvests. Ships were constantly coming to Syracuse, Messina and Lilybæum; Agrigentum, rising from the ruin into which she was destined again to fall, was at this time flourishing, and numerous bands of pilgrims were constantly paying homage at the temple of Venus Erycina. Licinius swooped down upon this rich prey.<sup>2</sup> Even before he had landed he summoned an inhabitant of Halæsa to give an account of an inheritance, and the latter did not escape from his hands until he

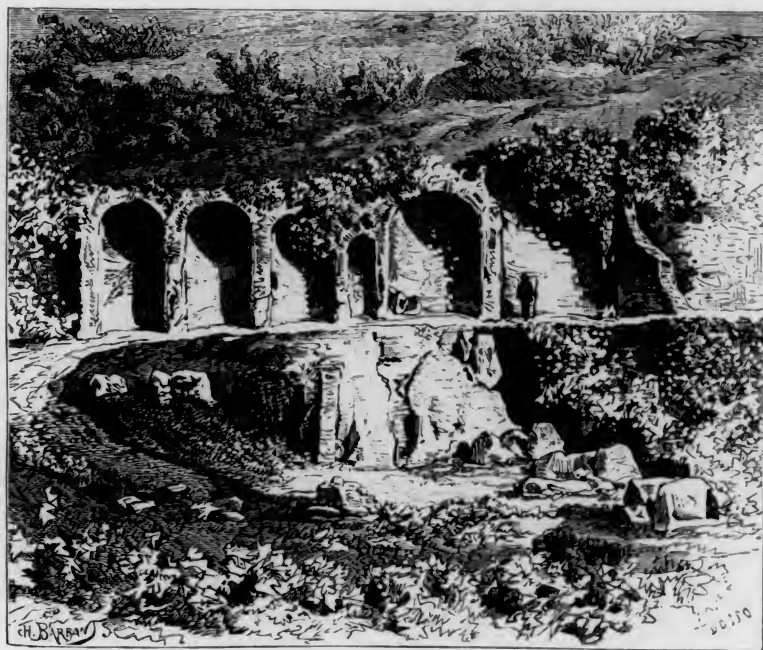


Coin of Halæsa.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> AAAIΣAΣ APX. Soldier standing, Reverse of a bronze coin of Halæsa.

<sup>2</sup> [Let the reader remember that a sesterce being about 2d. of our money, 1,000 = £8 17s. 0d but would buy much more, money being scarcer than now.—Ed.]

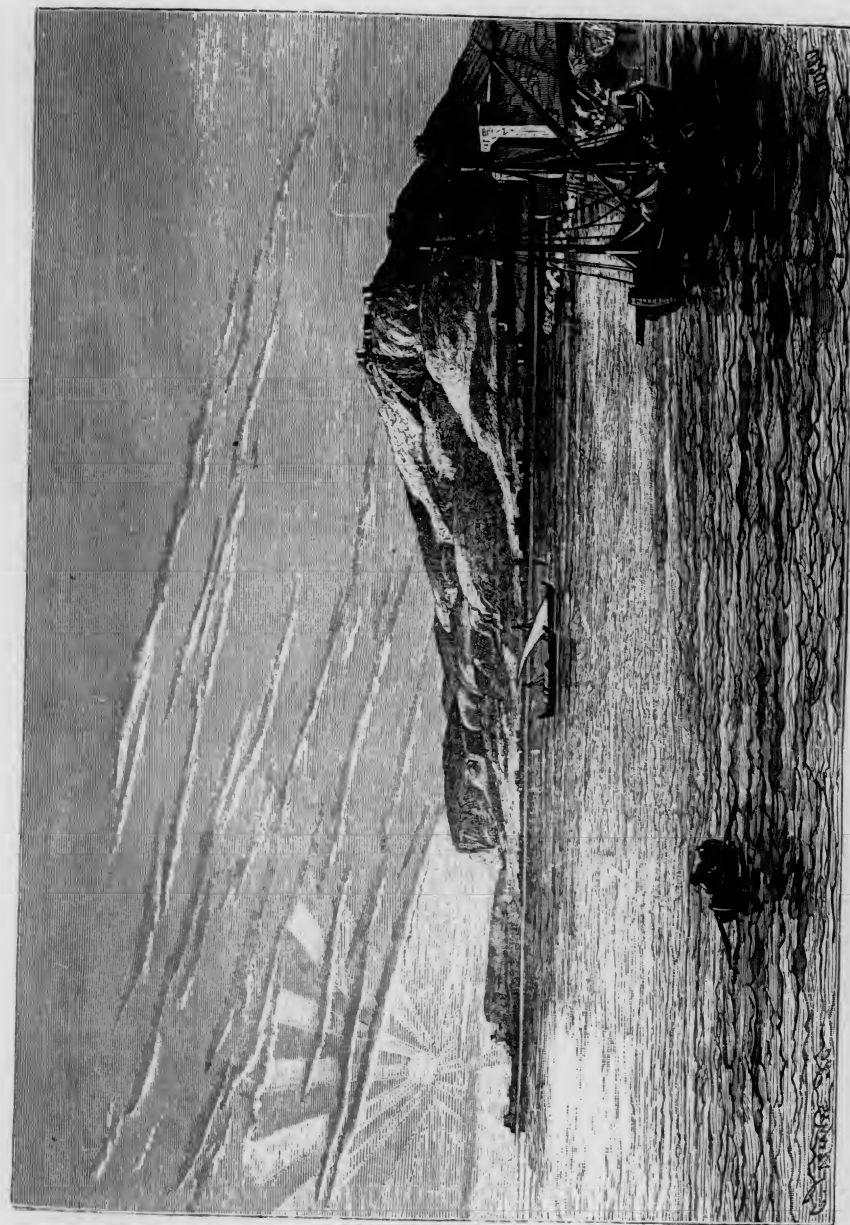
had paid 1,100,000 sesterces, together with his finest horses and all the silver ware and costly carpets that he possessed. Other similar affairs brought him in not less than 40,000,000 sesterces. He sold everything—justice and public offices; in contempt of law, his own edicts, of the religion, lives, fortune, and, above

Coin of Centuripe.<sup>1</sup>Remains of ancient baths, near Centuripe.<sup>2</sup>

all, the endurance of the provincials. During three years, not a senator of the sixty-five cities of Sicily was elected gratuitously.

<sup>1</sup> Head of Ceres or of Proserpine; behind it a fish; the reverse, KENTOPHINON, under a panther. Bronze coin of Centuripe.

<sup>2</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*. Centuripe, which had become a very wealthy city (Cic., *II in Ferr.*, v. 32), suffered much from the exactions of Verres, and still more



Mt. Eryx and Remains of the Temple of Venus (p. 615). (From the Devonshire Virgil.)

Once, for a small profit, he cut off a month and a half from the year, declaring that the first day of the ides of January was the first day of the calends of March. A judge at Centuripæ had decided against his wishes; he annulled the verdict, forbade the judge to sit in the senate of his city, or to appear in public, and debarred him from acting in any matter of business, or prosecuting any person who might attack him. The inhabitants of Agyrium, suffering from too heavy a tax, dared to complain; their deputies narrowly escaped death under the rod, and the city paid to the prætor 400,000 bushels of corn, and 60,000 sesterces. At Ætna his agents extorted from the agricultural labourers besides the tithe, 300,000 bushels; at Leontini and at Herbita, 400,000.<sup>1</sup> Like Darius or Xerxes, he gave cities to his friends; Lipari to a boon companion; Segesta to Tertia, the actress; Herbita to Pippa, the scandal of Syracuse. His exactions depopulated not only the cities but the country also. Upon his arrival, he found in the territory of Leontini eighty-three farms; the third year of his prætorship there remained but thirty-two; at Motye, the number had fallen from 188 to 101; at Herbita from 257 to 120; at Agyrium from 250 to eighty.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the province, more than half the arable ground was deserted; it seemed as if war and pestilence, and all scourges united, had passed over the country. And he, lying in his litter upon Maltese roses, a wreath of flowers upon his head, in the midst of silent maledictions journeyed through the desolated land.<sup>3</sup>

For the provisioning of Rome, he had received from the province 37,000,000 sesterces; the money he kept for himself, and the grain sent to Rome was the result of his robbery. For his household, the province was to furnish him provisions, for which

from those of Sextus Pompeius. The city rendered to Augustus services which he recompensed by certain privileges (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 67, 69; iii. 6, 45, 48; iv. 23); Strab., vi. p. 272; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 8, § 14.

<sup>1</sup> Piso repeated in Macedon, Boeotia, the Chersonese and at Byzantium the exactions of Verres in the matter of corn: *Unus aestimator, unus venditor, tota in provincia, per triennium, frumenti omnis fuisti.* (Cic., *in Pis.*, 35.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Sicily escaped at this time from one tax which Fonteius laid upon his province, the *Narbonensis*: this was an import upon wines on entering the cities and on being exported from the province.



the senate paid.<sup>1</sup> Corn was worth two or three sesterces a bushel, he fixed the price at twelve, required five times more than was due to him, then caused the payment to be made him in money, on the scale of value which he had fixed.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Aluntium.<sup>3</sup>

Another scourge for the provinces was that this Licinius was a dilettante, an antiquary, a lover of curiosities and of all beautiful things. Woe to the host who received him, the house was plundered without scruple! One day he passed near the city of Aluntium situated on a hill-top, which till then had escaped his rapine. He caused his litter to stop at the foot of the hill, had all the silver in the place brought to him, selected what pleased him and carried it away, leaving word for the magistrate to compensate the owners by some trivial payment, which he did not even make good.<sup>4</sup> The King of Syria, Antiochus, came through Sicily on his way to Rome, bearing



The Eros of the Vatican.<sup>5</sup>

magnificent gifts destined for the Capitol; the prætor seized upon them; the king complained, protested, but got no more redress

<sup>1</sup> These dues were called *vasarium*. The senate gave Piso 18,000,000 sesterces, *quasi vasarii nomine*. (Cic. in *Pis.*, 35.)

<sup>2</sup> To escape this exaction, the Sicilians asked the favour of being allowed to furnish the corn *gratuitously* which was required for the prætor's household. Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Head of the Phrygian Venus. The reverse, an ox standing. Bronze coin of Aluntium, town built on a hill on the southern coast of Sicily, now San Marco (?).

<sup>4</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii, 43; iv, 23.

<sup>5</sup> Museum Pio-Clementino, No. 250. This statue may be a copy of that which Verres stole from Messina. Cf. Ampère, *Histoire romaine à Rome*, iii, 310.

than the meanest provincial. For eight months numerous goldsmiths were at work in the palace of Hiero, merely in repairing and polishing the objects in gold which the prætor had stolen, and at the custom-house in Syracuse it was registered that, from



Diana the Combatant.<sup>1</sup>

that port alone he had in the course of a few weeks sent out of the island objects valued at 1,200,000 sesterces. Our prætor also was making a collection of antiquities, and not a cup, not a fine vase, above all, not a famous statue, escaped him. Messina had a renowned Eros by Praxiteles; Agrigentum had an urn by

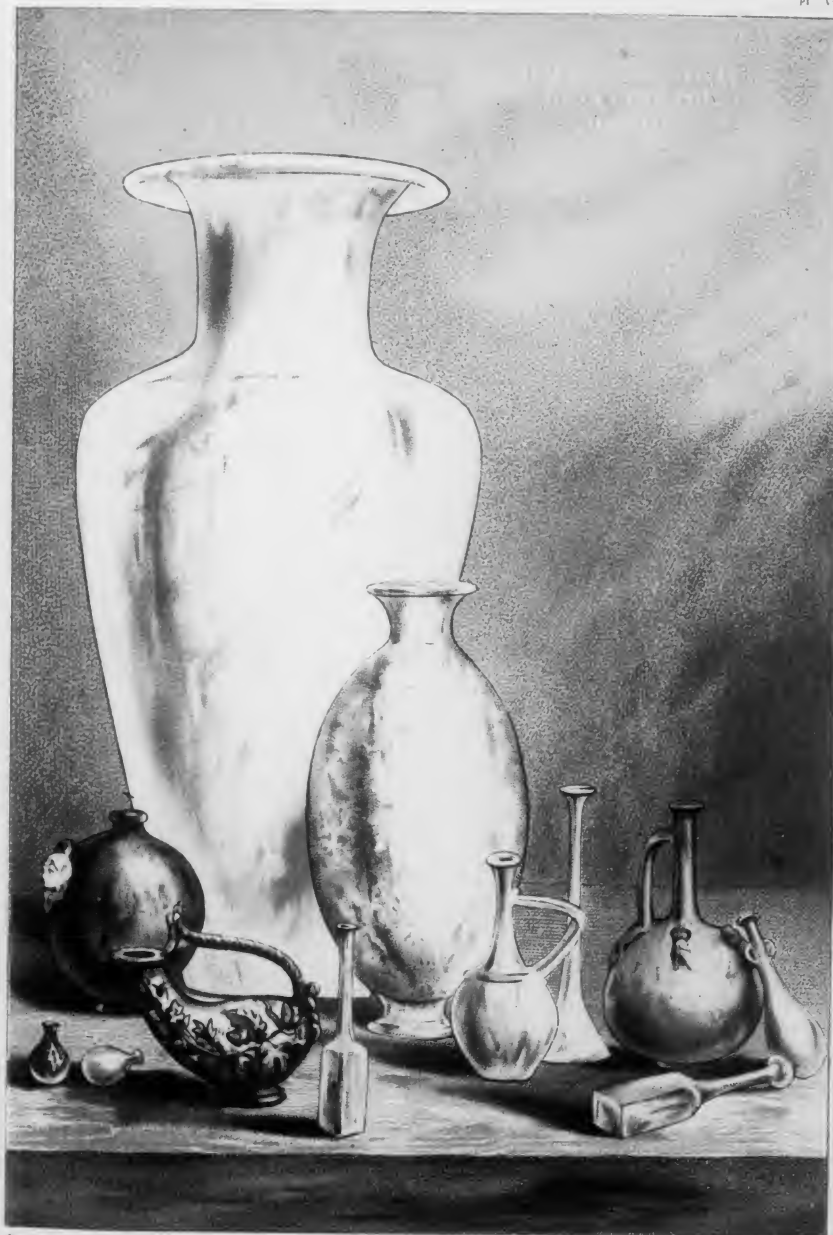
<sup>1</sup> From the museum of the Capitol.

Boethus; he seized them both. The Diana of Segesta and the Ceres of Enna were objects of general devotion; from Rome even, worshippers came to their altars. This made them worthy to stand in his gardens or his gallery, and he carried them off. Almost all the statues that Scipio had sent back from Carthage to the Sicilians were thus a second time stolen from them.

The war against the slaves was at its height; pirates covered the sea; he equipped a fleet, requiring from the cities ships, sailors, arms, and provisions, but only for the purpose of selling the weapons and the supplies, and leaves of absence and exemptions to the sailors; Roman soldiers could be seen, in this most fruitful province, reduced to feed upon the roots of palm-trees. The first time this fleet left the harbour, it was defeated, whereupon the prætor as a strict guardian of the honour of the flag caused all the captains to be put to death. His lictors sold to the relatives of the condemned the privilege of having them killed at one blow. One fact more. A Roman citizen, Gavius, was carrying on business at Syracuse, Verres caused him to be thrown into the Lantumiæ; Gavius made his escape, hastened to Messina, announcing that he was going to Rome to accuse the prætor. The latter, however, again seized him, caused him to be beaten with rods by all the lictors together, then directed a cross to be set up on the shore looking towards Italy—towards liberty and law—and Gavius to be attached to it. Amid these tortures and in all the agony of death, the victim uttered not a groan or a cry, but only repeated: *Civis romanus sum*, while the prætor cried out to him: "There you see Italy! you see your country, your laws and your liberty!"<sup>1</sup>

This Caius Licinius is also known as Verres, and the name is that of the most rapacious extortioner, I admit, that ancient history knows; but as Cicero himself says, the guilty governors were numerous; they went unpunished, and Verres was only possible because a hundred others had preceded him; between them and him the difference was only one of degree. "How many unjust magistrates," cries the orator, "have there been in Asia, in Africa, in Spain, in Gaul, in Sardinia!" Many were accused and

<sup>1</sup> [We must remember that the whole of this statement is the picture drawn by a bitter and eloquent prosecutor.—*Ed.*]



P. SELLIER, del.

Imp. Trullery

VASES

(Glass and Pottery.)



a few condemned, like Dolabella and Calidius, each of whom paid a fine of 300,000,000 sesterces. "A mere nothing," said Calidius, "for which I cannot understand how a prætor can be fairly condemned!" But the larger number of them escaped, for the



Ceres (Vatican).<sup>1</sup>

successor of an accused magistrate usually stifled the complaints of the provincials, arrested the witnesses, requested, threatened, and by a new tyranny kept men silent in respect to the past.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Museo Pio-Clementino, No. 544. [3,000,000 sesterces = about £26,000.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> See in the *Verrine* orations what hindrances Metellus, who was, after all, an honest man placed in the way of Cicero's investigations. Certainly anyone less active and less eager for a cause which would have great notoriety, would have abandoned this. (*II in Verr.*, i. 10.)

Sometimes the province disarmed itself in advance by cowardly flatteries. Had not Verres statues in all the cities of Sicily, a triumphal arch at Syracuse with the inscription of "saviour," and even equestrian statues at Rome, "erected by the grateful Sicilians!"<sup>1</sup>

## II.—EXACTIONS IN THE PROVINCES; THE PUBLICANS; USURY.

Verres had not exhausted all varieties of exactions. The consul



A Centurion.<sup>4</sup>

Manius Aquilius sold Phrygia to Mithridates V.<sup>2</sup> For 200 talents another governor, Piso, granted to the people of Apollonia an exemption from paying their debts, then suffered the creditors to do what they could.<sup>3</sup> He sold at a higher price, namely, 300 talents, to king Cotys, the head of a Thracian chief who had come to him as ambassador. We find that he took only 100 talents from Achaëa in the form of personal gifts. He, however, indemnified himself by a thousand different industrial enterprises. In his army all grades, even to that of centurion, were sold to the highest bidder. Flaccus caused the cities of Asia to pay for a fleet which did not exist; Fonteius converted to his own use a tax upon the wines of Narbonensis,<sup>5</sup> and Æmilius Scaurus, by threatening an Arab prince with war,

<sup>1</sup> Piso also caused statues to be erected to himself in his provinces. Cf. in *Pis.*, 38. The Sicilians requested the senate to forbid them to erect statues in honour of any governor until after his term of office should have expired.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. Mithr.*, 57.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. in *Pis.*, 35.

<sup>4</sup> From a sepulchral bas-relief which bears this inscription: QUINTUS PUBLIUS FESTUS CENTUR. LEG. XI. He holds his stick in the right hand, wears leggings, and is decorated with seven *phalerae* (medals decreed by the military chiefs). Of these decorations three are placed in front of the breast and two on each side. Only half of the latter are seen in the illustration. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 137.)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *pro Flacco*, and *pro Fonteio*. Piso imposed all forms of taxes. *Singulis rebus quæcumque venirent certo portorio imposito* (in *Pis.*, 36). Observe the summary which Cicero gives

wrested from him 300 talents.<sup>1</sup> These exactions were of old date. In the time of the war with Perseus, we saw consuls and prætors rival each other in pillaging allied cities, and selling their inhabitants at auction, as was done at Coroneia, at Haliartus, at Thebes and at Chalcis. Sterile Attica was condemned to furnish 100,000 bushels of corn. Abdera gave 50,000, and besides, 100,000 denarii; then, when the city ventured to complain to the senate, Hostilius gave it up to pillage, beheaded the principal men, and sold the entire population. Another prætor, Lucretius, yet more guilty, was accused at Rome. "It would be unjust," said his friends, "to entertain complaints against a magistrate absent in the service of the Republic;"

and the affair was adjourned. Lucretius, however, at the time was near Antium, employed in decorating his villa with the product of his rapine, and turning the course of a river to lead it through his



Coin of the gens Fonteia.<sup>2</sup>

park. Another time he was less fortunate; he was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000,000 *ases*; then the senate gave a few thousand *ases* to the envoys of the cities; and so the matter ended.<sup>3</sup>

When Cicero took possession of his government of Cilicia, which Appius had just quitted, he found on all sides a weeping and groaning population: "It would seem that not a man, but a ferocious beast had been there." However, from this ruined province, desolated past hope of recovery, Cicero himself was able in twelve months to extract, *salvis legibus*, the sum of 2,200,000 sesterces.<sup>4</sup>

By what the most honest of men could do without infringing the laws, and by what he excuses, we may judge what the subject

us, of this governor's administration: *Achaia exhausta, Thessalia vexata, laceratae Athenæ, Dyrrachium et Apollonia erinanita, Ambracia direpta, Parthini et Bulienses illusi, Epirus excisa, Locri, Phocii, Bæotii exusti, Acarnania, Amphilochia, Perræbia, Athamanumque gens vendita, Macedonia condonata barbaris, Ætolia amissa, Dolopes finitimique montani oppidis atque agris exterminati* (in *Pis.*, 40). He repeats these accusations in the *pro Domo*.

<sup>1</sup> Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 5, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Laureled and beardless head of Janus. On the reverse, C. FONT. Galley with rowers. Silver coin of the Fonteian family.

<sup>3</sup> We have spoken above (p. 223) of other kinds of exaction which weighed heavily upon the allies.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Fam.*, v. 20. In this letter mention is made of "gratifications," which we to-day call by another name. Nevertheless, Cicero had taken for his model the upright Mucius Scævola.

peoples suffered: "He asks for money from the chief man of Sicily; I do not blame him for this, others have done the same. The magistrate refusing it was punished; it is odious, but it is not without example.<sup>1</sup> You have caused it to be known throughout your province that you could be bought, and those have borne sway over you who have paid you best; be it so, I do not bring this up against you; perhaps another in your place would have done the same.<sup>2</sup> You have condemned at Syracuse a man who was at Rome; but I do not stop at this, for one may receive a declaration against an absent person; no law in the province prohibits it."<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere Cicero accepts without too much complaint the exactions of the prætors under the pretence of corn due, "a practice," he says, "very common in Spain and in Asia, blamable doubtless, but not punishable." However, by dint of enumerating these crimes, and hearing the consul repeat that this is no new thing, that others have done the same, and worse even,<sup>4</sup> he becomes excited, and finds noble words like these: "Our provinces groan, the free peoples complain, the kings cry out against our avidity and injustice. To the far distant shores of the ocean, there is no place so obscure, so concealed, that the lawlessness of our citizens has not penetrated. It is no longer the strength of other nations, their arms or their wars that weigh upon us, it is their mourning, their tears, their groans. . . . Let it be again said that this man has done the same that others have done; doubtless examples are not lacking; but, if wicked doers rest upon each other to escape justice, then I say that in the end the Republic also will be destroyed."

The governors robbed on a large scale, and left to their subalterns many lesser profits. One gave up to his lieutenants the choice of winter quarters, exemption from which the cities paid for in large sums;<sup>5</sup> another gave to his tribunes the duty of

<sup>1</sup> *II in Verr.*, i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *II in Verr.*, ii. 41. Such was the uncertainty of the rules, and so great was the license left to the governors, that their edicts varied, even on a question of such importance as this: are the Greeks to be judged by their own laws or those of Rome?

<sup>4</sup> *Fecisse alios . . . jecerunt alii alia quam multa.* (*II in Verr.*, iii. 88.)

<sup>5</sup> *Magnas pecunias dabant.* . . . Cyprus gave annually for this alone 200 Attic talents. (*Cic., ad Att.*, v. 21.)

repairing the roads, which were not repaired. There was no one, down to the prætor's freedmen, and even his slaves, whose favour was not bought, and bought at a high price. After Verres had thrown the Syracusan captains into prison, Sestius the licitor was there putting a price on sympathy, a tariff on every tear. To enter, a relative must pay so much; to bring food to the prisoner, so much more. No one refused. "What will you pay me to behead your son at one blow? What for his body to bury, instead of throwing it to the dogs?"

And we have said nothing of insolence harder to be borne than real injuries. A quæstor, passing through Athens, desired to be initiated into the Mysteries; and as they were just over for the year, ordered them to be repeated. Once the Athenians had yielded to a similar desire, to initiate Demetrius Poliorcetes. But he was a successor of Alexander, with whom the gods themselves seemed obliged to reckon. The Greeks were disgusted at the audacity of this Roman, who, quæstor though he was, seemed, to these inheritors of the greatest name on earth, a person of little importance. He revenged himself by showing his contempt for "these miserable Greeks, idle and voluble," and for "the sterile wisdom of their schools." The matter was a trifle, but must have offended men of such historic pride more than a mere requisition of corn.<sup>1</sup>

After the governor and his officers came the publicans, a second tyranny severer than the first, for it reached to every individual even the most obscure.<sup>2</sup>

It would have been fortunate had these two tyrannies been at variance; but alas! they almost always played into each others hands. When, by some miracle, the publicans exacted no more than their due, a rapacious governor would urge them on, associating them in his own plunderings for the purpose of giving himself a better chance of impunity.<sup>3</sup> If the governor was

<sup>1</sup> *Livy*, xxxi. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See the frightful situation of Asia during the last war against Mithridates, a prey to unspeakable and incredible miseries; so plundered and enslaved by tax-farmers and usurers that private people were compelled to sell their sons in the flower of their youth and their daughters in their virginity, and the States publicly to sell their consecrated gifts, pictures and statues. (*Plut., Lucull.*, 20.)

<sup>3</sup> See the agreement between Verres and the farmers of the customs and tithes, in the Verrine orations. (*II in Verr.*, ii. 70, 76.)



honest, it was the publicans, especially since they were judges at Rome, who threatened and incited him to plunder. Integrity became a crime. In the year 92 Rutilius, the Stoic, an ex-consul, and one of the most upright citizens of the time, ventured to undertake the defence of the province of Asia against the publicans, he having been legate there under Mucius Scaevola, whose administration gave rise to the yearly festival *Mucia*, commemorating their integrity and wisdom. The publicans instituted a suit against him for peculation on his retiring from office, and were at once accusers, witnesses and judges. In spite of Mucius Scaevola, and Crassus and Antonius, and every honest citizen in the State, he was condemned, and withdrew into the very province he was accused of having plundered. Received with honour wherever he went, he passed the rest of his life at Smyrna, occupied in literary pursuits.<sup>1</sup>

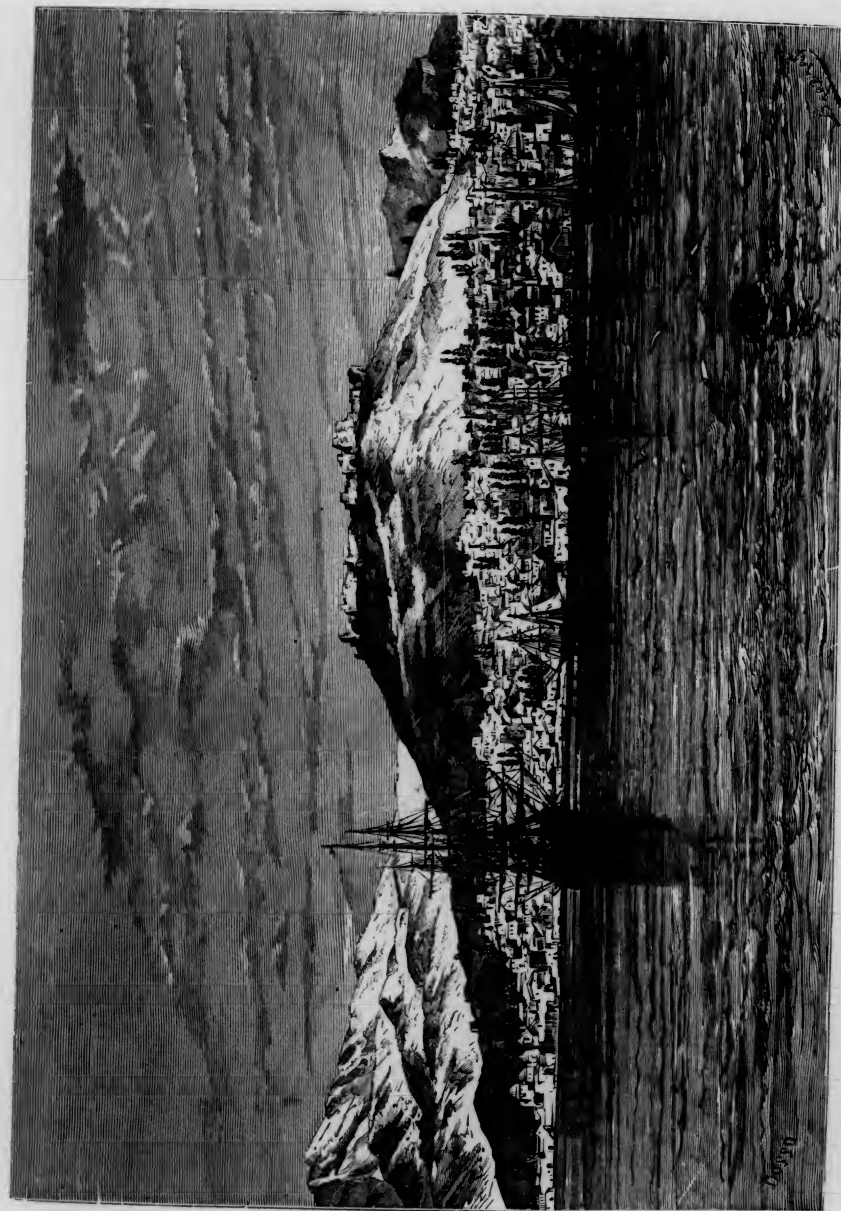
Cicero, always friendly to the publicans, said himself: "If we do not resist them, we must see the destruction of those whom we ought to defend." And elsewhere, "To content the publicans without ruining the allies requires an absolutely divine power."<sup>2</sup>

When the inhabitants of the provinces had responded to the demands of the governors, of their agents and of the publicans, when they had paid all the taxes, furnished all the compulsory labour, satisfied all the requisitions,<sup>3</sup> whose price was not always paid, they had not yet satiated the avarice of Rome; they were further obliged to receive with great and costly honours the Roman nobles who might chance to pass through their cities: to keep awake by frequent gifts the zeal of their patrons, and foreseeing the results of elections, to gain over in advance the future magistrate.

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., VI. iv. 4; Livy, *Epit.*, lxix., and Vell. Patere., ii. 13. The illustration on page 629, is taken from de Laborde's *Voyage en Orient*, pl. 3A.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *ad Quint.*, i. 1, 11. Livy (xlv. 18) speaks in the same way: "Wherever a tax-contractor was employed, either the rights of the people were a nonentity or the freedom of the allies destroyed." Even in Italy it became necessary about the year 60 to suppress the *portorium*, or tax on the importation by sea of provisions destined for sale, *portoria venalium*. It was abandoned not so much on account of the tax itself, as to put an end to the exactions of the publicans. (Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 51; Cic., *at Att.*, ii. 16.) In the provinces the *portorium* was levied for the advantage of Rome except in the territory of *civitates fœderatæ* or *immunes*.

<sup>3</sup> The State furnished horses and tents, but the cities must supply lodgings, also transportation for lieutenants suddenly summoned to head-quarters, and for senators on "a free legation," etc. Cf. Livy xlii. 1; and Cicero, *de Leg.*, iii. 8, § 18.



Smyrna.

In most modern States, a public office gives a salary; at Rome it involved expenses which were sometimes very great. In the public entertainments which their positions required them to furnish, the magistrates, through vanity and ambition, vied in the display of extravagance. As the share contributed by the State was but trivial, this display would have ruined them if they had not made the subjects pay for it. Thus the ædiles were future proconsuls, whose favour men were eager to secure, by sending



Combat between Genii and Wild Beasts.<sup>1</sup>

them from the remotest provinces rich or curious presents for their public entertainments. To these gifts, a governor desirous that his friend the ædile should make a fine display, would sometimes add some provincials: Piso sent to Clodius six hundred, who fought in the amphitheatre with the lions and panthers.

Under pretext of a vow made during the battle a general on his return to Rome frequently constructed a temple, for the sake of putting his name on it; or gave to the people some public show, by aid of the "voluntary offerings" of the conquered people. It was in vain that the senate limited the expense allowable on such occasions, or issued decrees to protect the provincials from the demands of their late governors, the custom remained, and these contributions were added as a regular impost to the tribute from certain provinces. Each year the province of Asia expended, under this head only, the sum of 200,000 sesterces.

An evil still greater, and more constant, was the usury which devoured the provincial—an evil all the more formidable because the usurers were Roman citizens who took in pawn, from this man, the products of his fields, from that, a mortgage upon his property. Was it not needful to help the provincial to pay the

<sup>1</sup> Details from a vase in the form of a cup without handles, the bas-reliefs carved in the material, and the figures full of life and action. This work is of the Roman period but the bronze is not very well preserved. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3144 of the catalogue.)

taxes due to the State and the gratuities demanded by the governor and his subordinates? In the Narbonensis not a piece of money changed hands without the intervention of a Roman citizen; not a silver coin was in circulation that was not entered on the books of the Italian merchants who filled the provinces; all business passed through their hands, and usury was so familiar to them that we cannot wonder if, when the legal rate was 12 per cent., with commissions that doubled it, private rates of interest should go as high—even when the creditor was Brutus—as 48 per cent.<sup>1</sup> The Allobroges owed to Fonteius, or to persons representing him, 30,000,000 sesterces; we have seen Apollonia give 200 talents to escape payments of debts. Almost all the cities of Caria owed money to a certain Cluvius of Puteoli; and Salamis in Cyprus was debtor to Scaptius, an agent of Brutus.<sup>2</sup> This Scaptius, to obtain payment, asked from the governor the command of a body of cavalry, shut up the senate of Salamis in their senate-house, and kept them there so long that five senators died of hunger. And of what consequence after all was a senator of an allied city, or the most eminent provincial, compared with even the lowest and poorest citizen of Rome? All the taxes of Cappadocia, plus thirty-three talents a month, were not enough to pay the interest on the money that Pompey had lent to Ariobarzanes, and the Asiatic prince had other creditors, Brutus especially, who pressed him pitilessly and wrung from him 100 talents in a year. "So," says Cicero, "there was no poorer king nor more miserable kingdom." Nicomedes II. of Bithynia was not less involved; to obtain money from him, his creditors—who were all Roman knights, envoys of the senate, generals, and the like—forced him to ravage Paphlagonia, at the risk of bringing upon himself a terrible war. A few years earlier in the time of the Cimbrian invasion Marius had called upon him for auxiliaries; the king made reply: "Bithynia is deserted and ruined.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, xl. 44; Cic., *ad Quint.*, i. 1, 9; Cic., *pro Fonteio*, 4; Cic., *ad Atticum*, vi. 1; Cicero himself permitted much more to be demanded and confirmed the most usurious agreements when the debtor did not pay on the day fixed.

<sup>2</sup> Sardis owed great sums to Anneius. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, xiii. 53.) Nicæa to Pinnius (*ibid* xii. 61), Parium to another person, etc. The Gabinian law forbade the allies to borrow money at Rome, but it was easy to obtain a *senatus-consultum* dispensing with the operation of the law. Cf. Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 1.

My subjects? ask the publicans who have reduced them to slavery, and carried them hither and thither through your provinces." <sup>1</sup> "Where," exclaims Cicero, "is the wealth of the nations who are now reduced to indigence? What need is there to ask, when you may see Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicus, Miletus, Chios, Samos, all Asia, Achæa, Greece and Sicily, collected in the villas which cover our territory?" <sup>2</sup>



Coin of Cyzicus.<sup>3</sup>

And there indeed they were, for, after having taken the gold of these cities for their own pleasures and for their royal luxury of living, these Romans, who had gone so far as to deify plunder, *Jupiter Prædator*, desired statues for their gardens, pictures for their porticos, books<sup>4</sup> and all rare and precious objects for their libraries and museums. Thus it was that the nations saw their trophies, their historic monuments,<sup>5</sup> the images of their heroes and their gods carried off to Rome and to the Latin villas. In the presence of monuments of the national renown, before statues erected in public places to recall the memory of some act of heroism, men become animated for devotion and self-sacrifice. When they laid covetous hands upon these sacred objects, the Romans demoralized the nations as much as by massacres upon the battlefield. In their cities, now despoiled of the illustrious dead, the vanquished were like men deprived of family traditions, without a past and without a future; and those among them who felt conscious of talents and of ambition, deserted these desolated homes to seek applause and fortune on a grander stage. The Achæan Polybius and the African Terence both came to live in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.*, vi. 1, 3 sq.; 2, 7; 3, 5; Appian., *Bell. Mithr.* 11; Diod., xxxvi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud in externas gentes, propter eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias.* (Cic., *de Imperio Cn. Pompeii*, 22.)

<sup>3</sup> Proserpine crowned with wheat. On the reverse, KYZI. Lions' head and bunch of grapes. Tetrachm of Cyzicus.

<sup>4</sup> Paulus Æmilius brought home all the books of Perseus (Plut., *in Æmil.*); Sylla, the library of Apellicon of Teos (*id. Sylla*, 26; Strab., xiii. 54), where were preserved the only manuscripts in existence of many works of Aristotle and Theophrastus.

<sup>5</sup> Paulus Æmilius had forgotten to carry off from Dion the statues that Alexander had erected there in memory of his "companions" slain at the passage of the Granicus; Metellus took them.



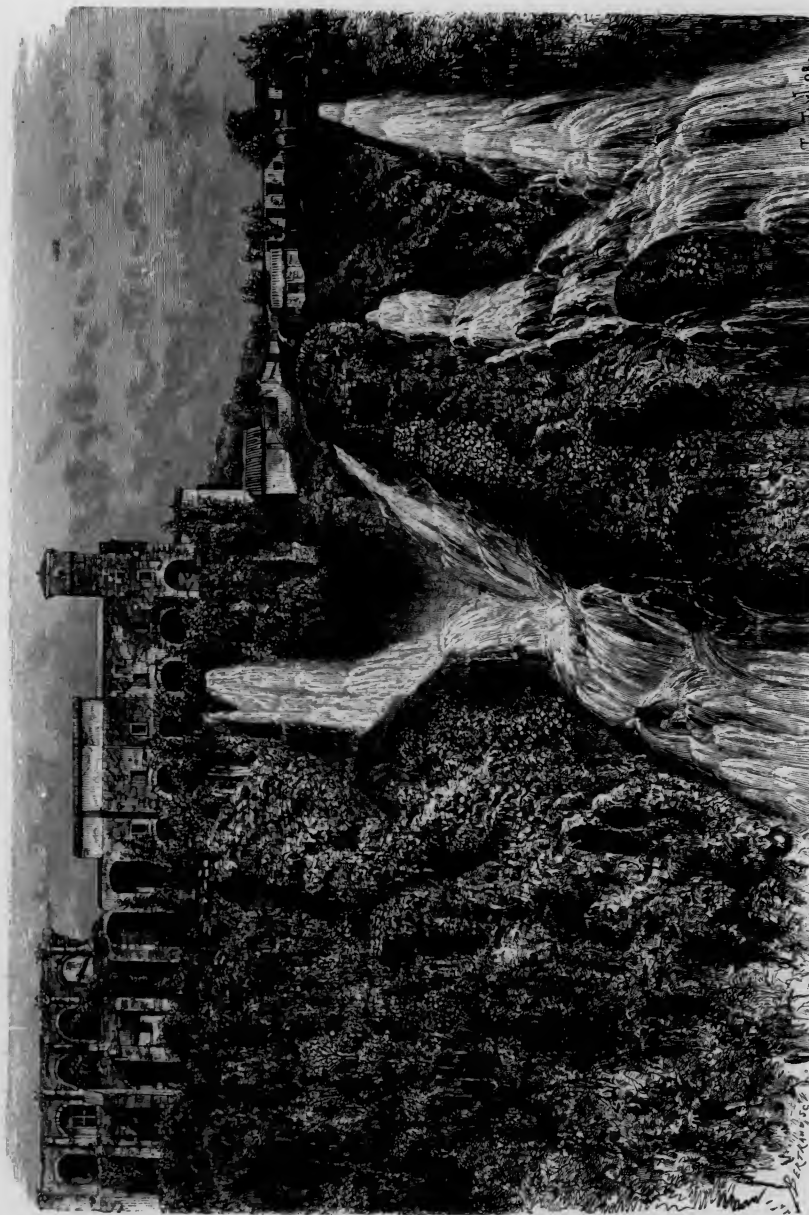
## III.—POWERLESSNESS OF THE LAW TO PROTECT THE PROVINCIALS.

Laws for the protection of provincials were not wanting. The repression of exactions had even been the object of a revolution in the judiciary at Rome, where originally the subjects had no recourse except to the senate, which often stifled the affair. In 149, the tribune Calpurnius Piso had obtained the establishment of a permanent tribunal invested with the right, till then exercised by the people only, of judging those accused of extortion.<sup>1</sup> The allies, not being allowed to bring a complaint themselves, were obliged to find a citizen to speak for them. If the cause promised well, if the accused had enemies, if there were some young noble who wanted to draw public attention to himself, they soon found a patron. Then the action began, and the Forum rang with the indignant accents of the orator who could not find anger enough for the misconduct of the accused, or tears enough for the sufferings of the provincials. The offender was condemned, especially if at the moment his condemnation was useful to a powerful personage or an important party; but before the sentence was pronounced, this man who had played with the life, the honour and the fortune of the allies, quitted Rome for the delicious groves of Tibur,<sup>2</sup> or of Præneste, leaving to the complainants a few sesterces of indemnity.<sup>3</sup> This sentence was going into exile, the severest penalty that could be inflicted on a Roman citizen; Roman justice was then satisfied, and the deputies had nothing more to do but to return home, and reckon with those who had sent them the costs of their long and useless embassy. And they were fortunate if they did not some day see their

<sup>1</sup> See page 318, and in vol. iii., Cæsar's law *de pecuniis repetundis*, which remained under the empire the basis of legislation in this matter.

<sup>2</sup> Tibur stands eight or nine hundred feet above the sea, and is twenty miles from Rome, on a spur of Monte Ripoli joining Monte Castillo, and barring the valley of the Anio. Switzerland has finer cascades, but they are not, like these, lighted up by an Italian sun and covered by admirable works of art, in regions full of historic and poetic interest. (See in vol. i. page cxxxi., the temple of Vesta, Sibyl, or Hercules at Tivoli.)

<sup>3</sup> There was at first simple restitution; the Servilian law required it double (*frag. legis Serv.*, c. 18): the Cornelian quadruple. (Asconius in Cic., in *Verr.*, i. 17.) Under the empire the ordinary penalty was banishment. (*Dig.*, XXVIII. ii. 7 § 3; Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 28.)



Tibur—Cascades of Tivoli.

eloquent defender, having forgotten his indignation, come to rule over them with the same rapacity and repeat the same acts of injustice!

The younger Gracchus had obtained a decree that the governments of provinces should be distributed by lot;<sup>1</sup> he hoped that thus the public interest alone, not that of the individual, would henceforth be consulted. But for the Pisos and Gabinii all provinces were alike, because in all there was material for plunder.

Then another plan was tried. The *Pompeian* law of the year 52 established that no one should obtain a province until he was five years out of office. The civil war, however, which broke out almost immediately, rendered this law useless.

The *Servilian* law even promised citizenship to any one convicting a Roman magistrate of extortion. The prize was brilliant, but how great were the dangers if a man did not succeed; how great even if he did!

All, therefore, were alike powerless, laws, tribunals, and the indignant eloquence of the great orator. No man has found severer words than he against the pro-consular rule and that haughty patriciate which had been able, indeed, to conquer the world, but knew not how to govern it, inasmuch as no power was more rapacious, oppressive, and insolent.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, Cicero, who saw the evil so well, did not see that there could be no limit to these iniquities till Rome should bring the old organization



Bust of Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup>  
(From British Museum.)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 433; Cic., *de Prov. Cons.*, ii. 15; *pro Domo*, 9; Sall., *Jug.*, 22. The senate first decided what two provinces should be consular, after which the consuls drew lots to determine which each should have.

<sup>2</sup> This bust was probably one of the spoils carried from the East to Rome.

<sup>3</sup> An Appian speaks contemptuously of Cicero as a new man, even after all his successes at the bar and at the rostra, even after his consulate. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, iii. 7.) If we exclude the exactions of the governors, the tax levied by Rome was light, about 200,000,000 sesterces annually, or less than £2,280,000.

of a Latin municipium into harmony with the royal fortune which the wisdom and boldness of her senate had brought to her. For new times new institutions are needed: As we have been on the side of Rome against the Samnites and against Carthage, we are now against Rome and on the side of humanity, and we say without hesitation that it was necessary that the empire should become the patrimony of one man, and that all the conquerors especially should feel over them the hand of a master keeping them subject to law and justice. But this regal authority which the provinces would have hailed with acclamations<sup>1</sup> was not yet visible amidst the chaos of domestic dissensions; and since a master, a saving divinity, as the Greeks said, did not appear at Rome, they sought him in the East, where two powerful States were at that time in process of formation—Armenia, which owed her fortune to the weakness of the Parthians and Seleucidæ, and Pontus, which owed hers to the genius of her king, Mithridates VI. Eupator.

<sup>1</sup> Tac., *Ann.*, i. 9, ii. 44. See also what is said by Strabo, himself a provincial (vi. 4, 2, *ad fin.*)

<sup>2</sup> From an ancient painting belonging to the Barberini.



Roma dea.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XLV.

### INSURRECTION OF THE PROVINCES; MITHRIDATES.

#### I.—MITHRIDATES.

FOR the last forty years, as we have said, the Roman world had been agitated by the repeated complaints of the poor of Rome, of the Italians, even of the slaves; it was now to feel those of the provincials. As upon an ocean scourged by tempests, threatening waves succeeded one another; the Gracchi had attacked only the privileges of the great; the Italians those of Rome; Mithridates was now to attempt to break down everything, great and small, and reduce conquered and conquerors alike to one common ruin. He would not have succeeded for a moment had there not existed in his favour an actual conspiracy of all the Greek-speaking provinces; their deputies encouraged him in his hopes, and they came to him not from Asia only, but from the Cyrenaica, from Carthaginian Africa,<sup>2</sup> from Athens, and from many parts of continental Greece. That Gaul and Spain did not share in this movement is due to the fact that they were yet too barbarous for their policy to rise to the conception of a general league among the provinces; meanwhile, during the Social war, and while Mithridates was yet busy with his preparations, the Thracians, excited by him, fell upon Macedonia, and in Narbonensis the Salluvii took up arms, and the Celtiberians and Lusitanians had but just laid them down when they resumed them under the leadership of Sertorius.<sup>3</sup> Also, in spite of what has been said



Coin of the Cyrenaica.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rayed female head. On the reverse, beardless head of Jupiter Ammon. Gold coin of the Cyrenaica.

<sup>2</sup> Eutropius, vi. 11; Athenæus, v. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *Bell. civ.*, ii. 99-100. In the year 93 Didius obtained a victory over the Celtiberians, and Licinius Crassus over the Lusitanians. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.*)



of this Roman aristocracy, who regarded the world as their prey, it is wonderful to see them, in the midst of these storms coming up at once from all quarters of the horizon, facing the tempest, braving all dangers, like the indestructible rock on which their Capitol was built, and to which the poet promises eternity: . . . .  
*Capitoli immobile saxum.*

Besides, were their enemies any better? The dominion of Rome was very severe, her prætors very rapacious, the provincials very wretched; but read the history of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ, especially from the time of that Antiochus VIII., who forced his mother, Cleopatra, herself to drink the poison she had offered him. Consider in these royal families all natural sentiments outraged by odious vices and crimes, by incest and parricide, by murder in all its worst forms, mothers killing their sons, and sons their mothers; brothers murdering each other; everywhere intrigue, treason, revolt; authority contemptible and powerless; a frightful destitution among the people; and nowhere the consolations of liberty or the tranquillity of despotism;<sup>1</sup> and then can any one say that these States and dynasties were not doomed to perish. The period of the successors of Alexander was the slow and miserable death of the Græco-Oriental world. Under this exterior decomposition no doubt healthful forces were at work. Whilst empires were breaking each other in pieces, ideas and beliefs were fused, and beneath the heavy hand of Rome, which was at last to discipline this chaos, a moral revolution was preparing? The senate was not conscious of its work, but impelled by pride and the instinct of domination, with the calm and strength of fate, they brought all these nations together in that unity of rule which alone rendered possible a unity of faith. It was this fortune and these destinies that one man attempted to arrest, and for thirty years he seemed to succeed in the attempt.

<sup>1</sup> See the history of Ptolemy IX. and of the five sons of Antiochus VIII., contemporary with the epoch of which we are speaking: *Mutuis fratrum odiis et mor filius inimicitis parentum succedentibus, cum inextinguibili bello et reges et regnum. Syrie consumptum esset* . . . (Justin, xl. 1.) After the death of the last of the sons of Grypus, Aretas, an Arab chief, seized upon Coele-syria. (Joseph., *Ant. Jud.*, xiii 15, 2.) In 87 the Syrians called in Tigranes of Armenia, who reigned peaceably over Syria until the victories of Lucullus in 69. (Just., xl. 1.) Eastern Cilicia also acknowledged Tigranes. (App., *Syr.*, 48.) Laodice, wife of Ariarathes V., poisoned five of his sons to secure the kingdom for the sixth. (Justin, xxxvii. 1.)

Mithridates VI. Eupator, whom historians have called "the Great," inherited from his father, the faithful ally of the senate,<sup>1</sup> nothing but the kingdom of Pontus (120); he was then scarcely twelve years old,<sup>2</sup> but very early manifested his ambitious and indomitable character. His mother, who was to govern the kingdom

during his minority, was his first victim, his brother the second. The courtiers in alarm sought to free themselves from so terrible a master,<sup>3</sup> but he defeated their plots. For seven years he never slept under a roof, wandering in the woods,



Coin of Mithridates the Great.<sup>4</sup>

hunting wild beasts over the plains and mountains, sometimes making 1,000 *stadia*<sup>5</sup> in a day, and acquiring by these violent exercises a constitution which braved the fatigues of half a century of war. Like Attalus of Pergamus, he made a study of vegetable poisons, and familiarized himself so thoroughly with dangers of this kind that it was believed he had nothing to fear from them. Brave, as well as strong and agile, he was the best soldier in his army, and could manage a team of sixteen horses harnessed to his chariot. Age seemed to have no hold upon him, and at seventy he was still fighting, bearing upon his body as many scars as he had fought battles.

By the pomp with which he loved to surround himself, by his harem, and by his contempt for human life he was an Asiatic king; by his taste for letters, sciences, precious vases<sup>6</sup> and engraved

<sup>1</sup> He brought assistance to Rome with troops and ships in the third Punic war and in the war against Aristonicus, which brought him in return a portion of Phrygia. (Appian, *Mithr.*, 10.)

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (x. p. 477) and Justin (xxxvii. 2) call him eleven years old at his accession to the throne, Appian (*Mith.*, 112) twelve, Memnon (chap. xxx., ed. Orelli) thirteen, but Strabo was a native of the country, and ought to be best informed.

<sup>3</sup> The Pontic nobles were a real feudal power; Strabo mentions one, a relative of his, who gave up to Lucullus fifteen fortified castles. (xii. 3, 33.)

<sup>4</sup> Diademed head of Mithridates VI. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ. Pegasus, a star, a crescent, and a monogram in a wreath of ivy and grape. Tetradrachm of Mithridates the Great. By a comparison of this coin with that given on p. 554, it will be seen that these heads are portraits.

<sup>5</sup> A *stadium* = 200 yards.

<sup>6</sup> The coloured lithograph represents the famous Bacchic cup of the *Cabinet de France*. VOL. II. TT

gems he was a Greek prince; by his indomitable courage a barbarian chief.<sup>1</sup> The position of his kingdom explains this: Pontus, bounded towards the sea by the Greek republics of Amisus and Trebizond, on the east by the barbarous tribes of Iberia and Colchis, on the south by Armenia, whose king, Tigranes, assumed the title of Monarch of the East. Mithridates visited all these nations; he studied their strength and their weakness, and acquired their languages; he could, it is said, speak twenty-two dialects,

Coin of Amisus.<sup>2</sup>Coin of Trebizond.<sup>3</sup>Coin of Colchis.<sup>4</sup>

and talk with all the barbarous tribes of Scythia and the Caucasus without an interpreter.

In unskilful hands Pontus would have remained an obscure state; an able ruler, on the contrary, could find elements of power there. Its savage inhabitants and all *Barbaria* that surrounded it would supply warlike soldiers, while the Greeks of the seashore, whom he knew how to interest in his cause, put at his service the resources of civilization. Great men are not everything in history—witness Rome, where they did but little; for Pontus, however, its fortunes, during a half century, depended exclusively upon Mithridates.<sup>5</sup>

No. 279 of the Catalogue. It has been called the *Vase of Mithridates* and the *Cup of the Ptolemies*. A Carolingian king in the ninth century presented this splendid piece of Oriental sardonix to the treasury of the abbey of S. Denis, where it remained till the Revolution. It is decorated with the attributes of the worship of Bacchus; Priapus and Ceres are represented on it. (Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général et raisonné*, etc., p. 51-54, and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq.*, at the word *Carchesium*, p. 919.)

<sup>1</sup> Velleius Paterculus (ii. 18) depicts him thus: *Bello acerrimus, virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, semper animo maximus, consiliis dux, miles manu, odio in Romanos Hannibal*.

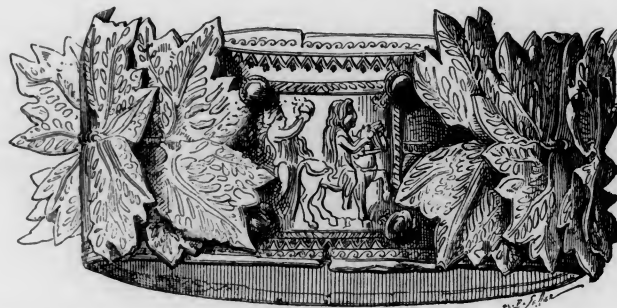
<sup>2</sup> Turreted female head. On the reverse, MYAA ΠΕΙΤ, two monograms (names of unknown magistrates); owl, front view. Didrachme of Amisus.

<sup>3</sup> TPA, first letters of the Greek name (τραπίζονς) of this city, which signifies a table; a table covered, it is explained, with pieces of money. Reverse of a silver coin of Trapezus (Trebizond).

<sup>4</sup> Couchant lioness. On the reverse, a unicorn with kneeling human body. Unique silver coin of Colchis. (*Cabinet de France*.)

<sup>5</sup> Pontus was the narrow coast of the Euxine, stretching from the Phasis on the east, where

Returning home after a long absence, he decimated his court, which had believed him dead, and killed Laodice, his sister, and wife; he then organized his armies, and lending aid, through motives of self-interest, to the king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, Parisades, he delivered him from the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Roxolani, but compelled him to descend to the position of

Funeral fillet of an inhabitant of Panticapæum (near Kertch, once the Capital of the Cimmerian Bosphorus).<sup>1</sup>

vassal, and pay into the Pontic treasury 200 talents yearly. His generals penetrated as far as the mouths of the Tyras (Dniester), where one of them constructed a fort called from his own name the tower of Neoptolemus, and already his emissaries were busy in Thrace and in the valley of the Danube. On the death of Parisades he added the Bosphorus to his estates; a hill in that country is called to this day *the hill of Mithridates*, in the neighbourhood of Kertch, near the famous tumulus of Koul-Oba, which contained so many magnificent works of Greek art.<sup>3</sup>

Parisades.<sup>2</sup>

This kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, very ancient and very rich, had been the granary of Athens, which city had been

it bordered upon Colchis as far as beyond the Halys in the west, where its kings made their residence at Sinope. On the south this kingdom was bounded by Galatia, Cappadocia, and lesser Armenia.

<sup>1</sup> The skeleton was covered with a gold-embroidered tunic. (*Ant. du Bosph. cimmér.*, pl. 3, No. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> Diademed head of Parisades II., king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Gold coin.

<sup>3</sup> These treasures, discovered by a Frenchman, Paul Dubrux, are now in the Museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. They are, however, represented in a work (*Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien*) published in Russian and in French by the Imperial Government, from which work we borrow some designs.

accustomed to receive from it annually 400,000 medimni of corn, and it also fed many other Greek cities.<sup>1</sup> The Milesian colony of Panticapæum was at first the centre of this immense commerce in corn. About 363 B.C., Leucon, "the magnificent prince," had been obliged to open at Theodosia another port, capable of receiving 100 merchant vessels. In this way great wealth accumulated in the hands of these skilful speculators, and they were in a position to attract to the Chersonesus the most distinguished Greek artists. In their tombs are found splendid ornaments with which they adorned the dead.<sup>2</sup>

Mithridates proposed to utilize in other ways resources so extensive. From his palace of Sinope he beheld the waves which rolled in from the Caucasus and the coasts of the Tauric Chersonesus, so that he might well say that this Euxine Sea was his own, a magnificent basin in which to form and exercise a fleet far from all jealous eyes.

The kings of Pontus had never before dreamed of a maritime empire. They were more apt to look towards Asia Minor, and as if to go out to meet the civilization of the Greek world, they had audaciously established their capital at the extreme west of their territory, at Amasia, in a deep gorge, through which flows the river Iris. In placing here their fortress, their treasures, and their tombs, and thus making this city the holy place of the dynasty, they had imposed upon themselves the necessity of advancing their frontier in this direction, a work which was especially tempting to the ambition of Mithridates.

In Asia Minor the Romans at this time occupied only the western portion: the rest of the peninsula remaining a chaos of republics, kingdoms, and tetrarchates. Cilicia, the insecure possession of the Seleucidæ and of the kings of Cappadocia, was a lair of pirates, whom Rome had already chastised, and whom she essayed to restrain by forming on their coast a military establishment in the year 103. Phrygia and Paphlagonia knew not to whom they belonged. Mithridates regretted the loss of the former, which the senate had taken from him at his accession; for the

<sup>1</sup> The medimnus was about five and a half pecks. Athens gave citizenship to Leucon, king of this country, and to his sons.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 643 and 645.

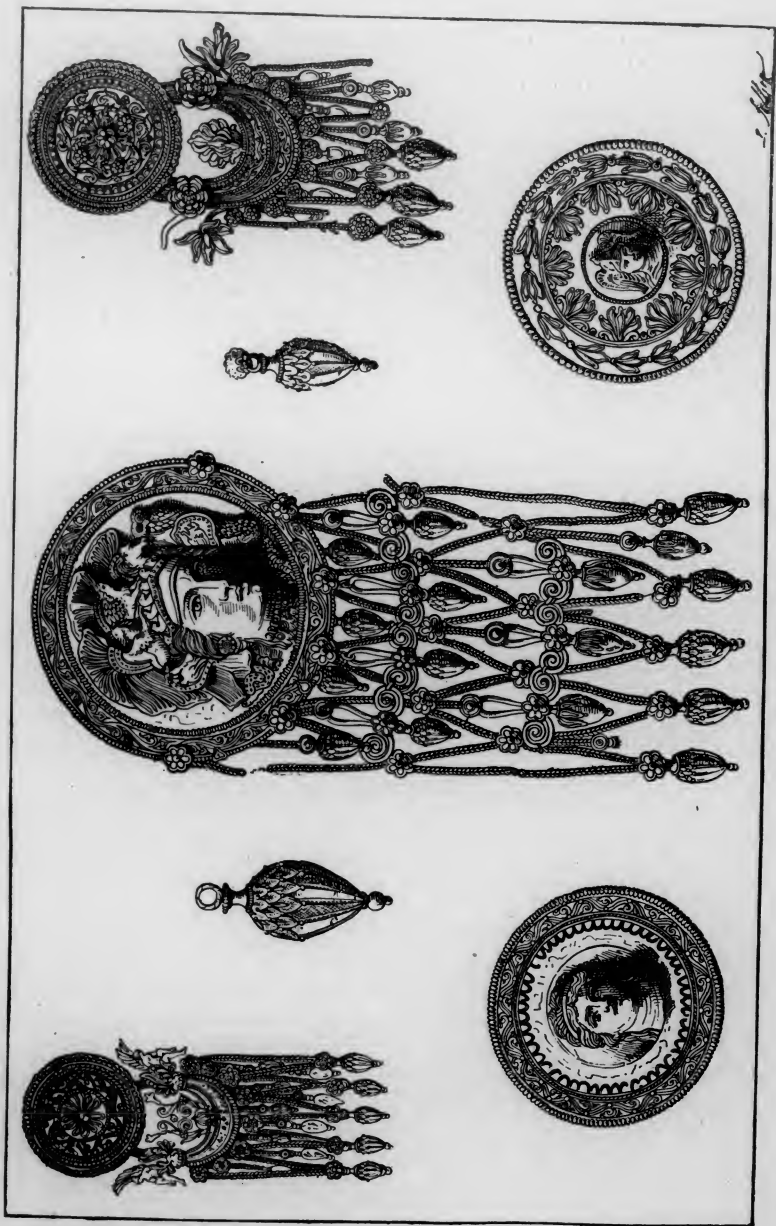




P. SELLIER, del.

CUP WORKED IN ORIENTAL SARDONYX

Belonged to Pyrrhus



Jewels found at Koul-Oba (p. 644).

partition of the latter he had formed an agreement with Nicomedes II. of Bithynia. The Romans having summoned the two princes to abandon this province, Nicomedes withdrew, giving one of his sons for king to the western Paphlagonians, but Mithridates replied, haughtily, "This kingdom belonged to my father, and I am astonished that any one should dispute my right to it." To this conquest he added an alliance with the Galatians, who later furnished him auxiliaries at the time of his expedition into Greece, and to secure Cappadocia, whence he should touch upon Phrygia which the Romans had taken from him during his minority, he now caused Ariarathes, his brother-in-law, king of Cappadocia, to be killed; he murdered with his own hand one of this prince's children, drove out the other, and ended by placing upon the throne his own son, eight years of age. The senate, at this time occupied with the war against the Cimbri, paid little attention to these palace-tragedies. However, when the widow of Ariarathes VI., herself sister of Mithridates, and now wife of Nicomedes II., ventured to claim Cappadocia for an impostor whom she presented as the brother of the two murdered princes, while the king of Pontus affirmed that his own son was the true son of Ariarathes, the senate, at last becoming indignant, punished the two kings by ordering Nicomedes to relinquish western Paphlagonia, and Mithridates, Cappadocia, and declared the latter country to be free.

The people of Cappadocia were alarmed at this liberty; they supplicated the senate to give them a king, and Ariobarzanes was chosen.<sup>3</sup> All these crimes and intrigues had resulted, therefore, in provoking a threatening intervention, and in placing Cappadocia still more under the influence of Rome.

The king of Pontus did not consider himself defeated; he let

Ariarathes VI.<sup>1</sup>Nicomedes II. of Bithynia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diademed head of Ariarathes VI. From a silver coin.

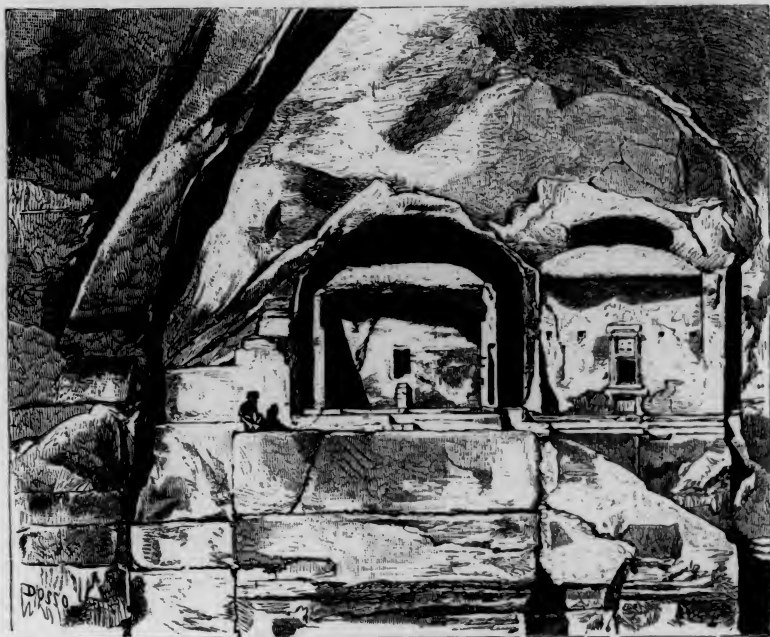
<sup>2</sup> Diademed head of Nicomedes II., king of Bithynia. From a tetradrachm.

<sup>3</sup> Saint Martin places this event in the year 90, Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*) about 94; it is probable that the true date is 93.



this quarrel drop, and to avoid Roman notice he carried his arms into Colchis and the Trans-Caucasian regions, where he subjugated a great number of Scythian tribes. These expeditions trained his troops and augmented his forces by bringing him into relations with tribes which asked nothing better than to sell their courage.

When Mithridates found that the senate were occupied else-



Tombs of the Kings of Pontus.<sup>1</sup>

where, he resumed, notwithstanding the threats of Marius, his earlier projects, in which he had been able to interest the powerful king of Armenia, Tigranes, husband of his daughter Cleopatra.

<sup>1</sup> Perrot, Guillaume, and Delbet, *Expl. scientif. de la Galatie*, pl. 78. The description given by Strabo of his native city is exact to this day. It stood upon the *Iris* (Yeshil-Ermek), in a deep gorge; nature had done more than art in making it important as a city and fortress. (Cf. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 336.) The royal tombs made in the rock have lost their rich ornamentation, which time and plunderers have destroyed, but whose undoubted traces have been found by MM. Perrot and Guillaume. A curious inscription discovered in the neighbourhood (*C. I. G.*, 4174) speaks of the restoration of the funeral monuments of ancient heroes by a certain Lucius; but the monuments which he restored cannot have been those of the kings of Pontus.

The two kings seem to have agreed to share western Asia, the Armenian taking the inheritance of Cyrus, and Mithridates, Roman Asia, and when acting together their hopes seemed not unreasonable. From the profits of the expedition against Cappadocia, which Mithridates proposed to him, Tigranes reserved to himself only the booty, and when Ariobarzanes had been driven out, he, as "king of kings," gave Cappadocia to his young brother-in-law, the son of Mithridates (93). The year following Sylla appeared as pro-prætor in that portion of Cilicia where the Romans had established themselves. He gathered a small force, crossed the Taurus, possibly by way of the Iron Gates, and restored Ariobarzanes; then he advanced far eastward through lesser Armenia, so as to be the first Roman who had ever reached the banks of the Euphrates. He there received an ambassador from the king of the Parthians, who was at this time friendly to those who were the enemies of Tigranes, and he showed in this interview an arrogance of which the unfortunate envoy became the victim, being put to death on his return to Ctesiphon for having allowed the place of honour to the Roman prætor. The scene had been expressly arranged to impress the Asiatic mind, which has always felt a respect for power; the Roman, still an obscure individual, who caused a king of Cappadocia and the envoy of so formidable a potentate as the king of the Parthians modestly to sit down at his side, seemed to be the representative of a power to which all others must yield.

This expedition, ably managed, did much honour to Sylla (92). But scarcely had he returned to Rome when Tigranes and Mithridates overthrew the senate's nominee and placed a creature of their own in his stead. Mithridates pushed his advantage; to conquered Cappadocia he added Bithynia, whence he expelled Nicomedes III., establishing instead Socrates Chrestos, a brother of that prince who was pledged to the interests of Pontus.

Mithridates was at that time really a powerful monarch; to the modest domain left him by his father he had added two-thirds of Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and the kingdom of the Bosphorus. With the exception of the coasts of Thrace, all the Euxine was subject to his sway. In a political and geographical point of view this empire lacked unity, but it afforded hordes of barbarians, paid by the treasures of the cities of the coast,

enriched as they were by the abundant fisheries of the Black Sea, by the fertility of the Crimea and the auriferous sands of the Ural, which the Scythians exchanged for the merchandise of Greece, and by a portion of the Indian commerce, which at that time followed the route of the Oxus, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus. With these resources, and his alliance with Armenia, Mithridates was justified in vast hopes; but Tigranes died,<sup>1</sup> assas-



The Iron Gates across the Lake Eyerdar.<sup>2</sup>

inated by one of his generals, and his successor, occupied with

<sup>1</sup> Saint-Martin places his death in 91, following Armenian writers; Clinton in 96. (*Fasti Hellen.*, iii. 338.)

<sup>2</sup> Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 330. The traveller Paul Lucas, though often guilty of exaggeration, gives an accurate description of the Iron Gates: "On the right," he says, "is the mountain with precipitous rocks; at the left are formidable precipices. The road, which is half way up the mountain, overhangs the lake at a height equal to that of the towers of Notre Dame. The place was once an important pass. The road has manifestly been hewn out of the solid mass, for the rock is absolutely impassable, and perpendicular as a wall. A gateway built of hewn stones exists still, the gates themselves being of wood, mounted with iron, but they have been much impaired by time."

making his position secure, recalled the Armenian troops from Asia Minor (91). The senate, with their wonted ability, turned this tragedy to profit: although the storm was about to burst upon Italy and upon Rome, orders were sent to the prætor of Asia to replace upon their thrones Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes. Mithridates offered no resistance; he retired into his kingdom of Pontus (90), and allowed Nicomedes to ravage Paphlagonia in order to obtain means for the payment of his Roman creditors (89).

## II.—CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR BY MITHRIDATES (88); INVASION OF GREECE (87).

But the Pontic king went on quietly with his preparations. Four hundred vessels were in his harbours, and he continued to build more; his emissaries, meanwhile, were gathering sailors and pilots in Egypt and Phœnicia, soldiers among the Scythians, Thracians, and even the Celts on the shores of the Danube; innumerable bands of barbarians were coming across the Euxine or traversing the defiles of the Caucasus, 300,000 men being at this time assembled.<sup>1</sup> A part of the Galatians, "the nation to whom Rome had once paid a ransom," consented to follow Mithridates, and Asia called upon him to advance. He now threw off the mask, sending one of his generals to reproach the proconsul Cassius with the acts of injustice which Rome had committed towards himself as regards Phrygia and Cappadocia. He enumerated all the forces at his disposal and the many allies he could find even in Italy among the subjects of Rome.<sup>3</sup> "Weigh all these considerations," he concluded;



Scythian Warrior armed with the *acinaces*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justin, xxxviii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Designed from the sheath of a short sword or poniard called *acinaces*, found at Nicopolis, near the mouth of the Dnieper, in the tomb of a native chief. (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, p. 32, fig. 60.)

<sup>3</sup> For the relations of Mithridates with the provincials, see Appian (*Mithrid.*, 16), Plutarch (Sylla, 11), Dion (fr. 116), Justin (xxxviii. 3), Athenæus (v. 50).

"return to better counsels, and I promise in the name of Mithridates assistance in subduing revolted Italy; otherwise, it is at Rome that we shall finally settle our dispute."<sup>1</sup>

At the moment when the envoy of Mithridates was using this haughty language to Cassius (the end of the year 89), Rome was



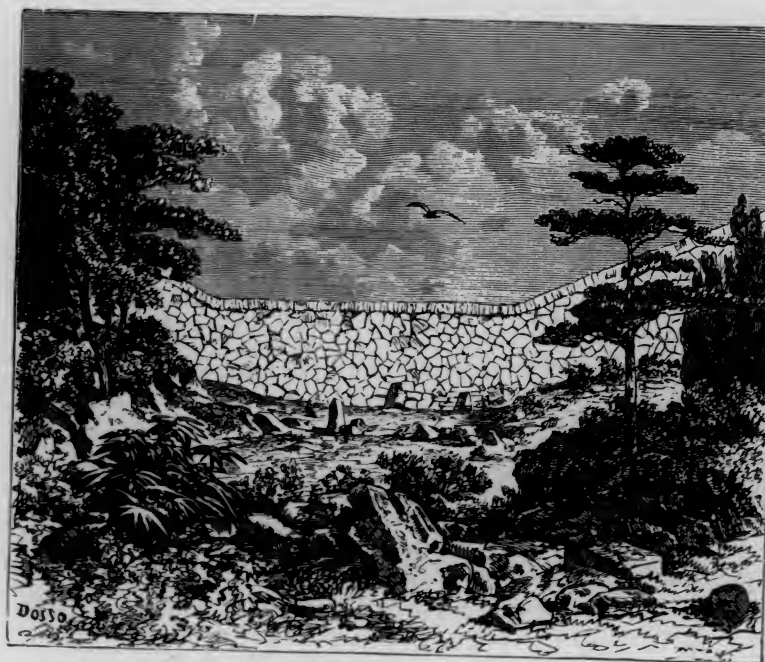
Indian Bacchus called Sardanapalus (p. 654).<sup>2</sup>

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Aqueduct, on the Principle of the Siphon, at Patara.<sup>1</sup>

Mithridates drove back the proconsul Oppius from Cappadocia into Pamphylia, and in a single action destroyed the Roman fleet which guarded the entrance of the Euxine. The conqueror then sent home the prisoners he had taken, excused the debts of the cities, and promised them five years' exemption from subsidies. As a result

later date than the statue itself; M. Alfred Maury is of opinion that Sardanapalus, identified with the bearded Indian Bacchus, is perhaps an Asiatic solar divinity. (Cf. *Movers, die Phœnizier*, vol. i. p. 462, 478, 479, and Guigniaut, *les Religions de l'antiquité*, book vii.)

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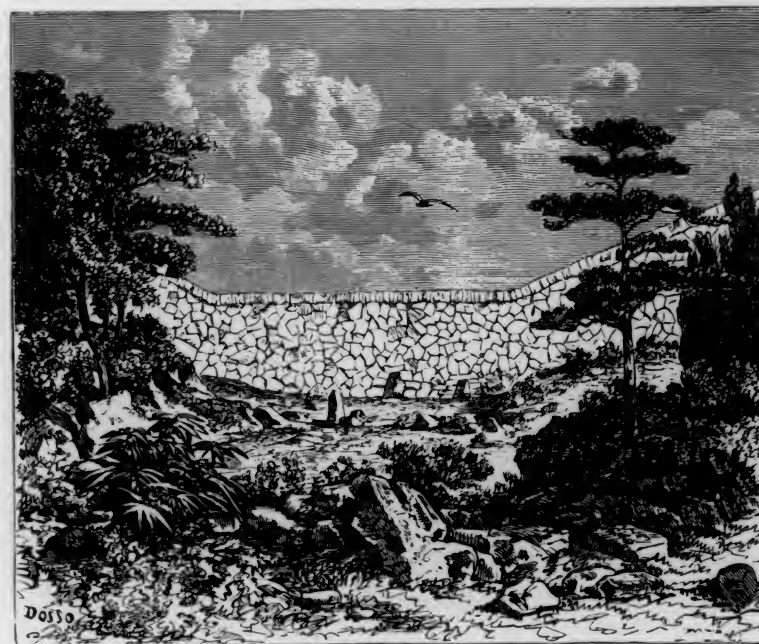
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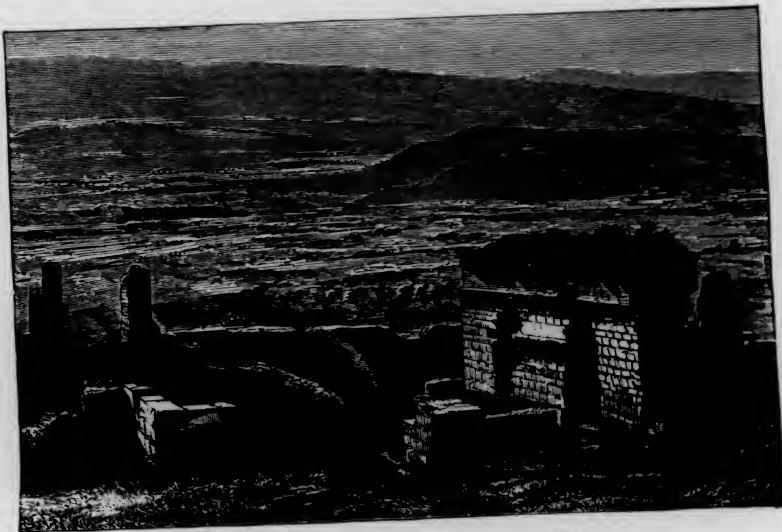
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the people everywhere came out to meet him, and his advance was not so much a conquest as a triumphal march. They called him a saving divinity and the new Bacchus, while his noble face recalling that of Alexander added to the illusion. Magnesia ad Sipylum, Stratonicea in Caria, and Patara in Lycia, with a few others, resisted the general current. To bind the Asiatic population to his cause by a sanguinary tie, the king of Pontus sent to the governors of all the cities secret orders, which were not to be opened until a fixed date. On the day appointed, at



Ephesus; Ruins of the Gymnasium (p. 655).<sup>1</sup>

the same hour, the entire province revenged itself for its long afflictions. All the Romans and Italians in Asia were murdered, women, children, and even slaves perishing amid tortures. Not even the most venerated sanctuaries were able to protect the victims;<sup>2</sup> their confiscated property was divided between the murderers and the king, and the latter found himself sufficiently enriched to be able to declare the Asiatics free of all tax for five years. Ephesus among all these cities signalized her hate. When

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage de Constantinople à Ephèse*, by De Moustier (*Tour du monde*, part 229, p. 270.)

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Mithrid.*, 61. Some authors state the number murdered [at this ancient S. Bartholomew] at 80,000 (Val. Max., ix. 2), others at 100,000, and even at 150,000. (Plut., *Sylla*.)

there were no Romans left to kill, the inhabitants turned their fury against monuments erected by them or in their honour, and the city earned the distinction of being the capital of the new empire. Cassius meanwhile had fled as far as Rhodes. Oppius was given up by the people of Laodicea, and Mithridates carried him along in chains. Aquillius, betrayed by the Mitylenians, was exhibited to public derision in the principal cities, until at Pergamus he was put to death by pouring molten gold into his mouth



Coin of Mitylene.<sup>1</sup>

(88).<sup>2</sup> Rome thus expiated by the death of 100,000 of her people or her allies, and by a shock which made the whole empire tremble, the abominable exactions of her pro-consuls and her publicans.

The first part of the plans of Mithridates had now been carried out; Asia had been gained, with the exception of a few cities that still held out, one of them, Rhodes, making a brilliant resistance and giving shelter to the Romans who had escaped from the massacre. Several times Mithridates attacked this island city, but was always unsuccessful, and in one of these naval battles narrowly escaped with his life. He passed the winter of 88—7 at Pergamus in order to be near Greece, and celebrated there with great pomp his marriage with the beautiful Monima, a Greek of Stratonicea or Miletus, who had refused his offers until he consented to bestow upon her the rank of queen. The fault which had ruined Antiochus<sup>3</sup> now became disastrous to Mithridates; the great king gave place to the voluptuous satrap, and the opportunity for striking a decisive blow went by. The Pontic king, however, did not forget himself so entirely as did Antiochus. During his wedding festivities he sent out from his harem, his orders for the massacre, and he now made ready to profit by the civil war which was detaining the legions in Italy, to fulfil his promises to the Italians and Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, MYTI, lyre, and serpent. Silver coin of Mitylene.

<sup>2</sup> Appian, *Mithrid.*, 21. According to Diodorus (xxxvii. 27) he killed himself to escape from insults and tortures.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 47.

The Greeks were keenly alive to the events on the opposite shore of the Ægean, and the rhetoricians did not fail to extol in pompous language the generosity of the king, the liberation of Asia, and the revival of the Hellenic race. The Athenians, always mindful of the great achievements of their ancestors, were now the most excited. They had had less to suffer than others from pro-consular exactions, and Rome had shown them very unusual consideration. But their immense vanity was not content with the trivial part which they now played in the world, and they were indignant to see eminent Romans like the orators Crassus and Antonius traverse their city without rendering her the customary homage, disdaining her marvels, her yet famous schools, and in the city of Sophocles and Demosthenes affecting to speak "their barbaric language."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, Athens had accepted the no doubt brilliant offers of Mithridates. That city was now to be the base of operations for the Pontic army; the siege she endured was the most considerable incident of the war; and as if to show that it was not so much a question of the independence of a little nation as of a struggle which had already been going on for more than a century between the Hellenic and the Latin civilizations, two philosophers, Aristion and Apellicon of Teos, conducted the defence, and it was the representative of the old Roman party who in the end forced her gates.

In the spring of the year 87 the Pontic fleet, mistress of the Ægean Sea, transported into Greece an army under the command of the Cappadocian Archelaus, while one of the king's sons, Archathias, on the north of the Hellespont, was gathering another army, to be augmented on its march by the Thracian and Danubian tribes, among whom the emissaries of Mithridates had long been at work. This plan was skilful. The Roman governor of Macedon, who alone in Hellas had some troops at his disposal, would be hemmed in between the two Asiatic armies. But the 150,000 men whom Mithridates promised to send into Greece were a kind of troops that Flamininus had once characterized by telling a story,<sup>2</sup> and the same prince who had conducted the Asiatic war with so much resolution and celerity, now carried on the European

<sup>1</sup> See Hinstin, *Les Romains à Athènes*, p. 68, seq.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 47.

campaign with inexplicable delays. Archelaus, who ought to have been able to arrive in Greece in the year 88, while Italy was yet in a blaze, reached his destination only in the following year, when the war was nearly over, and the king's army spent a whole year in going from Lampsacus to Thermopylæ. Archelaus easily brought about the defection of Athens, long before prepared by the philosopher Aristion, also of Eubœa and the Peloponnesus, and of Bœotia, with the exception of Thespiæ; also two fortresses of Chalcis and of Demetrias still remained in the hands of the Roman party.

The first collision between the Romans and Asiatics took place in Bœotia. Bruttius Sura, the lieutenant of the governor of Macedon, drove out of Thessaly a detachment which had endeavoured to capture Demetrias, for three days fought successfully with Archelaus in the plain of Chæronea, and would have remained master of the field if the approach of the Peloponnesians had not wrested the victory from him.<sup>1</sup> The shock was so severe that it had the effect of bringing the invasion to a stand. Moreover, Sylla was coming up, and the Pontic army was not; Archelaus fell back upon the Piræus,<sup>2</sup> and Aristion re-entered Athens. They held only the coast of Greece, but that they held strongly, thanks to the half-insular position of Athens and their own fleet, mistress of the Ægean.

### III.—SIEGE OF ATHENS; BATTLES OF CHÆRONEA AND ORCHO-

MENUS (87—85).

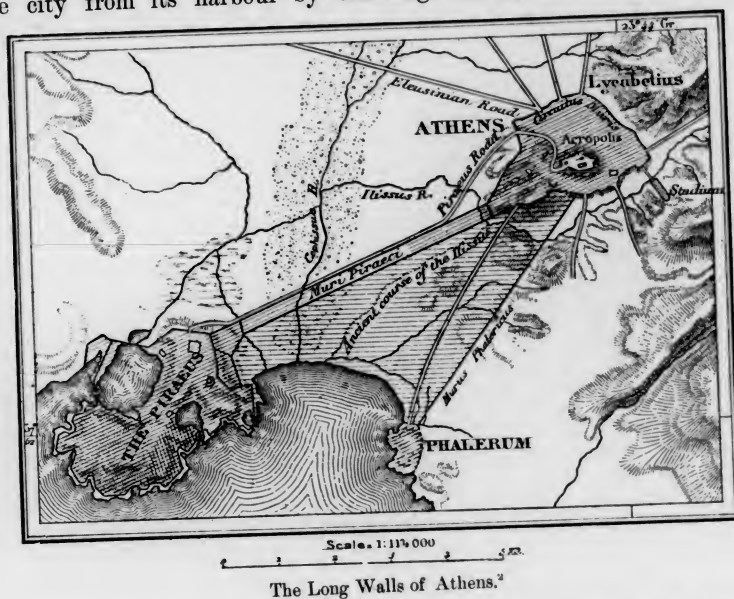
While fighting was going on in Bœotia, Sylla had crossed the Adriatic with five legions—about 30,000 men—and the little gold that he had been able to obtain by the sale of the consecrated

<sup>1</sup> The arrival of Sylla in Greece put a stop to all these movements; in the further progress of the war the Peloponnesians were entirely out of account.

<sup>2</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, pl. xii. [The Piræus is now a very different place from what it was. It contains 20,000 inhabitants; its harbour is full of ships, and, sad to relate, a rapidly increasing number of factory chimneys is defacing the place. The harbour, though not large, is perfectly sheltered, and deep up to the shore, and is able to hold many ships of war, together with merchantmen and steamers.—*Ed.*]



treasures of the temples.<sup>1</sup> He levied some auxiliaries in Thessaly, Ætolia, and Bœotia, and marched upon Athens, leaving strong detachments at Megara to close the isthmus, and at Eleusis, to keep open the route to Bœotia, which was to supply him with provisions. Athens was connected with the Piræus by the Long Walls of Themistocles, and with the aid of the Pontic fleet the Piræus was constantly receiving soldiers and provisions, which were sent into the city. Sylla at first devoted all his efforts to separating the city from its harbour by breaking through the Long Walls;



The Long Walls of Athens.<sup>2</sup>

he then made a furious attack upon the Piræus, sparing neither his soldiers nor himself, for proscribed at Rome as he was, it was only by a victory, and a prompt one, that he could save himself. To construct his machines of war he had cut down the fine trees of the Lyceum and the Academy; to pay his soldiers he pillaged the temples of Delphi, Epidauros, and Olympia, promising that the gold should be restored after the war.<sup>3</sup> The priests of Delphi

<sup>1</sup> App., *Mithrid.*, 22. Orosius, v. 18: *Loca publica quæ in circuitu Capitolii, pontificibus auguribus, decemviris et flaminibus in possessionem tradita erant, cogente inopia, vendita sunt.*

<sup>2</sup> The Phaleric wall fell into decay as soon as Pericles completed the southern Long Wall (440 B.C.).

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Sylla*, 12. He kept his word, but it was the Greeks who paid for him. After

called to their aid presages forbidding this forced loan. They had heard the lyre of Apollo sound in the sanctuary. "It is a sign that he consents," the general said; "deliver over these treasures; the god himself gives them to us to fight against the barbarians; they will be safer in my hands than in yours."

Meanwhile the attack on the Piræus made no progress. Archelaus skilfully checked the advances of the besiegers, and employed in the defence all that the engineering science of the time had taught. On one occasion he ordered a grand sortie, which would have been fatal to the besieging army had it not been for the desperate courage of a Roman cohort, whose soldiers had some military disgrace to wipe out. Winter came on before

the rams had made a breach in the walls, constructed of enormous blocks. Fortunately the advance of the Pontic army was incredibly slow. The death of Areathias still further delayed them, and the year 86 found Sylla encamped at Eleusis with a portion of his troops, the rest posted between the Piræus and Athens, to continue the blockade; the Pontic army besieged in these two places, Eubœa and Macedon; and Mithridates still in Asia.

In the spring Sylla renewed his attacks vigorously, but Lucullus, whom



Battering-Ram (used by hand).<sup>2</sup>

he had sent into Egypt to collect vessels, had not been able to form a fleet capable of disputing the seas with

the battle of Chæronea he consecrated to Jupiter and Apollo half the territory of Thebes to compensate the temples for the treasures that he had "borrowed" from them. (Plut., *Sylla*, 27.)

<sup>1</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, pl. xcii., fig. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Bas-relief of Trajan's column. (Bartoli, *Colonna Traj.*, pl. xxii.) Dacians attacking UU 2



Sculpture from Delphi (Quadriga and Wreaths).<sup>1</sup>

that of the king of Pontus. Despairing of the capture of the Piræus, so long as Mithridates remained master of the seas, he turned his efforts against the city. Athens was already suffering from famine; it is asserted that the medimnus of corn was sold at 1,000 drachmæ.<sup>1</sup> However, Aristion, master of the citadel, and supported by the troops which Archelaus had furnished him, did not speak of surrender. According to Plutarch, who manifestly calumniates him, this sophist, turned general, was a wretch in whom all the vices

Coin of Athens.<sup>2</sup>

contended for mastery. His nights were spent in revels, and by day he appeared upon the walls to insult the Romans, Metella, their general's wife, and Sylla himself, whom, on account of his blotchy complexion, Aristion compared to a mulberry powdered with meal. The philosophers of that time believed themselves to be statesmen and even warriors. The Peripatetic Appellicon of Teos also had a command in Athens.<sup>3</sup> He was very fond of books, bought them everywhere, and stole them from the

Coin of Appellicon.<sup>4</sup>

public collections—fortunate thefts, we may say, for Appellicon suffered from the *lex talionis*; Sylla seized his library and carried it to Rome. The manuscripts of Aristotle were a part of it;<sup>4</sup> they were copied, and Andronicus of Rhodes prepared from them the first known collection of this master's works.

The walls which Themistocles had built still arrested the advance of Sylla, and gave the two friends time to

city walls by means of a beam terminating in a ram's head. We commit an anachronism in borrowing this detail of Trajan's column to show the use of this machine, which was, according to Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vii. 57), of very ancient date. On an architectural monument the soldiers are naturally represented exposed; in siege operations, however, they handled the ram under movable shelters.

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Athens. On the obverse, the head of Minerva; on the reverse, the name of Mithridates, ΒΑ(ΣΙ)ΛΕ(ΪΣ) ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ that of the Athenians, ΑΘΕ(ναιων), and that of Aristion, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ. (Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 37, and *Revue numism.*, 1863, p. 176-179.)

<sup>3</sup> He was at the head of an expedition against Delos and was defeated. (Athenæus, v. p. 214; Strabo, p. 600.)

<sup>4</sup> [The story of the loss and recovery of Aristotle's MSS. in a cellar at Scepsis is told by Strabo XIII. i. 54, and has excited much controversy.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, No. 211. ΑΘΕ(ναιων) ΑΠΕΛΛΙΚΟΝ ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ ΑΡΤΕΝΟΣ. ΔΑ.

philosophize. Meanwhile famine had spread even to the troops. Twice Archelaus made an attempt to provision Athens, but Sylla, informed by two slaves, who threw into his lines hollow balls containing information, intercepted the convoys; Aristion finally decided to send to Sylla two envoys, who harangued him at great length in praise of Theseus, Eumolpus, and Miltiades. "I was not sent hither to take lessons in eloquence, but to punish rebels," said the general, and he sent them away. On the first day of March, 86, some soldiers surprised a weak place in the defence, and the city was taken. Sylla caused a portion of the wall to be thrown down, and at midnight, with trumpets sounding the charge and the shouts of the whole army, he entered the city.<sup>1</sup> Here he respected the monuments, but not the lives of men. Sylla wished to terrify Greece and Asia by the sack of this city, which in delaying his advance for nine months had risked his fortunes. His soldiers being satiated with blood and gold, and the terror of his name spread in all directions, he restored their liberty to those of the Athenians who yet survived, and even gave them back the island of Delos; once more Athens was saved by the memory of her illustrious dead.

Coin of Aristion.<sup>2</sup>

Sylla now resumed the siege of the Piræus with great activity; behind every section of wall that his rams broke down he found another wall erected by his skilful and persevering adversary, and he was forced to conquer the place inch by inch.<sup>3</sup> Archelaus, driven back into Munychia, which the sea surrounded on all sides, might have continued his resistance, but it was no longer worth while for the Pontic army to remain on this point of the Athenian territory. By their valiant defence they had for nearly a year kept Sylla out of Asia, and given time to Mithridates to complete his preparations, and to the royal army time to arrive in Greece. Archelaus now embarked and sailed for Eubœa to put himself in

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Beulé, *ibid.*, No. 216. The owl of Minerva, the name of the Athenians, ΑΘΕ(ναιων), and that of three monetary officials, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΗΓΓΙΑΣ ΑΠ.

<sup>3</sup> Sylla, who has respected the public buildings of Athens, destroyed all those of the Piræus. (App., *Mithrid.*, 41.)

communication with Taxiles, the new general in command of the army from Thrace, who was coming down in the rear of the legions with an army of 110,000 men. Sylla, not being master of the sea, could not allow himself to be shut up in sterile Attica; moreover, he wished to meet Hortensius, who was bringing reinforcements to him from Thessaly. Being obliged to avoid Thermopylae, where a force of the enemy were in wait for him, Hortensius had taken the road by Mount Pindus and was coming



Soldier armed with a Sling.<sup>1</sup>



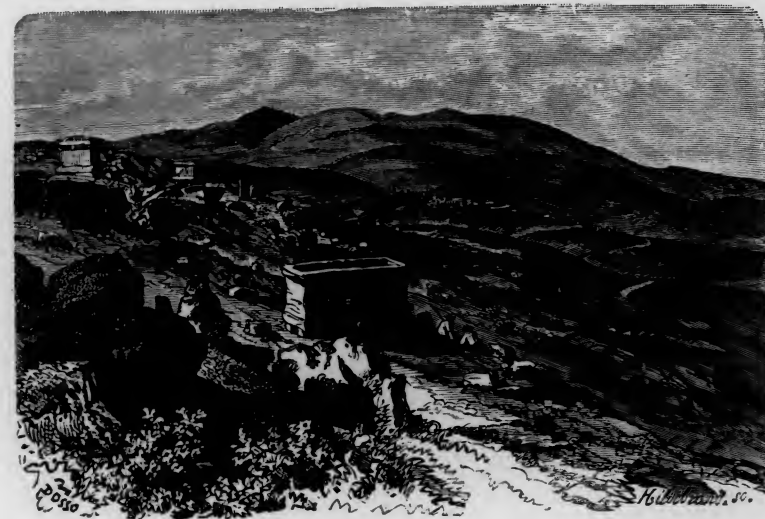
A Roman Trumpeter (*cornicen*).<sup>2</sup>

down into Boeotia. Two roads, one passing to the south, the other to the north of Mount Parnes, led from Athens into the Boeotian plain, coming out at Plataea and at Tanagra respectively. Sylla doubtless availed himself of both routes to move his army more rapidly, and made his junction with Hortensius in the neighbourhood of Elatea. Thanks to Plutarch, who was a native of the country, and prepared his history by aid of Sylla's Memoirs, we are better informed than usual about the incidents of this campaign.

<sup>1</sup> From the column of Trajan.

<sup>2</sup> From the Arch of Constantine.

The proconsul established his camp on a hill close by a stream of water. There he saw everything, and was himself seen, which was a part of his design, for he hoped that the enemy, confiding in their superior numbers, and despising the small Roman force, might commit some imprudence.<sup>1</sup> And so it happened, for the officers and soldiers of Taxiles demanded to be led to battle, and Archelaus himself wished it. The plain was full of men and horses and chariots. The glitter of their armour,



View of Plataea.<sup>2</sup>

adorned with gold and silver, the brilliant colours of the Median and Scythian dress, the polished lustre of brass and steel, gave this immense mass a conspicuous and formidable aspect. But, as Marius had done in the presence of the Teutons, Sylla now kept his army motionless behind their entrenchments, and supported with patience the taunts of the barbarians, who, encouraged by this inaction, spread themselves abroad many days' journey from the camp for purposes of rapine and plunder. They sacked cities,

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch gives Sylla but 16,500 men. But Sylla understated the number of his troops, as also that of his slain. If we say 30,000, of whom half were Romans, we shall doubtless come near the truth.

<sup>2</sup> Baron von Stackelberg; *Greece*. [This view looks west towards Mount Helicon.—*Ed.*]



pillaged temples, and arrayed against themselves the gods, and the inhabitants of the country who kept Sylla informed of all the movements of the Asiatics; the gods, especially the

renowned oracle of Trophonius, multiplied predictions of Roman successes.

To draw the Romans out of their lines, Archelaus, who commanded in chief, broke up his camp, and moved in the direction of Chæronea, along the western shore of Lake Copais, an imprudent movement, for, in case of defeat, he had no line open upon which he could retreat. Sylla forestalled him; for a tribune with one legion, guided by some Chæroneans, occupied this import-



Terra-cotta Figurine from Tanagra.<sup>1</sup>

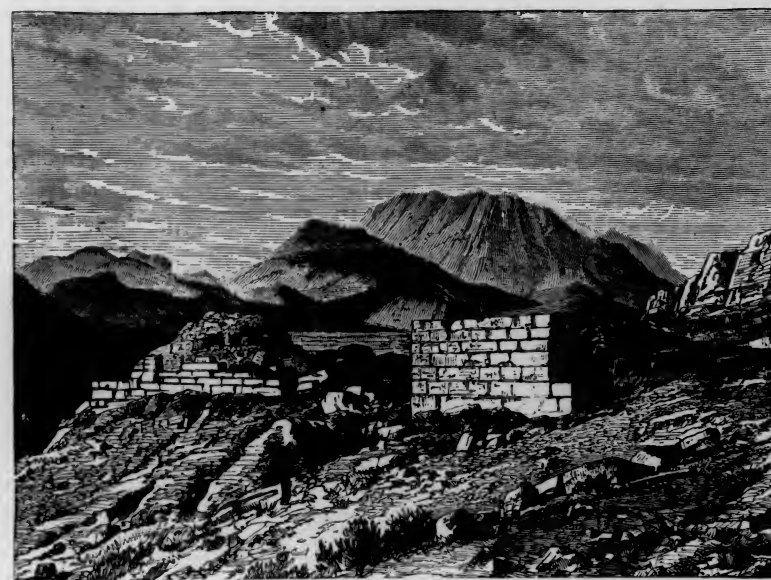
ant city before he could arrive; the Romans found here many souvenirs of the brilliant encounters of Bruttius Sura with this second Xerxes; and such was the confidence of the soldiers that, on the arrival of the general, the tribune offered him a wreath of laurel in their name, as though the victory had already been won.

The Asiatics were posted on a hill called Mount Thurium, overlooking the city. On the arrival of the proconsul two men of Chæronea came to him with a proposal to conduct a small

<sup>1</sup> Heuzey, *les Figurines de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. xxii., fig. 1.

party by a secret foot-path to a point above the enemy. He accepted their offer, and made his plans accordingly. In his half-entrenched position, Sylla awaited the effect of the surprise of Mount Thurium, and the onset of the Pontic army.

The enemy's order of battle consisted in placing the chariots in the first rank; in the second, the phalanx; in the third, the auxiliaries armed after the Roman fashion, among whom were many fugitive Italians.<sup>1</sup> Between the chariots and the phalanx,



Chæronea.<sup>2</sup>

Archelaus and Taxiles had placed 15,000 slaves enfranchised by public decree in the cities of Greece.<sup>3</sup> Thus provincials, Italians, slaves, all the revolvers against Rome were represented in this army of Mithridates.

<sup>1</sup> *Mixtis fugitivis Italicae gentes, quorum pervicacie multum fidebat.* (Front., *Strateg.*, i. 3, 17.)

<sup>2</sup> Belle, *Voyage en Grèce.* (*Tour du Monde*, 1877, pt. 841, p. 97.) Chæronea is now but a small hamlet, Kapurna. The remains of the theatre can yet be seen, "one of the rudest in Greece, whose stiff, narrow, and inconvenient seats are cut in a hard, flint rock." [The walls of the great acropolis, called Petrachus, are however very fine and well preserved.—*Ed.*]

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Sylla*, 18.

As soon as the Romans appeared on the crest of Mount Thurium, the affrighted barbarians would have fled, but upon that steep slope the rocks and stones sent down by the legionaries overtook and crushed them; they fell one upon another, wounded with their own weapons, and many perished without being able to strike a blow. Those who succeeded in reaching the plain were cut



<sup>1</sup> A Velites.

in pieces by Murena, or fell in among the Pontic army, arresting its march and bringing it into disorder. The scythe-armed chariots began an attack, but embarrassed by the palisades, could get no headway. "As an arrow shot feebly from the bow falls useless, the first chariots sent forward without vigour, are repulsed without difficulty, and the Romans call out for more, amid laughter and applause, as they would have done in witnessing races in the circus."

This gaiety was of ill omen for the Asiatics. At the moment of receiving the Roman onslaught they closed their ranks and lowered their long lances, imitated from the Macedonian sarissæ; but before his first line reached this dense mass, Sylla rained upon them the darts of the skirmishers (*velites*) and all the projectiles with which his second

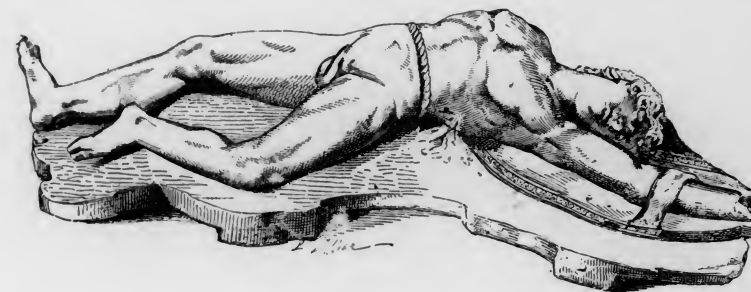
line was supplied. Thus gaps were produced in the line; then, Sylla advanced his legionaries, who, as at Pydna, pushed aside the pikes or stepped over them fighting hand to hand.

The adversaries of Rome had learned nothing by their defeats. Mithridates had not been able to find anything better than this order of battle, whose inefficiency should have been made evident to him by three defeats in a century; Cynoscephalæ, Magnesia, and Pydna. Of the 120,000 Asiatics gathered at Chæronea, 10,000 escaped to Chalcis with their leaders. The conqueror boasted that

<sup>1</sup> From the arch of Septimius Severus.

he had not lost fifteen soldiers,<sup>1</sup> a stupid falsehood, since it gives the impression that his enemy was contemptible; this did not however appear so to the ancients, for in their eyes, to gain a battle without loss was a signal proof of the protection of the gods; and to be regarded as a favourite of heaven was a special object of ambition with Sylla. Nowadays men believe less in fortune, and more in the leader's talent.

Mithridates at once set about gathering a new army. He had promised Asia a milder rule; but he overwhelmed the country with taxes and requisitions. Conspiracies were formed, which he sought to smother in blood. The tetrarchs of Galatia were invited



Dying Galatian.<sup>2</sup>

to a banquet, and murdered, as well as their wives and children. He confiscated their property, and suppressed this form of government, always a favourite with the Gauls, imposing upon them one of his satraps as king;<sup>3</sup> some of them however had made their escape; they collected troops, drove out the royal garrisons, and Mithridates saw a dangerous war break out in his rear. At Chios, he compelled the people to give him 2,000 talents; then under the pretence that the amount was not complete, one of his admirals carried off all the inhabitants and landed them on the Pontic coast; at Adramyttium he caused the senators of the town to be all put to death. Tralles, Metropolis, Pergamus, Ephesus even, alarmed at the fate of Chios, massacred the king's officers

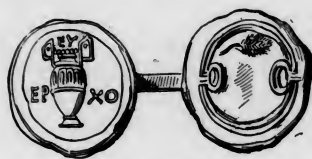
<sup>1</sup> Appian (*Mithr.*, 45) says fifteen were missing, but two of them came in later.

<sup>2</sup> Or gladiator, at Venice. (*Musée Saint-Marc*, vol. ii. pl. 46.)

<sup>3</sup> So at least Sylla said in his Memoirs. Cf. Plut., *Sylla*, 19, and App., *Mith.*, 45.

and closed their gates.<sup>1</sup> To arrest the defection of the others, Mithridates granted to debtors release from their debts; to foreigners established in the cities, the rights of citizenship; and to slaves, emancipation. Having thus secured to himself a powerful party among the populace of each city, he ruled by terror over the nobles and the rich. Informers, encouraged by him, announced daily some new conspiracy; plots were formed in his very court, and in a short time sixteen hundred accused persons were put to death with tortures. Mithridates had succeeded in making the Greeks of Asia regret the rule of the Roman proconsuls.

Sylla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory by games and festivals, when he learned that Valerius Flaccus who had succeeded Marius in the consulship, was crossing the Adriatic with



Coin of Orchomenus.<sup>3</sup>

a large army. At the same time, a general of Mithridates, Dorylaus, arriving from Asia with 80,000 men, landed at Chalcis.<sup>2</sup> Between two dangers, Sylla chose the more glorious one, and marched against Dorylaus who was advancing rapidly into Bœotia

with a large force of cavalry. "Of all the plains in Bœotia this alone," says Plutarch, "which commences from the city of Orchomenus, spreads out unbroken and clear of trees to the edge of the fens in which the Melas loses itself. Archelaus advised delay in order to exhaust the resources of the enemy; but Dorylaus reproached him with his recent defeat, as if it were treason, and was eager to fight. Sylla took up a position facing the Asiatic

<sup>1</sup> Smyrna, Sardis and Colophon followed this example. In 1862, M. Waddington (*Inscr. de l'Asie min.*, No. 136) found an inscription containing a declaration of war of the Ephesians against the king of Pontus, and the decrees designed to give more vigour to the defence, such as the abolition of debts secured by notes of hand, the removal of debtors' incapacities, etc. Eight years later Mr. Wood discovered in the ruins of Ephesus a legal fragment (ninety-eight lines), the longest text of the kind which has come down to us in Greek. This fragment, of later date than the peace imposed by Sylla upon Mithridates, relating however to mortgages which had become extremely numerous in consequence of the enormous burdens imposed upon the cities, is a document throwing much light upon Greek legislation in respect to debts. See R. Dareste, *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 1877, p. 161-175.

<sup>2</sup> Licinianus says 50,000.

<sup>3</sup> ΕΡΧΟ ΕΥ, commencement of the city's name; and monogram. Diota or vase. On the reverse, a Bœotian buckler, and an ear of corn. Silver coin of Orchomenus.

army, and to hinder the movements of the cavalry, he cut the plain with ditches, leaving free only that part which led towards the marshy ground, in the hope of seeing them entangled there. His soldiers were actively employed in the trenches when Dorylaus fell upon them with immense force, dispersed the labourers, and



Ruins of Orchomenus.<sup>1</sup>

the supporting troops, and for a moment put the Roman army in peril. Sylla was obliged to stake his life to check the panic. Leaping from his horse and seizing a standard, he rushed in

<sup>1</sup> Guhl and Koner, *das Leben d. Gr. u. Röm.*, fig. 70. Acropolis of Orchomenus built upon an isolated rock. [The famous "treasure-house of the Minyæ," a prehistoric sepulchre described by Pausanias, has been lately exhumed and described by Dr. Schliemann, in the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. ii. Unfortunately the bee-hive roof, covered with an artificial hill, had fallen in a few years before his excavations.—Ed.]



among the fugitives, crying out: "When they ask you where you abandoned your general, remember to say it was at Orchomenus!" These words brought them to a stand, and two cohorts from the right wing coming to his aid, he drove back the enemy, and then brought his troops into camp, where he caused them to rest and take food. Confidence and order being re-established, he sent them again to the trenches, and, after a second and violent combat, he succeeded, towards evening, in driving the enemy back into their camp. On the next day, as soon as it was light, he resumed his approaches, and on being attacked, routed the Asiatics, and pursued them to their camp, which he took by storm. A general massacre ensued, and the marshes and lake were filled with dead bodies.<sup>1</sup> Two centuries and a half later, bows and breast-plates and swords continued to be found there, buried deep in mud. The Asiatic army was annihilated.

Thebes, whose fidelity had been for a time doubtful, and three other Boeotian cities, shared the fate of Athens (85), and the whole of Greece trembled.

Whilst Sylla was gaining this second victory, Flaccus had advanced into Asia; but, on his way through Thessaly, he could not prevent a large number of soldiers deserting from his army to join that of Sylla. Threatened by two armies and having lost his own, Mithridates secretly endeavoured through Archelaus to make terms with the conqueror; proposing to furnish Sylla with money, troops and ships, to secure his return into Italy, if the Roman general would promise to him the undisturbed possession of Asia.<sup>2</sup> Sylla required the restitution of all the king's conquests, and of all captives and fugitives; the payment of 2,000 talents; the restoration to their respective countries of all exiles, Chiotas and others; and the gift of seventy brass-beaked galleys.<sup>3</sup> These conditions were moderate since they merely established the *status quo*, and left unpunished the king's massacres. Each day, however, new refugees from the Roman proscriptions were taking

<sup>1</sup> [In these same marshes the infantry of the grand Catalan Company destroyed the flower of the Frankish chivalry then ruling Greece, A.D. 1310. (Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, vol. iv. p. 150).—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Archelaus perhaps sold himself to Sylla, who gave him great estates in Euboea, 10,000 plethra. (Plutarch, *Sylla*, 23.)

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *ibid.*, 22; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiii.

shelter with Sylla, and he needed peace, provided he could obtain it with honour. While the king deliberated, the Roman general led his army into Thrace, for the purpose of punishing those tribes who, as allies of Mithridates, made constant raids into Macedon. This expedition, which brought him nearer Asia, was nearly concluded, when the king of Pontus made reply that he would consent to everything except the furnishing of the galleys and the relinquishment of Paphlagonia; implying that he could obtain better terms than these from Fimbria.

That general had killed the consul Flaccus at Nicomedia, taken command of the consular army, and was carrying on war on his own account. He had defeated a son of Mithridates, and advanced rapidly as far as Pergamus, whence the king had scarcely time to fly. Lucullus, whom Sylla during the siege of Athens had directed to collect vessels from Egypt, Phœnicia, Cyprus and Rhodes, was cruising in these waters with a fleet, but he suffered the king to escape him. It was an act of treason towards Rome, for the capture of Mithridates at that time would have saved her twenty years of sacrifices and anxieties. But Lucullus was true to his party; it could not be endured that a Marian should have the honour of terminating the war. Fimbria revenged himself upon Ilium, which he destroyed for having sent an embassy to Sylla; and he then gave up to the rapacity of his soldiers Mysia, the Troad, and Bithynia.<sup>2</sup> Mithridates hoped to profit by the rivalry of these chiefs; but Sylla feigned indignation: "I thought to have seen him prostrate at my



Turreted Head from Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Figurine of the terra-cotta in the museum of the Louvre. (Heuzey, *Figurines*, etc. pl. 157.)

<sup>2</sup> Diod., *fr.* 131; Appian, *Mithrid.*, 53.

feet to thank me," he said, "for leaving him so much as the right hand which has murdered so many Romans. When I come over into Asia he will speak another language." Mithridates did in fact humiliate himself, and beg for an interview, which took place at Dardanus in the Troad. The king had with him 20,000 foot soldiers, 6,000 horse, a great number of scythe-armed chariots, and 200 vessels on the sea. Sylla was accompanied only by four chariots. But when Mithridates advancing to meet him held out his hand, Sylla asked, first of all, whether he were ready to accept the offered terms; and as the king made no answer, "How is this?" said the Roman; "ought not the petitioner to speak first and the conqueror to listen?" Mithridates finally found it best to submit to everything; and at the close of the interview, set sail at once for Pontus. Fimbria was at this time in Lydia; Sylla marched against him and as his soldiers went over to Sylla, Fimbria in despair took his own life (84).

Mithridates being driven out of the province of Asia, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes once more established in their kingdoms, and the troops of Fimbria being won over, nothing now remained but to pay the soldiers the rewards of victory and punish the province. Many cities were sacked and destroyed, others beheld their walls thrown down and their citizens sold into slavery or put to death. The slaves whom Mithridates had liberated were sent back to their masters, and the invaded lands restored to their original owners. It was a new social revolution. After the military executions followed exactions of every kind. The army was distributed through the cities and quartered upon the inhabitants. Each soldier was to receive from his host sixteen drachmæ daily (about eleven shillings), with supper for himself and as many friends as he chose to bring; each centurion fifty drachmæ, with a suit of garments for the house, and another for the street. Finally Sylla convoked the deputies of the province at Ephesus, and declared to them, in terms that permitted no hesitation, that the province would be required to pay immediately the taxes of the five years past since the defection, amounting to 20,000 talents,<sup>1</sup> the expenses of the war, and whatever sums

<sup>1</sup> Appian, *Mithrid.*, 61-63; Plutarch, *Sylla*, 25; *Luc.*, 4. The allies, in 1815, made similar requisitions in the provinces of France (Vaulabelle, *Hist. des deux Restaur.*, iii. 345); and in

might be necessary for the reconstruction of the province. Money being extremely scarce after so many pillages, the cities gave their theatres and gymnasia and even their walls and gates in pawn to the usurers. This settlement cost Asia more than £24,000,000, but Sylla was paying in advance the soldiers who were to fight for him in the Civil war.

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A Greek Warrior, from a painted Vase.

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A Greek Warrior, from a painted Vase.



## CHAPTER XLVI.

### THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

#### I.—FIRST YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR (83).

FROM Asia, Sylla had announced to the senate his victories and treaty with Mithridates, and had made no mention of personal grievances or of revenge. When, however, he had crossed from Ephesus to Greece, and was now upon the shore of the Adriatic, having with him 40,000 veterans<sup>1</sup> so devoted to his interests that they even offered him their own money to fill his military chest,<sup>2</sup> he changed his tone, and sent a second message to Rome, in which he recapitulated the services he had done his country and the reward he had received for them—his property confiscated, his friends assassinated, himself proscribed. He was now coming, he said, in order that his enemies, and the enemies of the Republic, should receive the punishment due to their crimes. With the design of separating the Italians from Cinna, he ended by promising to respect the rights of the new citizens. "All honest men," he said, whether citizens of early or of recent date, had nothing to fear from him."

This threatening letter filled the senate with alarm. It essayed the only policy left for it, that of mediator. Upon the proposition of Valerius Flaccus a deputation was sent out to endeavour to pacify Sylla<sup>3</sup> and bring about an agreement, in which the senate should be arbiter; at the same time a decree forbade the consuls to continue their preparations for war. Cinna and Carbo

<sup>1</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 79) gives him in addition 1,600 vessels, and Plutarch 1,200.

<sup>2</sup> They also renewed to him their military oath. (Plutarch, *Sylla*.)

<sup>3</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxi.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, 77. Sylla received the deputation kindly, and asked only the recall of those who had been banished, the restitution of their property, and an indemnity for the losses they had undergone.

paid no respect to this decree. They continued to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, everywhere declaring that their cause was that of the new citizens. The Samnites and Lucanians, who had not yet laid down their arms, promised to support the consuls, but when Cinna prepared to send into Greece the army thus collected,



Figurine of Tanagra: Woman playing with Huckle-bones.<sup>1</sup>

a sedition broke out, and he was murdered at Ancona by his own soldiers (84).

Carbo, left alone in office, resorted to the desperate measures of a demagogue at bay. He created still more new citizens,<sup>2</sup> whom

<sup>1</sup> This charming terra-cotta of Tanagra has the peculiarity of having been burnt upon the funeral pile of the dead with whom it was interred. It represents a girl playing with dice or with huckle-bones, a favourite game among the Greeks. (Cf. François Lenormant, *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, p. 86, pl. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> MM. Drumann and Keferstein (*de Bello Mars.*) are of opinion, notwithstanding the distinct language of Livy (*Epit.*, lxxxiv.), that it was a question solely of *das Gesindel* . . .

he distributed, with the freedmen, through the thirty-five tribes; he allowed the tribune Popillius Lænas to throw from the Tarpeian Rock a former tribune and to expel from Rome all his colleagues, causing them to be forbidden fire and water;<sup>1</sup> finally he wrested from the senate an order disbanding the armies, thus giving himself an opportunity to accuse Sylla of treason in case he should disobey. For sole reply the latter crossed the Adriatic (83).

From Ephesus, Sylla had come in three days to Athens, whence he had taken the route by Tanagra and Thermopylæ into



Bas-relief of Dyrachium: Dalmatian Warriors or Gladiators.<sup>2</sup>

Thessaly and Macedon, for the purpose of reaching the *via Egnatia* leading to Dyrachium, that is to say, the point whence he could most easily cross into Italy. He had, however, a fleet of 1,200 vessels and might have gone by sea more rapidly and with less fatigue, but the Romans were extremely reluctant to quit the

*Fremde und entlaufene Sklaven*, for, they say, all the allies were possessed of citizenship already. It is the same error to which I have before referred.

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Pat. ii. 24; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxiv.; Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 30.

land, and his empty fleet only came round to await him in the great Epirote harbour.<sup>1</sup>

He was not without anxiety as regards landing, but Brundisium, which Carbo should have defended and garrisoned, opened her gates. As an expression of his gratitude he exempted the city from customs, and three centuries later Appian says, "The city still enjoys this privilege."<sup>2</sup> Usage permitted the Roman general to preserve his military authority, *imperium*, and his army until they entered the city. Sylla appeared, therefore, to have a regular title and a legitimate power, notwithstanding the sentence of outlawry that had been passed upon him in the comitia. Metellus also kept his title of prætor, and these appearances of legality were of importance to men who really had no rights on their side but the sword. This Metellus, expelled from Africa, where he had taken refuge during the proscriptions of Marius, had concealed himself among the mountains of Liguria. At the news of Sylla's arrival he hastened to Brundisium to put at the service of the latter his talents and the hatred which the son of Numidicus cherished against those who had proscribed his father. Sylla accepted his offer, and recognized him as a colleague.

The five legions of Sylla appeared a very feeble force in presence of the 450 cohorts of the enemy.<sup>3</sup> But they were veteran bands opposed to new levies; and, moreover, he was alone in his camp, while the Marian party had fifteen generals—Scipio and Norbanus, consuls at that time; Carbo, who had no more talent as a general than as a party leader; Brutus, Cælius, Carinas, and others. Sertorius as yet was but a subordinate. Most of the Italians were in favour of Carbo; the cities of Greek origin, however, a few Cisalpine tribes, the Piceni, and the Marsian confederation, which was always a rival to the Samnite league, showed hostile intentions. The Marian party chose to demand

<sup>1</sup> Detained at Athens by an illness, he passed the winter of 84-3 in Greece. (Plut., *Sylla*, 26.)

<sup>2</sup> This statement confirms what we learn from many other sources in respect to the long persistence, in spite of frequent revolutions, of the terms made by Roman generals with nations and cities.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 27. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 82) says 200, of 500 men each, which is more probable, but he adds that later the number increased. The five legions of Sylla, with the auxiliaries, numbered perhaps 40,000 men.

hostages, and at once many cities refused. "Do you know," Carbo said to a magistrate of Placentia who resisted his orders, "do you know that I have plenty of swords?" "But I," replied the old man calmly, "plenty of years."<sup>1</sup>

All this augured well for Sylla, and the severe discipline in his army at once gained the good will of the country through which he passed. The nobility everywhere were naturally favourable to him. Crassus, who had lived for eight months hidden in a cave, Cethegus, Dolabella, and M. Lucullus, the brother of Sylla's quaestor, all brought to his party the distinction attached to their names. The proscriptions set on foot by the younger Marius against the most illustrious of the senators completed the work of making Sylla's cause that of the Roman aristocracy.

The most important aid came to him from a young man, as yet unknown, the son of Pompeius Strabo, afterwards Pompey the Great. The Marian party had disturbed this young man in his possession of the vast estates his father had acquired during a long command in Picenum. He was called upon to make restitution of the spoils of Asculum, which Strabo, it was said, had appropriated. A suit followed, gained by Pompey, but he never forgot that his ruin had been attempted. When he learned that Sylla had arrived in Italy, he raised a volunteer corps among his shepherds and tenants, defeated several detachments, and by these victories so increased his band that he was able to form from it three legions, which he placed at the service of Sylla. He was at this time only twenty-three years of age. The first time that he appeared before the pro-consul the latter received him with great respect and saluted him as *imperator*, a title giving this young man the rights of the military *imperium*, and confirming him in an independent command.

An unexplained event at this time threw the city of Rome into consternation. On the 6th of July, 83, a fire destroyed the Capitol, and not even the Sibylline books were saved.<sup>2</sup> This destruction of the sanctuary of the Republic, and of the oracles which were believed to give to the senate the secrets of divine

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 6; *Crass.*, 6; Val. Max., VI. ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Custodum negligentia*, says Cassiodorus in his chronicle. (*ad Ann.*, 670.)

wisdom, appeared to many as the announcement of a new rule. In fact, *the time was come, and the man.*<sup>1</sup>

From Apulia, Sylla passed without opposition into Campania, "requiring his soldiers to respect harvests, persons, and cities." In a civil war the first successes are important because they decide the irresolute and place public opinion on the side of the conqueror. Sylla, "by turns lion and fox," neglected nothing that could secure this advantage. The goddess Enyo renewed to him her promises of victory, and many good omens encouraged his soldiers.

At Rome men remembered the proscriptions of Marius, and dreaded those of Sylla, feeling well assured that he also in his turn would desire "ruins and massacres, punishments and conflagrations."<sup>2</sup> And so the more violent partisans had been for the moment set aside, and for the year 83 L. Scipio, great grandson of the conqueror of Antiochus, and C. Norbanus had been installed in the curule chairs, two inefficient persons,<sup>3</sup> but representatives of that moderate party which in extreme crises always supplies victims.

With one of the two consular armies Norbanus covered Capua; Scipio with the other advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Teanum. Sylla threw himself between the two, and killed 7,000 men of the army of Norbanus, while the remainder fled for shelter into Capua and Naples, and he then hastened to meet Scipio. This time, instead of attacking at once, he proposed a truce and a conference; the two chiefs met, both men of old family and having the same interests at heart. The interview was amicable; Sylla



A Cupid Bird-catcher.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was the sign," says Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 83), "announcing the carnage of citizens, the sack of Italy, the servitude of Rome, and the annihilation of the Republic." (Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, vi. 12, and *Hist.*, iii. 72.)

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. (*de Off.*, ii. 14) says of Norbanus: *Seditiosus et inutilis civis.*

<sup>4</sup> From a gem (enlarged).



prolonged it, and while the generals were discussing conditions of peace the soldiers of Sylla mingled freely with those of the consular army, relating their campaigns and showing the gold that they had gained under a general always lucky and always liberal. Vainly did Sertorius warn Scipio of the danger that he was incurring; the negotiations continued. When Sylla at last suddenly broke off the armistice, the army of Scipio to a man went over to Sylla.

Scipio was left at liberty to depart. Sylla had taken the consul's measure and believed that he had nothing to fear from him. It might have been expected that after this double success he would carry forward his operations rapidly, and shortly present himself under the walls of Rome. But though master in Campania, he had not yet occupied all the cities; his adversaries held Nola, Capua, and Naples, and bad news came in to him from various points. In his rear and on his flank the Lucanians and Samnites were in arms. At Rome the defeat of the consuls had restored influence to the revolutionary party, and they raised to the consulship in the year 82 Carbo, formerly the colleague of Cinna, and Marius, the adopted son of the conqueror of the Cimbri, both illegally elected, for one had too recently relinquished the consular insignia, while the other, being but twenty-seven years of age, had no right to assume them. But can we say that laws existed at this time?

## II.—SECOND YEAR OF THE CIVIL WAR (82).

A severe winter delayed the resumption of military operations, and the consuls employed the time in organizing their resistance. They despoiled the temples of their wealth, melted down the gold and silver offerings of victory or devotion, and thus obtained 14,000 pounds of gold and 6,000 pounds of silver, having a value of about £60,000. With these resources they made great levies of men in the Cisalpina, where were always swords for hire, and in Etruria, whose rural population, half slaves under the *lucumons*, allied their cause to that of the party wishing to enfranchise all the Italians. The Samnites understanding that the final struggle

was approaching, promised to come down from their mountains and fight in the Latin plain. To confirm this promise the young chief Telesinus came with some of the bravest of his compatriots and joined the consular army. Rome, terror-struck, yielded to everything; the frightened senate authorized by a decree the pillage of the temples; the comitia proscribed those senators who had fled to the camp of Sylla, and a man of savage temper, the prætor Damasippus, had already marked out for death certain of the moderate party, whom he proposed to sacrifice to the *manes* of his friends before the arrival of the conquerors. It was a sanguinary war.

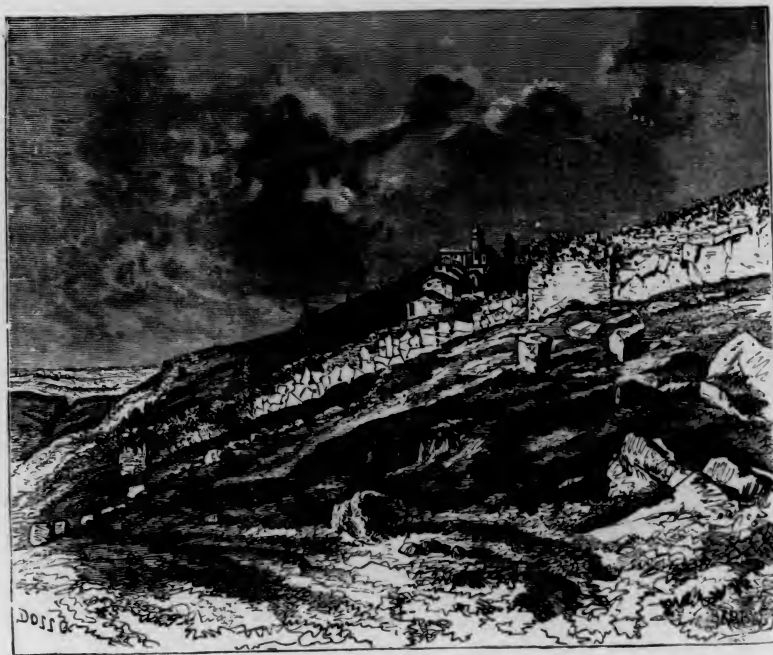
Carbo and Marius divided the defence; the former was to close the roads from the Apennines on the side of Umbria and Picenum, through which countries Metellus and Pompey were advancing, the latter to protect Latium against Sylla, who was approaching through Campania. Marius had made Præneste the depot of his munitions. Built upon a spur of the Apennines which juts out 1,200 feet high into the Roman campagna, Præneste with provisions and a strong garrison was impregnable. Norba, the city with indestructible Cyclopean walls, was occupied by an equal force.<sup>1</sup> From Præneste, Marius commanded the Latin road, and from Norba the Appian. To prevent the enemy from making his way between the two he established himself in a central position at Signia, which from its elevated site commanded the right bank of the Trerus (the *Sacco*), the principal affluent of the Liris; he hoped thus to close all the approaches to Rome.

Before the coming on of winter Sylla had occupied the defile of Lautulæ, the gateway from Campania into Latium. As soon as it was possible to recommence operations he advanced towards Setia, in the country of the Volsci, while his lieutenant, Cn. Dolabella, ascended the Liris and then the Trerus.

Marius attempted to save Setia, but without success, and then, pressed hard by his adversary, fell back upon his camp at Signia. Meanwhile Dolabella was making his advance felt, and threatening to turn the left of Marius, upon which the latter, not to be cut off from Præneste, retreated to Sacriportus in the plain, where the

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. xlvii, "The walls of Norba."

Volseian hills end and the first heights of the Apennines begin. The Syllan army, fatigued by a long march in the rain, were preparing to encamp when the Marian troops attacked them. The veterans formed rapidly, and very soon got the better of the recruits whom Marius had hurled upon them with more spirit than discretion. A part of his right wing went over to the enemy; the centre and the left were routed, and were pursued as far as



Wall of Praeneste.<sup>1</sup>

Praeneste, when the garrison closed their gates against the fugitives, fearing lest pursuers and pursued should rush in together, and Marius only obtained entrance by means of a rope thrown down to him over the wall.

The army destined to defend Rome on the south had ceased to exist; all the way from Sacriportus to Praeneste their dead bodies strewed the plain; 20,000 men had been killed, 8,000 were

<sup>1</sup> Dodwell, *Pelagic Remains*, pl. 113.

prisoners, and the remainder were fugitives or cowered trembling behind the walls of Praeneste. To the latter Sylla made clear the fate that awaited them; all the Samnites found among the captives were led out under the walls and put to death in view of the besieged. But at this very moment Marius was avenging them. From the battlefield of Sacriportus an emissary had been sent off to Rome bearing to Damasippus the order for massacre. The praetor convoked the senate, and when the Conscript Fathers were assembled he surrounded the curia with a band of assassins, designated the victims, directed them to be murdered on the spot, and, pursuing them even beyond death, ordered their bodies to be thrown into the Tiber, that the repose of the tomb should be denied them. The pontifex Maximus, Quintus Scævola, who had once escaped the poniard of Fimbria, perished in this last convulsion of the expiring Marian party. When urged to join Sylla, Scævola had said that he would not break through the gates of Rome and return thither sword in hand. In the midst of the fury of party strife, men like these were the last representatives of the Republic and of liberty.<sup>1</sup>

On news of what had occurred, Sylla, leaving Lucretius Ofella before Praeneste, hastened his march upon Rome. His troops advanced by different roads, each detachment directed towards one of the city gates, and all under orders in case of repulse to fall back upon Ostia, where his fleet lay in harbour. But there was no resistance; the same brutal and cowardly rabble which had dragged through the streets a day before the corpses of Sylla's friends, now welcomed Sylla himself with noisy acclamations.

The army of the north had been no more successful than that of the south. Sylla merely passed through Rome and hastened to meet in Etruria the other consul, whom Metellus and Pompey had already defeated in Umbria. Carbo encamped near Clusium, with his Italians and the troops that he had obtained from Spain and the Cisalpina.<sup>2</sup> A first battle lasted all day long without decided result. This engagement was almost a success for

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxvi.; Cic., *ad Fam.*, ix. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these Spaniards having gone over to Sylla, Carbo caused the rest to be murdered. About the same time a Syllan general entered Naples, and all who could not flee were put to the sword.

Carbo, for while he thus drew the principal strength of Sylla's army into the centre of Etruria, Lamponius at the head of the Lucanians, Pontius Telesinus with the Samnites, and the Campanian Gutta at last took an active part in the struggle, coming up from the south with 40,000 men. Carbo detached eighty



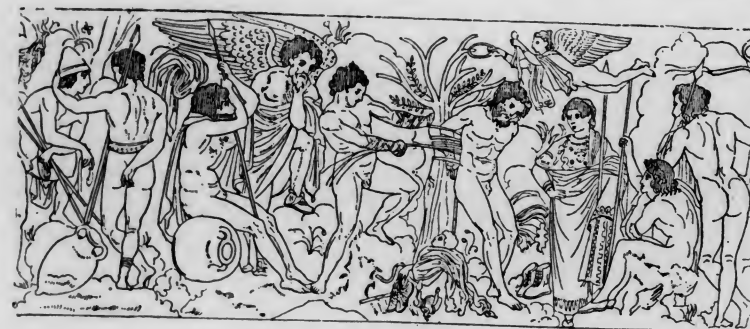
Chest of Præneste.<sup>1</sup>

cohorts to effect a junction with them, and the whole force were to throw themselves upon the lines of Ofella and raise the siege of Præneste, where famine was already raging. But Sylla had seized

<sup>1</sup> "The heroes have landed and drawn the vessel up on the shore. Some have been exploring the island, and have discovered a spring of pure water, but the giant Amycos, the king of the Bebryces, forbids them to approach it; Pollux defies him to single combat, and having conquered him, binds him to a tree; a Victory is flying towards the conqueror, holding a crown;

upon the defiles opening on Præneste, and nothing could pass; the eighty cohorts, surprised by Pompey among the mountains, were dispersed, and Marcius, their leader, brought back only seven to his general.

The situation of Carbo was becoming critical. Sylla and



Details of the Chest of Præneste.

Pompey barred the access to Rome, and Metellus had anticipated him in the Cisalpina, arriving there by way of Ravenna, passing with his fleet by Ariminum, the depot of the Marians. Carbo,



Details of the Chest of Præneste.

however, succeeded in making a junction with Norbanus, who was in command in the valley of the Po. Hoping with their united

Athene, or Minerva, figures among the witnesses of the struggle, and opposite her is seen a man with great wings, who has been identified as one of the winds, whose assistance was necessary to the Argonauts in these waters. The last scene shows the result of the combat, the Argonaut drinking freely of the spring, near which is seated Silenus." (Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 417.)



forces to overwhelm Metellus, they attacked him near Faventia, at the distance of a few leagues from Ravenna, but suffered a loss of 10,000 men; after the action 6,000 soldiers deserted from the army of Carbo, and Verres, his quaestor, beginning the career which has made his name notorious, ran away with the treasure. The two chiefs escaped in haste, one to Arretium, the other to Ariminum. In the latter city, one of the officers of Norbanus, Albinovanus, in order to earn his pardon from Sylla, invited to a banquet the principal officers and having murdered them, then went over to the enemy with a legion. Alarmed at these repeated treasons, Norbanus embarked for Rhodes; not long after Carbo sailed for Africa, and Sertorius had already taken shelter in Spain. The leaders of the popular party abandoned Italy, hoping to incite insurrections in the provinces.

At this time Pontius Telesinus, Lamponius, and Gutta were meditating a bold stroke.<sup>1</sup> Despairing of being able to force the lines of Lucretius Ofella, which Sylla covered with his whole army, while Pompey was crushing the troops of Carbo near Clusium, they made a dash into the valley of the Anio, probably in the neighbourhood of Sublaqueum, gained the Tiburtine road, and carrying along with them the ex-prætor Damasippus and two generals of the Marian army, Marcius and Carinas, in one night they came within ten stadia of Rome. It was their design to enter the city and to destroy "that lair of wolves, the ravagers of Italy,"<sup>2</sup> and if perish they must, at least to perish beneath her ruins. It is impossible to say what might have been the consequence of this daring



Figurine of Apollo.<sup>3</sup>

enterprise had it succeeded, but they lost time in preparing for the attack, and the delay saved Rome. On the morning of the 1st of November the little garrison that had been left in the

<sup>1</sup> Vell. Paternus (ii. 27) gives them 40,000 men; Appian and Eutropius, 70,000; Orosius, 80,000.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Paternus, ii. 27: *raptores Italicae libertatis lupos*.

<sup>3</sup> Apollo, the sun-god, with a crown of rays and wearing a chlamys. Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2947 of the catalogue.

city made a sortie. Then arrived the cavalry of Sylla, who himself shortly followed with his entire army. At noon they were at the Colline gate, near the temple of Venus Erycina. Without allowing his soldiers a moment's rest he led them against



Etruscan Walls of Volaterræ.

the enemy. This was the one decisive battle of the war, and as if to indicate clearly the interests at stake for the last ten years, it was the very existence of Rome that hung upon the event. There was fighting all day long and during the entire night. The left wing, which Sylla commanded in person, was driven back under the walls of the city whose gates had been closed, and fugitives were fleeing as far



Coin of Delphi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΔΑΔΦΙΚΟΙ. Two rams' heads and two dolphins. On the reverse, hollow squares with four dolphins. Unique tetradrachm of Delphi, very ancient. (*Cabinet de France*.)

as the lines at Præneste, crying out that all was lost, and that Sylla was killed. And, in fact, the general had but narrowly escaped. Mounted upon a white horse, he had ridden in front of his wavering cohorts, when two Samnites recognizing him had flung their javelins at him, and only a start of his horse saved his life. He regarded it as a special favour of heaven, and drawing from his breast a golden figurine of Apollo, which he had carried about him ever since taking it at Delphi, he kissed it devoutly, and thanked the god for his succour. But if he believed in amulets, he believed also that a man must aid himself. The Samnite army, whose lines of retreat had all been cut, was destroyed; only 8,000 prisoners were taken, among them Marcius and Carinas, whom Sylla caused to be put to death; the prætor Damasippus had been slain in the combat. Pontus Telesinus, severely wounded, was also put to death by the conquerors, and even after death his face still bore a look of hate and menace. He was the noblest and last of the children of Italy, and he at least had, for himself and his people, a glorious tomb, a battlefield, heaped with 50,000 corpses, of whom half were Romans.

When the Prænestines saw the heads of these leaders carried on pikes around their walls, and when still further they learned that Pompey had destroyed the army of Carbo, they opened their gates. All the population, except the women and children and the very small number who could appeal to the memory of some service rendered to Sylla in time past, were put to the sword,

Coin of Tuder.<sup>1</sup>

and the city, one of the richest in Italy, was then given up to the plunder of the soldiery. Marius had hidden himself in a cellar with the brother of Pontius Telesinus; not choosing to be taken alive they fought with one another; Marius killed his friend, and then required a slave to kill him. The few cities that still held out yielded one after another. At Norba the inhabitants, rather than surrender, set their houses on fire and killed themselves. The Samnites did not give up Nola until the

<sup>1</sup> Head of Pan. On the reverse, TVTERE. An eagle. Bronze coin of Tuder.

year 80, and lost in the retreat the last of their famous chiefs, that Papius Motulus, one of the heroes of the first campaigns, who being repulsed by his wife because he had been proscribed, killed himself on his threshold. Æsernia, Tuder, and Populonia had the fate of Præneste. Volaterræ resisted more than two years longer. The ruined cities and immense wastes in Etruria and Samnium long recalled to succeeding generations that the wrath of Sylla had swept over these countries.

Coin of Populonia.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A wild boar walking over rocks. Silver coin of Populonia. Reverse smooth. (See vol. i. p. lxxvi.) In the *Revue archéol.* Aug., 1870, M. Bompis argues against the opinion that all the Etruscan coins, smooth on the reverse, were of Populonia.

<sup>2</sup> Head of beardless Janus, covered with the *pileus*.

A *sextans* of Volaterræ.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### Dictatorship of Sylla (FROM NOVEMBER 82, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 79).

#### I.—PROSCRIPTIONS.

SYLLA belongs to that family of ruthless levellers who in cold blood break and crush in order to unite—the Richelieu of the aristocracy. In the Social war he had struck all the terrible blows; at Chæronea and Orchomenus he had defeated Mithridates, and for the second time conquered the East; at Sacriportus and at the battle of the Colline gate he had destroyed all that was left of the popular and of the Italian parties leagued together against him. He had everywhere asserted the cause of Rome, the unity of the empire, and, without intending it, he had become the avenging arm of the aristocracy. Italians and provincials, factions, tribunes, and demagogue consuls had all felt the weight of his arm. From the banks of the Tiber to Mount Taurus reigned silence and terror. There was no longer a people, a senate, a constitution; there was one man at the head of 120,000 soldiers.

After having broken everything down, this man proposed to reconstruct. In order to lay a solid foundation, he believed it necessary still further to clear the ground, to pull down whatever fragments were yet standing, to remove every one of the chiefs of that generation which had been nourished in anarchy and brought up in violence. Before renewing institutions he believed that the men must be renewed, and after having long made a parade of an expected moderation, he now adopted cruelty as a policy. Twice France has seen in the most bloody epochs of her history how much more formidable than passion is that cruelty which is the result of logic.

The day after the combat of the Colline gate he harangued the senate in the temple of Bellona. Suddenly death-cries were heard. "It is nothing," he said; "merely the chastisement of some offenders," and he continued his address. At that moment some thousand Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were perishing under the sword.<sup>1</sup> On his return from Præneste he addressed the people publicly, speaking of himself in terms of extravagant laudation, and ended by saying, "Soon, if you are obedient, I will ameliorate your condition,<sup>2</sup> but let none of my enemies, none of those who since the rupture of my truce with the consul Scipio have been opposed to me, hope for pardon." From that day the proscriptions began.

The first blows fell upon the family of Marius. One of these persons, Marius Gratidianus, who had lately done himself honour in the prætorship by the repression of counterfeiting, was pursued by Catiline and murdered with extreme brutality, after which, cutting off his victim's head, the assassin bore it, dripping with blood, to Sylla, and then proceeded calmly to wash his hands in the lustral water of an adjacent temple. Not even the dead were spared; the corpse of the conqueror of the Cimbri was exhumed, given up to insults, and then thrown into the Anio.<sup>3</sup> Before the proscriptions Catiline had killed his brother, and he now caused the latter's name to be put on the lists as an excuse for confiscating his property.

Julius Cæsar, at this time scarcely twenty years of age, was a relative of Marius and Cinna's son-in-law; Sylla sought to compel him to repudiate his wife. A similar order had been obeyed by Piso and even by Pompey, but Cæsar refused to be guilty of such baseness and took refuge in the Sabine mountains, where several times he narrowly escaped death. The tears of his family and even of the vestals at last obtained his pardon. "I let him live," said the all-powerful dictator, "but there is many a Marius in this boy." Such, at least, is the story. Cæsar's honourable refusal, however, announces a character too resolute to

<sup>1</sup> Strabo says 3,000 or 4,000; Orosius, 3,000; Dionysius, 4,000; Plutarch, 6,000; Livy, 8,000 [which shows how these authors deal with numbers.—Ed.].

<sup>2</sup> Ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρηστέην ἀξίει μεταβολὴν εἰ πείθοιτο οἱ. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 95.)

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 22; Val. Max., IX. ii. 1; Vell. Paterc., ii. 43; Suet., *Cæs.*, 11; Quint. Cic., *de Petit. cons.*, 2.



be easily bent, and capable, when joined with high ability, of bending to itself both men and circumstances. He found it wise, however, to leave Italy, and went to join the army before Mitylene, which had held out since the time of Mithridates, and while there he earned a civic wreath.<sup>1</sup>

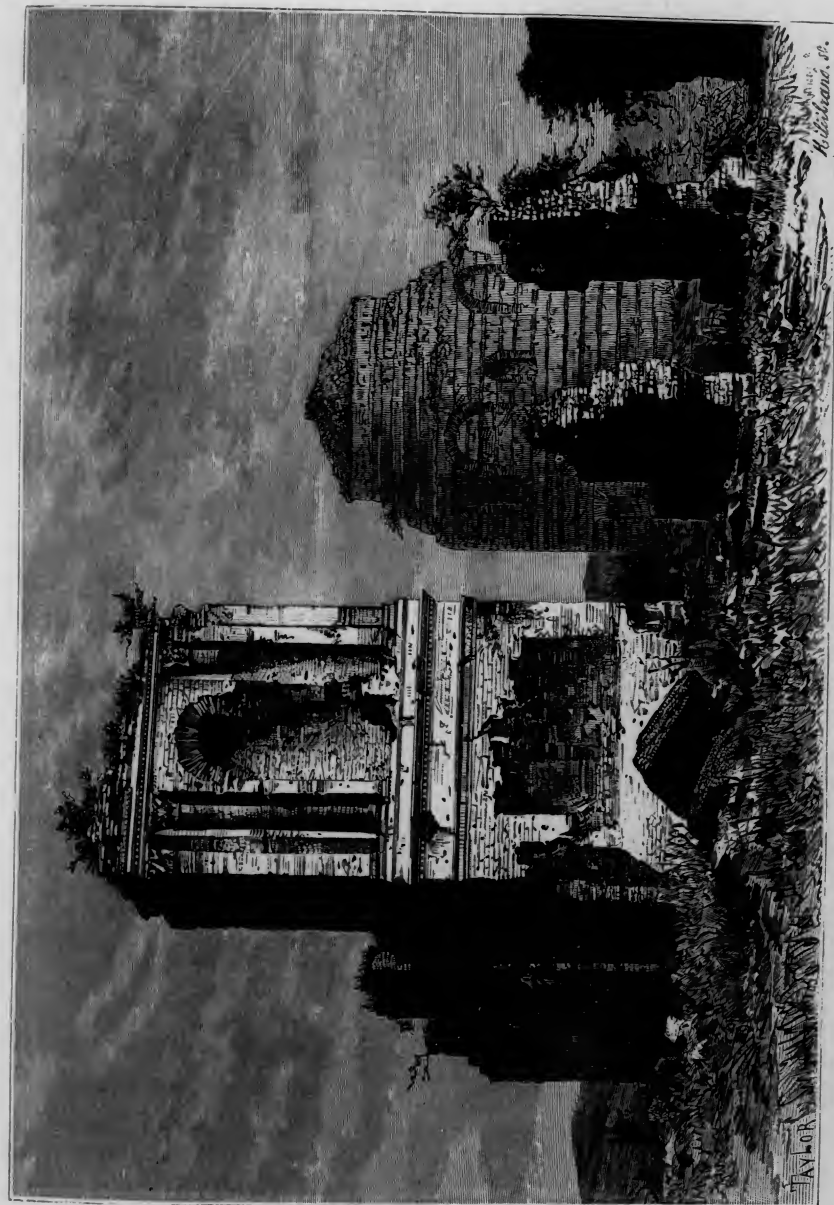
A great number of victims had already perished, when Metellus had the courage to ask Sylla in the senate when this vengeance might be expected to stop. Sylla answered that he did not know. "Tell us, then, whom you will punish," said Metellus, and Sylla rejoined that he would. He prepared a list of eighty names, which he put up in the Forum; on the following day another list of 220 was added, and on the next a third list of as many more. "I have proscribed all those whose names I can remember," he said to the people, "but I have forgotten several; as they occur to me I will add them." Metellus was obliged to be content; there was no longer a random character about the proscriptions; order and legality had been introduced into these murders. Any man could, without risk, make himself the executioner, and to the pleasure of committing a murder join a profit of 12,000 denarii per head. From December 1, 82, to June 1, 81, six long months,<sup>2</sup> murder was authorized, and even later, for Roscius of Ameria was not assassinated until the 15th of September. All who sheltered a proscribed person shared his fate, were he even a brother, a father, or a son. For some of these murders Sylla paid as high as two talents.

From Rome the proscription spread over all Italy; bands of Gallic horsemen, led by Catiline, and other assassins went in search of victims. No place, neither domestic altars nor temples of the gods afforded safety; nor could anything, even services rendered to the cause, protect from a dishonest debtor or an impatient heir. The familiars of Sylla, his freedmen, especially Vettius Picens and that Chrysogonus whose infamy Cicero has immortalized—his slaves even,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Cæs.*, 2; Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix. The city was taken in 80. It is to this epoch that belong his two journeys to the court of Nicomedes III., king of Bithynia, concerning which such ugly rumours were set afloat. Few Romans of the time escaped such accusations, the most odious vice being then general and almost publicly recognized. But Cæsar had other tastes, which ought to have preserved him from this disgrace.

<sup>2</sup> Sylla returned from Præneste in the second half of November, and the lists were put up a few days later. The limit of June 1 is given by Cicero, *pro Roscio*, 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Terrulæ Scirrhoque, pessumis servorum, divitiæ partæ sunt.* (Sall., *Orat. Lepidi*, in *Hist.*



Tomb of the Pisos (from an engraving in the Bibliothèque nationale).

sold the permission to have a name placed upon the fatal



Villa on the Seashore.<sup>1</sup>

list. A citizen, who had always kept himself aloof from factions,



Gardens: *Viridarium*.<sup>2</sup>

coming into the Forum to look at the lists, found his own name.

"It is my Alban villa which slays me," he exclaimed, and fled, but was presently struck down by an assassin. The property of those proscribed was confiscated; very frequently Sylla himself sold it to the highest bidder, saying, "These are my spoils." The courtesans, musicians, and jesters by whom he was surrounded bought at nominal prices; the property of Roscius was valued at 6,000,000 sesterces, and Chrysogonus obtained it for 2,000. Metella, the wife of the master, appropriated to herself an enormous share of the confiscated wealth, so that Sylla was able to make



Jester.<sup>3</sup>

*fragm.*) *Neque prius finis jugulandi fuit quam Sylla omnes suos divitiis explevit.* (Sall., *Cat.*, 51.) Cf. also Cicero; *II. in Verr.*, iii. 35, and Livy, *Epit.*, lxxx. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pomp.*, iii., 5th Series, pl. 26.)

<sup>2</sup> Pompeian painting. (*Ibid.*, pl. 24-25.)

<sup>3</sup> From a terra-cotta lamp. (Rich, *Dict. of Antiq.*, 307.)

a magnificent offering without impoverishing himself when he gave to Hercules the tenth of his property. Catiline, one of the most dreaded of the *sicarii*, in this universal overthrow repaired his wasted fortune, and Crassus laid the foundation of his

wealth. It was a dispossession of the monied class for the benefit of a few nobles and their retainers. The "cut-purses," who had profited so much by the proscriptions of Marius, gave up their ill-gotten gains.<sup>1</sup> Many paid with their fortunes and their lives for the war they had waged upon the nobles from the judicial seats. Pompey having money enough, thanks to the exactions of his father, had no need to soil his hands with these shameful purchases.

Cicero has preserved to us in one of his arguments the living picture of the abominations which



Hercules.<sup>2</sup>

he witnessed. He was never a great statesman, but he holds so large a place in the literary history of Rome and, we may say, in the intellectual history of the world, that nothing which he touches should be forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> Statue in Greek marble from the Giustiniani collection. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 787 and 802 F, No. 1998.)

He was born in October of the year 107,<sup>1</sup> on the beautiful estate possessed by his father, a Roman knight of very cultivated mind, in the neighbourhood of Arpinum, near the junction of the Fibrenus and the Liris.<sup>2</sup> On assuming in 91 the virile toga he became the assiduous pupil of the augur Q. Mucius Scævola, who taught him the civil and pontifical law. At eighteen years of age he made a campaign under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Social war,<sup>3</sup> but he had little taste for a military life, he soon returned to his studies in rhetoric and philosophy, and for six years received instruction from the best of the many teachers whom the invasion of Mithridates had driven out of Greece to Rome. After the definitive ruin of the Marian party he ventured to appear in the Forum, and pleaded successively in the civil court for Quinctius, and in the criminal for Roscius of Ameria, thus making his entrance into public life.

As a new man Cicero had no ties with the nobility, and they made him feel in many a passage of arms that subtle haughtiness of the nobleman towards the upstart which wounds so keenly.<sup>4</sup> As he had too much spirit not to retaliate, he boldly ridiculed those men "who take the trouble to be born, and whose fortune comes while they sleep."<sup>5</sup> But his refined instincts removed him still further from the crowd, and this contradiction between his tastes and his birth, together with a want of firmness in his character and his opinions, gave him through life an indecision which has marred his fame. We shall now see him in public life; anon we shall weigh him as a philosopher. At present, in this opening period of his life, we have only to listen to the

<sup>1</sup> Or, according to the Roman calendar, which was at that time nearly three months in advance of the true date, the third day before the nones of January, 106.

<sup>2</sup> "This is my own and my brother's country. Here we sprang from a very ancient stock, and here are our sacrifices, our race, and numerous relics of our ancestors. You see this house; it has been enlarged by our father's care, and here he passed in the study of letters nearly all his life. In this place, during my grandfather's lifetime, and while, according to primitive habits, the house was still as small as that of Curius in the Sabine country, I was born, and there is a nameless charm in this place which reaches my heart and draws me hither. Do we not read that the wisest of men refused immortality for the sake of seeing his Ithaca again?" (*De Leg.*, ii. 1.)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 571.

<sup>4</sup> On the subject of the nobles' contempt for new men, see Sallust, *Jug.*, 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Non idem licet mihi, quod eis, qui nobili genere nati sunt; quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur.* (*II in Verr.*, v. 70.)



orator. His eloquence was never that of the politician; under the toga of the consul he still preserved the habits of the bar; as a result of too long a training in rhetoric, speaking well was dearer to him than thinking well. His melodious voice charmed by its mere sound, and all the devices of the schools, the common-places of philosophy and morality, mingled with sarcasm and with pathos, were sure to rescue the accused, however guilty, from condemnation.<sup>1</sup> Like the great orator Antonius, he was not careful to represent at the bar the most opposite characters. The accuser of Verres was the defender of Fonteius; the man who became the judge and executioner of Lentulus was upon the point of undertaking the defence of Catiline. He admitted that one could help success by trivial falsehoods,<sup>2</sup> and he said, "In pleading we speak as the cause requires, not as our reason dictates."<sup>3</sup> He had all the gifts which are generally thought to make up the perfect advocate.

It has been said that Cicero more than once pleaded with great energy foregone conclusions. This was not the case in the suit of Roscius of Ameria, which involved an attack upon the all-powerful favourite of the dictator, the freedman Chrysogonus. But it is probable the danger was less than we think. Sylla was an able man; he had made his government a fortress, he had no desire that it should become a den of thieves, and Cicero, secured by Metella and by his own powerful alliances, possibly also by the master's own secret connivance, may have incurred in reality no peril.

Sextius Roscius, host of the Metelli, Servilii, and Scipios, was by birth and wealth the most important citizen of Ameria. One night he was assassinated at Rome by the emissaries of two of his relatives, who in order to obtain possession of his property, thirteen farms, almost all of them situated in the fertile valley of

<sup>1</sup> He himself in private life was the first to turn all this rhetoric into ridicule. See his letter to Atticus (i. 14): *Nosti . . . sonitus nostros*. Elsewhere (*ad Att.*, ii, 1) he says: "I have poured into my book all the perfumes of Isocrates, all the essence-boxes of his disciples, and even the cosmetics of Aristotle."

<sup>2</sup> *Perspicietis genus hoc quam sit . . . oratorium . . . quod mendaciunculis aspergendum.* (*de Orat.*, ii. 59.)

<sup>3</sup> Two years after his violent invective against Vatinius he undertook to defend him. But, he said: *omnes illæ (orationes) causarum ac temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum ac patronorum.* (*pro Cluentio*, 50.) The entire paragraph is the development of this idea.

the Tiber, obtained from Chrysogonus the favour of having their kinsman's name put upon the list of the proscribed, although this fatal list had been for some time closed. After the murder the price of blood was divided; three of the best estates were given



A Farm.<sup>1</sup>

to the assassins, and Chrysogonus bought the remaining ten for the nominal price of £2,000. The son of Roscius was in the way, for he might some day reclaim his inheritance; an attempt was made upon his life, but he took shelter in the house of one of

<sup>1</sup> From a painting in the *Museo Borbonico*.

the greatest ladies in Rome, Cæcilia Metella.<sup>1</sup> Unable to reach him in this asylum, they accused him of having killed his father, and no one among the orators of the time dared [or cared] to undertake his defence. This duty was left to an advocate but twenty-six years of age, yesterday unknown, henceforward famous. It appears that Roscius was acquitted of the charge of parricide, but we have no reason to believe that his property was restored to him.<sup>2</sup>

What was the total number of the victims? Appian speaks of fifteen ex-consuls, ninety senators, and 2,600 knights;<sup>3</sup> Eutropius of twenty-four ex-consuls, seven ex-prætors, sixty ex-ædiles, and 200 senators; Valerius Maximus makes the whole number 4,700. "But who can count," says another, "the number of those who were sacrificed to private animosities?"<sup>4</sup>

One fact, accidentally preserved, will show that these things happened in Italy as well as in Rome. To escape from a capital charge a murderer had fled from Larinum, a Marian city, and taken refuge in the camp of Sylla. After the battle of the Colline Gate he returned to his city, assumed the dictatorship there as the representative of the conqueror, and in his turn dispossessed, condemned, and murdered; the man who had been his former accuser was put to death with all his friends and relatives. How many scenes like these must have happened in that multitude of little cities, each of which had, like Rome, its factions, and each, like her, the revenge of the victorious party when its opponents had been overthrown! A veritable reign of terror weighed upon the entire peninsula. To depict it we have no materials, and the horrors of 1793 would give but a feeble idea of what it was.



Coin of Larinum.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Metellus Balearicus, who was consul in 123, and sister of Q. Metellus Nepos, consul in 98. (Cic., *pro Rosc.*, 50.)

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Brutus*, 90; *de Off.*, ii. 14; Plut., *Cic.*, 3. Shortly after, in 79, in the defence of a woman of Arretium, he maintained that the legislative power could not take away certain rights, among others, citizenship, and that the law which had deprived the Italian cities of the *jus civitatis* was unconstitutional and null.

<sup>3</sup> *Bell. civ.*, i. 103.

<sup>4</sup> *Flor.*, iii. 21, 23.

<sup>5</sup> LARINOD. Armed horseman riding to the left, and five small balls. Reverse of a quinceunx (or, rather, *pentobolus*), in bronze, of Larinum.

But it is manifest that, within the space of a few months, the champion of the aristocracy caused more blood to flow in his persecution of the popular party than the emperors shed in a war of two centuries against the faction of the nobles.<sup>1</sup>

The proscription did not stop with its victims' death; it struck at their posterity to the third generation. With the design of taking away from the children of these men the hope and the



Spoleto: Temple of Clitumnus.<sup>2</sup>

means of avenging them, the sons and grandsons of the proscribed, deprived of their paternal inheritance, were declared unworthy ever to fill any public office.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of the citizens of Rome the proscriptions were of

<sup>1</sup> *Ullus est . . . Sulla, ne dici quidem opus est quanta deminutione civium.* (Cic., *in Catil.*, iii. 10.)

<sup>2</sup> From Piranesi, *Opere varie di architettura*.

<sup>3</sup> The sons of senators, while losing the privileges of their rank, remained subject to all its burdens. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 28; Cic., *II in Ferr.*, iii. 41; *pro Cluent.*, 45.)

individuals; like Tarquin, Sylla only struck off the tallest heads; for Italy, however, they were general. Not one Samnite escaped, "for," he said, "Italy cannot be tranquil so long as one man of this people is left alive."<sup>1</sup> The cities which had furnished soldiers to his adversaries were not only deprived of citizenship, but dismantled; some were destroyed, and all despoiled of their lands, which he distributed among his veterans. Sulmo, one of the three capitals of the Pelignians, Spoleto, and Interamna in Umbria, Præneste and Norba, two old Latin cities, and Nola, which still held out when the last of the allies had laid down their arms, were sold at auction.<sup>2</sup> Naples probably at that time lost her island of Ænaria (*Ischia*); Pompeii a part of her territory; Stabiae the whole of hers. Many others thus paid for Sylla's promises to his army. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.<sup>3</sup> At Præneste he had ordered all the inhabitants to be brought before his tribunal, but seeing how many there were: "I have no time," he said, "to listen to all these people; it would take too long to pick out the few innocent among so many guilty; let them all die." He was, however, disposed to save the life of one who had been his host. "Life would be hateful to me if I accepted it from the executioner of my country," this noble-minded man exclaimed, and took his place in the crowd whom the soldiers were hurrying away.

Etruria cruelly expiated the assistance she had given to the popular party. The men who had been the leaders of the movement fell under the sword, and the military colonies established by the conqueror very soon changed in many places the entire population. "Then," says Niebuhr, "perished the ancient Etruscan nation, with its science and its literature. Most of the people lost their landed property, and languished in poverty under foreign masters, whose oppression stifled in a degenerate posterity all patriotic memories."

The Latin language and the Roman manners, borne by colonists into districts where the local idioms, traditions, and religions were

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Florus, iii. 21, 27. In the case of a division of the territory, the original inhabitants and the colonists, *veteres* and *veterani*, formed in the same city two distinct communes. (Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, iv. 450, note 4.)

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, V. iv. 11.

most lively, extinguished the last remnants of them.<sup>1</sup> But before the fusion was complete there were many cases of resistance. The protests of peoples perishing under foreign dominion are called by their conquerors acts of brigandage. The outlaw takes shelter in the mountains, and, supported by the sympathy of his people, struggles long, and we may almost say, honourably. After the immense overthrow and confusion caused by this general expropriation, Italy remained infested with armed bands, as, after the outbreak in the Oriental provinces the sea was covered with pirates. Spartacus and Catiline were soon to essay to rally these two forces, already hostile to the society which they themselves attacked.

The provinces, too, had their proscriptions, and the hand of iron which weighed upon Italy was stretched out over all the empire. Sylla in person undertook to punish Greece and Asia, leaving it to his lieutenants to "pacify" the provinces of the north, the west, and south; Metellus, Cisalpina; Valerius Flaccus, Narbonensis, where the proscribed resisted him in the field;<sup>2</sup> and Pompey, Sicily and Africa. Although habitually moderate, Pompey here showed himself severe. The Mamertines, oppressed by him, claimed their privileges. "Cease," he said to them, sternly, "to talk about laws to one who bears the sword."<sup>3</sup> Carbo had taken shelter in the island of Cossyra, and Pompey caused him to be brought before his tribunal and beheaded, after suffering many insults.<sup>4</sup> This death gave occasion for an eloquent apostrophe on the part of an advocate, Helvius Mancius, the son of a freedman. This advocate's great age and obscure birth had been made by Pompey a subject of ridicule in a case where the latter was a witness. "What," exclaimed Pompey, "is this shade of a slave returned from the infernal regions to set on foot accusations like these?" "Yes," Helvius retorted, "I return from the infernal regions. I saw there Brutus with bleeding breast complaining of thy perfidy, who, contrary to plighted faith, didst cause him to be

<sup>1</sup> The Oscan, as kindred to the Latin, disappeared slowly. When Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed the Oscan language was not entirely gone. The Etruscan had been sooner lost.

<sup>2</sup> This part of Gaul must have been extremely oppressed at that time, for it made a protracted resistance. Metellus went thither, and Pompey was obliged to go to his aid; Sertorius also found allies there. (Cf. Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 107; *Philippi Orat.*, in Sall., *fragm.*)

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch (in *Pomp.*) says, however, that in Sicily he did as little harm as possible.

<sup>4</sup> Val. Max., VI. ii. 8.



killed; I saw there Carbo, relating how, as a reward for the services he rendered thee in thy youth, for the care he took to preserve to thee thy patrimony, thou hadst loaded him with chains and obloquy, how, despite his prayers, thou, who art but a mere Roman



Pompey.<sup>2</sup>

knight, did constitute thyself judge of the chief of the Republic, invested for the third time with the consular office, and didst basely put him to death!" Brutus, another chief of the popular party, stabbed himself to avoid like outrages.<sup>1</sup> Pompey, however, had not the cold and passionless cruelty of Sylla. Himera had joined the opposite party, and it was his intention to chastise the place severely, but the proud answer of a citizen saved it. The young general's soldiers pillaged and used violence; he put his seal upon their swords and pun-

ished any one who broke it. Norbanus, the Marian consul of

<sup>1</sup> This Brutus is the same person as the prætor Damasippus (p. 683) whose name in full is L. Junius Brutus Damasippus. Sallust (*Cat.*, 51) represents his death as occurring after the battle of the Colline Gate; Livy (*Epit.* lxxxix.), in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> Rome, Spada palace. This statue was discovered in 1552, near the site of Pompey's theatre. The place where it was found is very near the spot where Cæsar's murder took place; and Suetonius tells us that he had seen Pompey's statue in a palace where Augustus had caused it to be placed. It is possible then that time has respected the colossal statue of Pompey which saw Cæsar fall. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 911, No. 2316, and Wey, *Rome*, p. 366-7.) Pompey was the first Roman who had a statue in heroic costume. It is thus that the Greeks represented their gods and heroes, and Pompey seems to have had the vanity to wish himself

the year 83, had already perished. He had taken refuge at Rhodes, and his head being demanded by Sylla, had killed himself in the market-place to escape being given up.

In Africa a prætor had decreed the enfranchisement of the slaves. This was ruin for the Italian merchants of Utica, and in revenge they had burned the prætor in his house. The province, however, remained faithful to the Marian party. A son-in-law of Sylla, Domitius Ahenobarbus, had organized a defence and persuaded Hiarbas, who had just overthrown Hiempsal, the other king of Numidia, to join his party. But Pompey arrived with 120 galleys, bringing six legions. In a day he defeated the hostile army near Utica, and stormed their camp, where Domitius perished; Hiarbas was taken and put to death, and a march of several days' journey into Numidia, as far as the desert, restored respect for the Roman name among these nomadic tribes.



Coin of Himera<sup>1</sup>

Against Sertorius, master of Spain, the dictator sent the prætor Numius, who drove him out; against the Thracians he despatched the governors of Macedon, Dolabella and Piso; and against the pirates the same Dolabella, the prætor Thermus, and finally the proconsul Servilius Valia. But in Asia, where Murena had recommenced the war against Mithridates, Sylla, who saw around him in the empire itself enough of embarrassments and dangers, forbade his lieutenants to provoke so formidable an enemy.

Suffering much from the war, the provinces were still further oppressed by taxes, for the exhausted treasury of Rome must be replenished. Treaties and promises were alike forgotten. All were forced to contribute, not alone the tributary cities, but also those who had gained immunity and independence either by their voluntary submission or by important services; allied nations and friendly kings were constrained to show their zeal by the multitude of their gifts. From one end to the other of the empire

represented during his life-time among the demi-gods, Winckelmann (*Gesch. der Kunst*, xi.) speaks of another statue of Pompey, presented in the villa Castellazo, near Milan, completely made like that of the palace Spada, and believes that it more nearly resembles the original.

<sup>1</sup> Cock; on the reverse, a hollow square. Silver coin of Himera, of very ancient style.

there was no person who did not pay with his blood or with his fortune for this restoration of the old Republic.

Did all this bloodshed, indeed, regenerate the empire? Far from it. The result of so many massacres was only to bring in a reign of soldiers. In exchange for the power which the legionaries had given him, Sylla surrendered to them Italy, the provinces, and, most costly sacrifice of all, discipline. Now the



Ruins of Himera (Termini, *Thermæ Himerenses*) (p. 705).<sup>1</sup>

soldiers knew that desertion might be honourable; that the person of a leader was not sacred; that Rome was not inviolable. Their country was no longer at the foot of the Capitol; it was under the standards, and these standards they were willing to sell to the highest bidder.<sup>2</sup> During these ten years of civil war all the male population of Italy had served in the army. Conquerors or

<sup>1</sup> From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

<sup>2</sup> See the picture drawn by Dion Cassius (*fragm.*, 301) of the insubordination of the soldiers. "Sylla," he says, "was the principal cause of these evils."

conquered, all were alike impregnated with the idea that rights existed only where there was force. The little respect that yet remained for magistrates, laws, and property had been effaced by the proscriptions, and from the universal overthrow one thing alone remained in the minds of all, a conviction of the instability of the present, an indifference in respect to the future, and the need of all men—as during the French saturnalia of the Directory, between the Republic and the empire—to distract themselves in amusements and debauchery. At the same time, this generation, though ripe for anarchy, was not so for slavery. There was still talk of rights and of liberty, and Sylla reigned in the name and interests of a long-established party.

## II.—SYLLA'S REFORMS.

After having killed the men by the sword, Sylla tried to kill the party by laws. In order to make laws he chose to assume some legal title. The two consuls were dead; he called together the comitia. Then going away from Rome as if for the purpose of leaving entire liberty of action to the popular assembly, he wrote to the interrex Valerius Flaccus that, in his judgment, the Republic had need of an absolute dictatorship to restore order to the State, and that no one could be more useful in this office than himself.<sup>1</sup> He was obeyed (November, 82), and after an interval of 120 years, the twenty-four lictors were again seen in the Roman streets, and the axes bound up with rods. But what men had never before seen was this: the Roman people, by formal decree, despoiling themselves of all their rights, and giving them into the hands of one man. It was solemnly proclaimed that Sylla's will should be law; that all his acts were ratified in advance;<sup>2</sup> that he should have power of life and death without

<sup>1</sup> The early dictators were chosen for six months only, and their authority did not extend beyond Italy. Appointed for a definite purpose, sometimes not of much importance, they could neither employ the public money at will nor change anything in existing laws or institutions. Manlius who endeavoured to exceed his powers was obliged to abdicate. It was an essentially conservative institution. Sylla, giving laws to his country like Solon and Lycurgus, had nothing in common with the early dictators but the name. (Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 98.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ut ipseus (Sylla) voluntas ei (populo Romano) posset esse pro lege* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii.

legal proceedings of any kind; that he should have right of confiscating property, of dividing lands, of building or destroying cities, of taking away kingdoms or of giving them, also of appointing proconsuls and propraetors, of conferring the *imperium* upon them, of determining whether he should during the duration of his extraordinary powers be appointed to the higher offices of the State, finally, of fixing at his own will the limit of his term of office. This was the empire before the emperors; Augustus himself was invested with less power than Sylla. Rome accepted this solution of the problem of her destinies for the same reason which led her to applaud the victories of Julius Caesar and Octavian. Men were so weary of wars and of massacres, so desirous at last to enjoy their lives and property in peace, that many said, "A good king is better than bad laws."<sup>1</sup>

Without using any of the rights with which he had just been invested, and contrary to the ancient usage which suspended the consular office during dictatorships, Sylla allowed the consular elections to take place; in 80 he even filled the office himself, together with the dictatorship, but in 79, being again elected, he declined.

On the 29th of January, 81, he inaugurated his new dignity by a triumph celebrating his victory over Mithridates. There was carried in the procession nothing except pictures of the battles he had gained and statues representing the Greek and Asiatic cities he had taken. But the most illustrious personages in Rome whom he had saved from proscription followed his chariot, crowned with flowers, and their utterances of thanks, in which recurred incessantly the names of "father" and "saviour," showed that it was the party-chief, much more than the victorious general, who celebrated his triumph.

Sylla had been all his life only a soldier; he saw clearly that the world could not be ruled by a popular assembly, stormy and venal, and being much more interested in Rome's power than in her liberty, which, moreover, had now come to be mere license,

35.) Cf. *in Rull.*, iii. 2; *Plut.*, 42. Δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θεσσι νόμων . . . , καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. (*App.*, *Bell. civ.*, i. 99). *Penes quem leges, judicia, aerarium, provincia, reges, denique necis et civium et vitæ licentia erat* (*Sall.*, *Hist. fragm.*). The senate also recognized his right to alter the *comerium*. (*Tac.*, *Ann.*, xii. 23; *Aul. Gell.*, *Noct. Att.*, xii. 14; *Festus*, s. v. *Prosimurium*.)

<sup>1</sup> *Satius est uti regibus quam uti malis legibus.* (*Cic.*, *ad Her.*, ii. 26.)

he sought to make the silence of camps reign in the Forum. But to secure the citizens from constant disturbances, and to provide them with a regular government, he knew no better way than a return to past methods; he believed the aristocracy were now wise enough to use sovereign power with discretion, and he gave it back to them.

We shall present the laws of the dictator not in the uncertain



Personification of Cities going out to meet the Victorious General.<sup>1</sup>

order in which they arose, but according to the different heads under which they may be classed.

The civil war and the proscriptions had decimated the senate. Sylla introduced into it 300 new members, whom the *comitia*

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief in the Louvre (*Clarac.*, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 222, No. 301, and catalogue No. 179), found near the Appian Way.



*tributa*<sup>1</sup> selected from among the wealthier citizens,<sup>2</sup> and to make this assembly the conservative element in the constitution, he restored to them the *judicia*<sup>3</sup> and also the right of preliminary discussion of laws, the judicial power, that is, and the legislative veto; it was, in fact, the abolition of the Hortensian law.<sup>4</sup> He preserved to the senate the right of designating the consular provinces, decided that the governors should remain in their provinces during the senate's pleasure,<sup>5</sup> and, in order to ensure that the senate should be constantly recruited without the aid of the censors, he increased to twenty the number of titular quaestors, their office opening to them the doors of the senate.<sup>6</sup> The suppression of the quinquennial *lectio*, moreover, rendered the office of senator absolutely permanent.

By the increased extent of the empire an enlarged administrative staff was required; instead of six praetors, Sylla caused eight to be appointed, and for them and the consuls he established the rule of proroguing authority. Every year two consuls entered upon their office for the general direction of the government, and eight praetors, of whom two were the original urban and foreign praetors, while the other six were presiding officers of the new tribunals. Their year at Rome being completed, these high functionaries went, as designated by the senate, to govern the two consular and the eight praetorian provinces, accompanied each by

<sup>1</sup> . . . . *L. Cornelius dictator populum jure rogavit, populusque jure scivit* . . . . Such at least are the terms of the *lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus*. (C. I. L., p. 108.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix: *Senatum ex ordine equestri supplevit*. Cf. App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100. On the other hand Sallust (*Cat.*, 37) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (v. 77) state that he appointed the new senators at random, even from among the common soldiers. One sole consideration must have guided him: to place in the senate his own partisans, and to take wherever he could find them, but especially from the wealthier class. In the words of Appian: *ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδοὺς ψῆφον περὶ ἐκαστον*, has been seen an entirely new electoral system created by Sylla; but these novelties were not suited to the time, nor had he any taste for them. The vote upon the names proposed by Sylla was but a formality, a ratification of the sovereign will of the dictator.

<sup>3</sup> The praetor drew by lot, to form the jury in each case, a *decuria senatorum*, composed of about forty members. In the prosecution of Cluentius, the *decuria* was reduced by challenges to thirty-two. (Cicero., *pro Cluentio*, 27.)

<sup>4</sup> See vol. i. p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix.; Vell. Patern., ii. 32; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 22; Cic., *ad Fam.*, xv. 9, 14; App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 59.

<sup>6</sup> According to Willems (*le Sénat de la répub. rom.*, p. 232), it was only now that the quaestors obtained full senatorial rights, that is to say, the *jus sententiae dicendae*, or the right to express an opinion.

a quaestor. The entire administration, therefore, was derived from the senate and returned into it again. As this body, in whose sessions public affairs were discussed, had still further to fill all tribunals, embassies, and legations, the importance of its functions justified the increase in the number of its members. But even with this increased number, the 600 Conscript Fathers, constituting a permanent senate, master of 60,000,000 of men, formed a narrow oligarchy, who in the future, even more than they had done in the past, considered the Republic as their hereditary patrimony. This senate we shall now see ruling without intelligence, pointing to the triumvirate by its insults to Pompey and its outbreaks of anger against Caesar, and with its policy, by turns rash and feeble, rendering inevitable that civil war in which it was destined to perish.

As to the people, we need not lament that their sovereignty became an empty show. They had nothing in common with the plebeians of the early days of Rome. The mob of the Forum did not deserve the honour of bearing the grand name and preserving the rights of "the Roman people." The dictator could not, however, destroy the memory of the old doctrine that the sovereign power always resided in the popular assembly, and by the use of this principle an able man might at any time make a breach in the new constitution. The dictator took all possible measures, however, to make of this popular sovereignty an obsolete idol, fitly relegated to silence and darkness.

The tribunes lost the right of proposing any measure to the tribes<sup>1</sup> unless authorized by the senate to do so,<sup>2</sup> and their veto was restricted to matters of private interest, that is to say, they could protect a citizen against the tyranny of a magistrate, but they were no longer able to arrest a measure of government.<sup>3</sup> The exercise of the tribuneship even deprived a man of the right to seek other offices,<sup>4</sup> Sylla judging that ambitious men would avoid

<sup>1</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, lxxxix.: *Tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne jus legum ferendarum ademit*.

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of the law *de Thermensibus* in 71.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 9; *Tribunis injuria faciendae potestatem ademit, auxilii ferendi reliquit*. Cf. Caesar, *Bell. civ.*, i. 5; and Vell. Patern., ii. 30. *Imaginem sine re reliquerat*.—[Yet surely this was exactly the restriction which ought to have been restored to restrain the tribunate by any wise legislator.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100; Asconius, in Cic. *pro Cornel.*, p. 78, edition of Orelli. Suet.

an office which would compel them to relinquish their personal interests.

If the tribunes could no longer address the people,<sup>1</sup> if every measure must be approved in advance by the senate,<sup>2</sup> the *comitia tributa*, in reality, lost their legislative power; reduced to the election of inferior officers, they seemed no longer to exist. In respect to the *comitia centuriata*, it cannot be said that Sylla restored to them, by the integral re-establishment of the *classes*, their aristocratic character of early days. He left to them the legislative authority, but the necessity that every proposed measure should be preceded by a *senatus-consultum* had the effect of reducing them to a condition of dependence upon the senate.

In electoral matters the people were still further despoiled of the prerogatives they had enjoyed, since the year 104, of appointing the members of the pontifical college, the latter being once more empowered to fill their own vacancies.<sup>3</sup> Sylla did not even leave them the right of epigram, that shadow of liberty in which the crowd and certain minds delight more than in liberty itself, for the penalties of the Ten Tables against lampoons were augmented.

As to the equestrian order, which for fifty years had played so important a part in the State, Sylla took no account of it; not finding it in the old constitution he effaced it from the new.<sup>4</sup> He deprived the knights of the judgeships, and their rights as farmers of the Asiatic revenue were commuted into a definite sum,<sup>5</sup> and expelling them from the fourteen benches that Caius Gracchus had assigned them in the theatres behind the senators, forced them to mingle with the plebeian crowd. The knights thus lost power, fortune, and, which to some of them was a no less serious matter, the privilege of display.

(Oct., 10 and 40) says even that only senators could obtain the tribuneship. Appian was aware of this opinion, which he dares not endorse . . . οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν εἰ Σύλλας αὐτῶν [ἀρχὴν] καθὰ νῦν ἴσθιν, ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετένεγκεν. (Bell. civ., i. 100.) It would not have been easy to find, year after year, ten senators who would resign themselves to never rising higher than the tribuneship.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Cluent.*, 40; *de Leg.*, iii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Asconius, in Ciceronis in *Cæcil.*, 3: *Victore Sulla, spoliatus est populus . . . arbitrio creandorum sacerdotum.*

<sup>4</sup> Quintus Cicero, in the treatise, *de Petitione consulatus*, speaks of Sylla's prescriptions as specially directed against the knights.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *ad Quint.*, I. i. 11, 33.

The censorship shared the fate of the equestrian order. In the eyes of Sylla it was a modern magistracy which aspired to dominate the senate itself; he suppressed it, or, rather, he absorbed it into his dictatorship, and did not call for the quinquennial census. From 81 to 70 there were no censors.<sup>1</sup> But the censorship and the knights were to have their revenge. It was by the knights that Sylla's legislation was to be destroyed, and the first censors appointed, nine years after his dictatorship, expelled sixty-four members of his senate.<sup>2</sup>

In order to seem to do something in favour of the people and of the poor, he confirmed the law of Valerius Flaccus, reducing all debts by one-fourth,<sup>3</sup> but only to give himself an excuse for suppressing the distributions of corn, which encouraged the idleness of the people.<sup>4</sup>



Coin of Valerius Flaccus.<sup>5</sup>

He had paid his soldiers for their service in the Civil war by giving up to them an immense amount of booty and numberless slaves, whom they had sold; he gave still further to his 120,000 legionaries, distributed in twenty-three colonies, the most fertile lands of the peninsula.<sup>6</sup> In Lucania, Samnium, and Etruria property changed hands. This was the execution of an agrarian law such as no tribune ever dared to conceive, and the creation of a new people for the new constitution. Like Tiberius Gracchus, Sylla forbade any man to hold more than one lot, with the object of preventing the formation of large estates. He also saw the harm produced by the *latifundia*. But the unfortunate results

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti Capitolini*. Asconius says, in Ciceronis in *Cæcil.*, 3: *Hoc igitur tam triste severumque nomen populi Romani sic oderat ut intermissum esset per plurimos annos.* An anonymous scholiast speaks of a formal suppression: *Tribunos et censores . . . omnes pro nobilitate faciens sustulit Sulla.* (Schol. Gronov. in *Divin.*, p. 384, ed. Orelli.)

<sup>2</sup> Livy, *Epit.*, xlviii.

<sup>3</sup> See the letter of Mallius, in Sallust, *Cat.*, 33; and Festus. s. v. *Unciaria*.

<sup>4</sup> This, at least, appears proved by the discourse of Lepidus (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*): *Ne servitia quidem alimenta reliqua habet*, that is to say, the five *modii* per month which were given to the slaves.

<sup>5</sup> Bust of Victory; on the reverse: C. VA(lerius) FLA(ccus) IMPERA(tor) EX. S. C., legionary eagle between two standards. (Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*, pl. xl. Valeria, No. 4.)

<sup>6</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100. From an expression used by Granius Licinianus, *Fœculani irruerunt in castella veteranorum*, it would seem that Sylla's colonists did not disperse themselves at random through the country, but that they prudently established fortified positions, *castella*, which would serve them for shelter in case of attack from dispossessed owners.

that he obtained showed how chimerical was the hope which he based upon this reconstruction of petty ownership. To replace industrious inhabitants by a demoralized soldiery was not to augment that rural class which had made the strength of the early

Sylla.<sup>1</sup>

Republic; it was only the proletariat that was increased by all the victims of this vast expropriation, and with it the perils of the new Republic. In truth, all that Sylla cared to preserve in Italy was a standing army, which would cost him nothing. But these colonists were ready to sell their services to anyone, and Catiline recruited here his incendiary bands.

If any political lesson springs from the Roman constitution, it is that the government which seeks to be strong and tranquil must give satisfaction to the needs which successively arise among its citizens. Political organizations are great families, in which the elder sons are under obligation to make room for the younger as fast as the latter arrive at strength, intelligence, and the ability to share in the common tasks. For three centuries this system made Rome's fortune secure. But the aristocracy had long since abandoned it, and Sylla exaggerated this error still further. By his laws the people and their tribunes on the one hand, and the aristocracy on the other, were thrown back four centuries; the former to the obscurity of the position they occupied on the day following the retreat to the Sacred Hill, the latter to the distinction and authority of the early days of the Republic. Could he, however, restore them to the manners of that time, the nobles to an unselfish devotion to the public good, the poor to patriotism, and take away from Rome that empire which required further new conditions of existence? Sylla did not even attempt to restore to nobles and people the esteem of the public and their own self-respect. Into the senate he caused obscure and unworthy persons to enter;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> L. SULL. FELI. DIC. Sylla on horseback. Reverse of a gold coin of the Cornelian family. This coin belongs to the number of those that have the Lucullian weight, eleven grammes more or less, while the average weight of the other gold denarii is eight grammes. Only four of this kind are known to exist: two of the Cornelian family, and two of the Manlian. (Note of M. Cohen.) [The only authentic likeness of Sylla is said to be on the coins of his grandson Q. Pomp. Rufus.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Sallust, *Cat.*, 37; Dionysius, v. 77. A common centurion, Fufidius, *ancilla turpis, honorum omnium dehonestamentum* (*Orat. Lepidi* in Sall. *Hist. fragm.*), became quaestor, and consequently senator.

among the people he spread abroad 10,000 enfranchised slaves, the Cornelians, who served him as a bodyguard against enemies, and on voting days defended him against the surprises of the ballot. Spaniards and Gauls obtained citizenship;<sup>1</sup> a measure praiseworthy under a different system; and he permitted the Italians, except those who had served against him,<sup>2</sup> to be dispersed through the thirty-five tribes. This was an arrangement already made, which he did not care to reconsider, since his military colonies had almost renewed the Italian population. He had, moreover, in his constitution, made the senate's share so important, and that of the people so trivial, that there did not seem to be anything dangerous in a concession which, a few years later, had the effect of securing authority for the popular chiefs. But when universal suffrage of the Italians was established from the Rubicon to the Straits of Messina, it must have required organization, and examples were not wanting which indicated the road to follow.<sup>3</sup> Sylla took no thought of this, and instead of a system of voting which would have secured order, the spectacle might be seen, on certain days, of troops of electors, seduced by promises or gained by presents, flocking to the comitia and casting into the urns some dangerous name. Even during Sylla's lifetime one of his enemies in this way obtained the consular office, and in the legal anarchy to which Rome had become accustomed, a consul might undo that which a dictator had done.

Sylla had restored authority to the aristocracy; he did not, however, deceive himself in respect to their morals, and his penal laws, directed against the crimes of which they were habitually guilty, prove that he sought, if not to render them better, at least to intimidate them. To diminish canvassing he decreed that no one should obtain the consulship a second time until after an interval of ten years,<sup>4</sup> and he forbade candidates to solicit the praetorship before the quaestorship, or the consulate before the praetorship.<sup>5</sup> Lucretius Ofella, the same who so long besieged

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100; *pro Archia*, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Sociorum et Latini magna vis civitate . . . prohibetur.* (*Orat. Lepidi* in Sall. *Hist. fragm.*)

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 194-201.

<sup>4</sup> This was the renewal of the law of 342. See vol. i. p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 100. See (pp. 365-6) the *lex Villia* or *Annalis* which Sylla sanctioned anew.



Præneste, sealed this law with his blood. He sought the consular office without having been prætor; Sylla warned him to desist, but he continued, and a centurion stabbed him in the Forum. When the people dragged the murderer into the presence of Sylla, who was seated in his tribunal in the temple of Castor: "Let the man go," the dictator said; "he has acted by my orders." He then related to the people the apologue of the labourer, who, being twice interrupted in his work by the bites of insects, ended by throwing his shirt into the fire.

He had risen by violence, and had been the first man to lead the legions against Rome; he now believed himself able to repress similar attempts by reviving the law of Saturninus and Varius against treason, and he still further extended it. For the future, whoever should endanger the honour and security of the Republic, should violate a tribune's veto, or should arrest a magistrate in the exercise of his office, should be interdicted fire and water, that is to say, exiled. To the same penalty any magistrate was liable who allowed the authority of his office to be diminished in his hands, and any governor who should of his own authority declare war, should lead his troops over the frontier of his province, should incite his troops to revolt or give them up to the enemy, or should sell liberty to any captive chief. It was this law (of *majestas*) which punished not acts only, but words, that the emperors in later times turned to such cruel use.

By the law *de falsis* against counterfeiters<sup>1</sup> or forgers of wills, and against those who bought or sold persons not slaves, and by the law *de sicariis*, against murderers, incendiaries, parricides, false witnesses, and dishonest judges, Sylla punished crimes that were too common in Rome. By his law *de repetundis*, that safeguard of the provinces, he sought to repress the avidity of the prætors in their governments, and it was the only measure which he brought forward for the advantage of the provincials. A man of the past, he desired the conquest, which he had himself renewed, to weigh upon them still, and his law *de provinciis ordinandis* concerned almost solely the interests of Rome. No governor should leave his province without orders; there he must

<sup>1</sup> Upon counterfeiting and the reforms of Marius Gratidianus, see p. 609.

remain until it pleased the senate to send him a successor, upon which he must within thirty days leave the province, after having placed in two cities of his government a copy of his accounts.<sup>1</sup> He, however, forbade the governors to demand anything beyond what the regulations granted them, and he limited the often excessive expenses that the provinces incurred in sending embassies to Rome for the purpose of praising the retiring governor, and gaining in advance their new master's good will.<sup>2</sup>

Since the Social war Rome had known neither tribunals nor the administration of justice.<sup>3</sup> Sylla reorganized the *questiones perpetuæ*, established seventy years before by Calpurnius Frugi. From this time there were eight of these permanent tribunals, presided over by the prætors.<sup>4</sup> As the judges in these courts of justice were all senators, and as their sentences were without appeal, the administration of justice in criminal cases passed entirely into the hands of the senate. Formerly the right of challenging a judge was very extensive; the new law did not allow more than three to be challenged unless the accused was a senator.<sup>5</sup> These penal laws were the greatest legislative effort made in Rome since the Twelve Tables.

What he did in respect to the finances is not known, but it is certain that he gave the subject attention, for he increased the number of the questors. Tacitus says also that he increased the circuit of Rome, although he added no province to the empire. He doubtless felt that the re-conquest of Greece and Asia gave him the right to secure for the city the additional space which her increasing population demanded. Perhaps also it was Sylla who extended the boundary of Italy, from the *Æsis* to the *Rubicon*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The superseded governor preserved *quoad in urbem introisset* (Cic., *ad Fam.*, i. 9), the *imperium*, his lictors, his prætorian chariot, in fine, all the insignia of office. It was useful to the State that he should traverse the empire with all this display. The *imperium* was necessary to him, besides, in case he should wish to solicit a triumph. [And in cases of oppression, to secure his safety from his former subjects.—*Ed.*]

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 22; *pro Flacco*, 40; *ad Fam.*, iii. 8, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Senatus decrevit ne judicia, dum tumultus Italicus esset, exercerentur* (Asconius, in Ciceronis *pro Cornelio*) . . . *sublatis legibus et judiciis*. (Cic., *de Off.*, ii. 21.)

<sup>4</sup> *De crimine majestatis, de vi, de sicariis et veneficiis, de parricidio, de falsis, de crimine repetundarum, de peculatu, de ambitu, de adulteriis, de injuriis*. Sylla allowed the old tribunal of the centumvirs to exist, its competence being mostly confined to questions of inheritance.

<sup>5</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, v. i. 11.

In his restoration of the aristocratic constitution, Sylla was not unmindful of religion, which has been regarded by statesmen of all ages as a useful instrument of government. Notwithstanding



Fortune.<sup>1</sup>

the impiety of his conduct in Greece, he professed a respect for the gods, and until his latest hour believed in the predictions of astrologers. At the battle of the Colline gate he drew from his breast a statuette of Apollo, and gave thanks to it devoutly for saving him from peril. This great gamester had a particular veneration for the goddess Fortune, this profligate was an adorer of Venus, especially that Venus whom he had seen in a dream invested with the weapons of Mars; he offered her a wreath and an axe of gold, the two-fold symbol of his own power. In writing to the Greeks he signed himself 'Επαφρόδιτος, the *Favourite of Venus*; at Rome he would be called Felix. An equestrian statue was erected to him in front of the rostra, with this inscription, *Corn. Sulla Felici*, and to the two children born him by Metella he gave the names Faustus and Fausta, which have the same meaning. It might be thought that he obeyed a deeply religious sentiment in attributing all his exploits to the favour of the gods; this, however, was not the case; it was merely a common Roman notion. This people believed that in battle victory came less from the skill of the general than from propitious auspices sent by heaven to one man and denied to another; so that the more the gods favoured a man the more they seemed to bring him near themselves and make him one of the elect. To call oneself the object of their constant protection was to claim some superiority of nature. The beloved of the goddess Aphrodite concealed, therefore, an inordinate pride under his piety, like the Jews in their worship of Jehovah, whose chosen people they called themselves.

<sup>1</sup> A silver statuette in the gallery of Florence of excellent workmanship, and great delicacy of style. It is not quite five inches high. (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 454, No. 840.)

He increased the number of pontiffs and of augurs from ten to fifteen respectively, and gave them the right of cooption. This secured discipline and secrecy in the sacerdotal body, and also served to place in the hands of the aristocracy a weapon against the popular assemblies if other means failed. Furthermore he caused Sibylline oracles to be sought for to replace the books which had perished in the burning of the Capitol, and he rebuilt that temple with great magnificence.



Venus Victrix.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding his immoral life, Sylla enacted many laws to restore the sanctity of marriage and to arrest the abuse of the privilege of divorce,<sup>1</sup> also the inordinate extravagance then prevalent on occasion of funerals and of festivals.<sup>3</sup> Like all sumptuary

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Sylla*, 35, and *Comparison of Lys. and Sylla*, 3; but this law is lost.

<sup>2</sup> Small statue of the Blundell collection, obtained from the villa Mattei. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 593, No. 1290.)

<sup>3</sup> At the kalends, ides, nones, and on days of public games and religious festivals, the expenses were not to exceed thirty sesterces; on other days there was the limit. (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 24.) He also reduced the price of provisions. (Macrobius, *Saturn.*, III. xvii. [II. xiii.] 11.) But the list of viands which he taxed is so long that Macrobius is shocked at the luxury it reveals. The funeral scene on p. 723 reveals a bas-relief from the Louvre (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, No. 332, pl. 154), representing the *conclamatio*, or the appeal to the dead with loud voice and sound of instruments, to make sure that he no longer lived.

laws, these regulations had no force and but little duration; the man who had made them even bringing them into discredit by his own example. This, however, was not the case with his penal laws, many of which have lasted in substance even to the present time.

### III.—ABDICATION AND DEATH OF SYLLA.

When Sylla had completed his work he retired from public life, not through contempt of mankind nor yet disgust of power, but for the sake of observing the free working of the government which he had constructed. His abdication, however (79), had the appearance of being a challenge to his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own power. But the senate and the chief public offices being filled with his creatures, the fact that so many men were interested in the maintenance of his laws, his 10,000 Cornelians, and his 120,000 veterans scattered throughout Italy, from whom he could at a word reconstruct a formidable army, all this rendered this confidence by no means dangerous.<sup>1</sup> It is related that on one occasion, on sending Crassus through a dangerous country, he made the remark, "I give you for escort your assassinated father and all your murdered family." How many sanguinary memories protected Sylla in his return to private life! And when Sylla, sending away his lictors, came down among the people, men shuddered at contact with this fatal man. One young Roman, however, no doubt the son of some victim of the proscriptions, one day reviled him, and pursued him with abusive language as far as his house, when Sylla contented himself with saying, "This insolence will prevent future dictators from doing as I have done;" and, in fact, none ever have done so again.

Sylla loved his indolence and pleasure not less than his power. He had loitered in profligacy until the age of forty-seven before filling the high offices of the State. From that time, it is true, he had filled them continuously, but as soon as he felt

One of these instruments is the *tuba*, or infantry trumpet, the *lituus*, or cavalry trumpet. The antiquity of this bas-relief has been called in question by Clarac and Visconti.

<sup>1</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 104.





HERCULES AND OMPHALE

*From a Pompeian Picture.*

his work accomplished he returned again to repose. His farewell to the people was worthy of that insolent royalty which renounced itself, and of that crowd which could be bought for a *congiarium*. He glutted the populace with viands of the rarest kinds and the costliest wines, and in such profusion that every day there was thrown into the Tiber prodigious quantities, that the satiated crowds could not eat. In the midst of these festivities Metella fell dangerously ill. She had bravely shared his fortunes, but the priests forbade this favourite of Venus to pollute his abode by funeral rites, and before she expired he transmitted to her an act of divorce, and caused her to be carried out of the house. He, however, in spite of his own law, ordered her funeral to be honoured with the greatest pomp.

A few months after, as he was witnessing a gladiatorial combat, a very beautiful woman of high birth, Valeria by name, who had lately been divorced from her husband, stopped in passing him and plucked a thread from his toga. Sylla regarded her with surprise. "I desired," she said, "to have a share in your felicity." The act and words of Valeria attracted Sylla. A few days later he celebrated with her his second marriage.<sup>1</sup>

Retiring to his house at Cumæ he lived a year longer, and on seeing this man passing his days in hunting and fishing, dictating his Memoirs, reading Aristotle and Theophrastus, or at times mingling in nocturnal orgies, with players and buffoons, who could have recognized the former master of the world? Two days before his death he was at work upon the twenty-second book of his *Commentaries*, which he bequeathed, with the guardianship of his son, to Lucullus. The last words written by his faltering hand still extolled his own good fortune. "Fortunate and all-powerful to his last hour," he wrote, "as the Chaldeans had promised, he lacked only to be able to dedicate the new Capitol." In the midst of his tranquil occupations, however, sometimes the pitiless master reappeared again. The day before he died, learning that a magistrate of Puteoli<sup>2</sup> delayed paying the contribution furnished by his city for the completion of the new temple in the

<sup>1</sup> Dion., *Fragm.*, 324, ed. Didot.

<sup>2</sup> Ten days before this Sylla had pacified a sedition in Puteoli, and had prepared a system of municipal law for that city.

hope of being able to appropriate the money to his own use on Sylla's death, he ordered the offender to be brought to his house and to be strangled in his presence. From the excitement thus caused an abscess broke, he bled violently, and on the next day died. It has been said that his disorder was a frightful one,<sup>1</sup> and that his decomposing flesh bred innumerable vermin, so that the demigod became an object of disgust and horror (78). Such an



Cumæ (p. 721).<sup>2</sup>

end was well deserved, but unhappily we must discard this very moral but untruthful picture. In human affairs justice sometimes overleaps a generation. It was not until thirty years later that,

<sup>1</sup> This disease was the *phthiriasis*, or pedicular disorder. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxvi. 86.) This malady, though rare, is well known to physicians. It is not mortal, however, and does not occasion this putrefaction. Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 105) speaks of a fever which carried him off in a single night, and Plutarch, besides the pedicular disease, speaks of an internal abscess which burst and killed him by blood poisoning.

<sup>2</sup> Engraving from the *Æneid*, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 183.

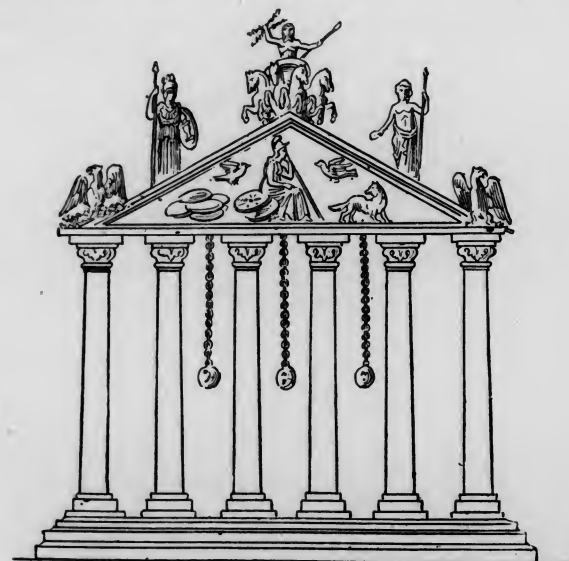


Conclamatio over the Dead (p. 719, note 3).



on the battlefield of Pharsalia, the Roman aristocracy and the penalty of the proscriptions of Sylla.

His funeral rites were grander than Rome had ever seen before. His veterans, summoned from their colonies, escorted the corpse from Puteoli to Rome. A senatus-consultum decreed him the honour of a burial in the Campus Martius.<sup>1</sup> The body was borne in a gilded litter, and around it were carried the insignia of



Second Temple of the Capitol.<sup>2</sup>

the dictatorship and more than 2,000 golden wreaths sent by the cities and the legions. The army preceded and followed the corpse as if in a last triumph.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Legibus*, ii. 22.

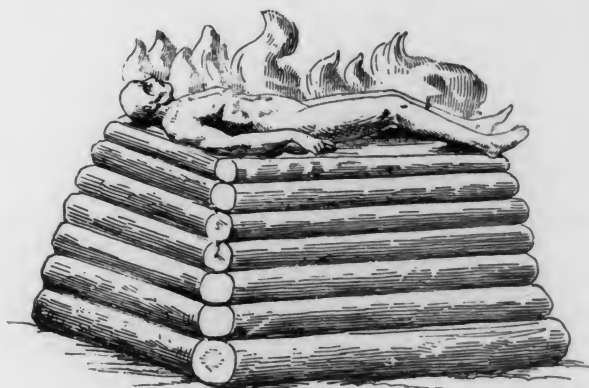
<sup>2</sup> Enlarged from a coin of the triumvir Petilius Capitolinus. In the pediment Rome seated on bucklers, and the she-wolf, upon the apex the quadriga of Jupiter, statues of Juno and Minerva, and two eagles. The disks hanging between the columns are bells (*tintinnabula*) used in sacrifices (Plautus, *Pseudolus*, 344), as in Roman Catholic churches. Suetonius (*Oct.*, 91) relates that Augustus, having built a temple to Jupiter Tonans, near the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, saw in a dream the latter complaining that the former deprived him of his worshippers. "He shall be thy gatekeeper" (*janitor*), answered the emperor, and in sign of the office the god was to fill to his divine counterpart he caused the bell to be hung. (*Revue de numism. belge*, 5th Series, vol. ii. 1870, p. 51, pl. iii.; Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 902.)

The senate and the magistrates, the vestals, and the priests clad in their official robes, and all the equestrian order awaited



Olive Wreath in Gold.<sup>1</sup>

the litter at the gates of the city to accompany it to the Forum. After the funeral eulogy the senators carried the body on their



Funeral Pile.<sup>2</sup>

shoulders as far as the Campus Martius, where only the kings had been buried, and deposited it upon a funeral pile, Sylla

<sup>1</sup> This wreath of perfect workmanship and very pure gold was found in a tomb of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. iv.)

<sup>2</sup> From a bas-relief believed to be of the time of Nero, representing scenes from the *Iliad*. The pile is lighted to consume the body of Patroclus. (Cf. Rich, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, at the words *Ara sepulcri* or *Ara funeris*.)



ZEUS CROWNED BY VICTORY

DESIGNED BY J. G. B. B. B.



having directed that his body should be burned, not buried, lest some avenger of Marius might profane his tomb.<sup>1</sup> He had composed his own epitaph—"No man ever did more good to his friends or more injury to his enemies."

Thus died, in the sixtieth year of his age, tranquil and without remorse, this man who has left in history the memory of a policy the most implacable. "His prosperity," says Seneca, "was a reproach to the gods."<sup>2</sup>

We shall not contradict Seneca, although the gods do not appear to us so culpable. But we feel obliged to seek an explanation for Sylla's severity after so many massacres. It would amaze us did we not know that the Romans made a divinity of success, *Bonus Eventus*, that the results of a victory seemed to them like the victory itself, an act of the gods, or, at least, an

act directed by the gods, leaving the soul of the conqueror as undisturbed as that of the licitor striking with his axe in obedience to a consul's orders. This ancient fatalism, which filled the drama of Æschylus and the conscience of the Greek people with religious



Vestal.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Until the time of Sylla the Cornelii had been buried, not burned.

<sup>2</sup> *Deorum crimen erat Sylla tam felix.* (*Cons. ad Marc.*, 12.) Pliny (vii. 44) is equally severe.

<sup>3</sup> Marble statue, originally belonging to the collection Chigi, now in Dresden. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 771, No. 1919.)

terrors, retained its sway at Rome amidst the growing incredulity of the times, but exercised itself coldly, without attacking the magnificent and fathomless mysteries of the *Prometheus*. The Roman mind had not so lofty a range as that of the Greeks, and no man disquieted himself about a lack of harmony between



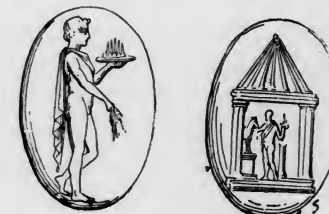
*Bonus Eventus*. (Pembroke Collection.)<sup>1</sup>

destiny and the moral law. Even for the sceptic, the vanquished were the condemned of Fortune, and to rid the world of them was justice, not cruelty, since justice consisted in acting in accordance with the will of the gods. This is why the terrible dictator died without remorse, and thus it will be with all those who interpose a false principle between their conscience and their conduct.

Two things mark Sylla's public life, and that which has been subordinated in public estimation, is in reality the greater.

<sup>1</sup> Statue of Parian marble, representing the *Bonus Eventus* of the Romans. The young god holds in his hand a cornucopia, emblem of the protection he extends over the harvests and over all kinds of enterprises. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 438 F.)

And yet, when we regard in its whole extent this legislative reform, the greatest accomplished in Rome since the time of the decemvirs, we are impressed with the bold genius of the man who executed it: the political constitution, the organization of the judiciary, the private life of the individual, are all regulated here. He saw the evil, but in correcting it he went no further than superficial causes; when he had crushed the tribuneship and restored the legal authority to an enfeebled



*Bonus Eventus* (p. 727).<sup>1</sup>

aristocracy, he believed he had done all that was needed, and might retire, when, in reality, he was furnishing history with a conspicuous example of the impotence of mere force to found anything durable if it does not act with the times.

Instead of looking forward and seeking to recognize the ideas which were growing in the provinces, in Italy, and even in Rome, he looked back, and in his blind endeavour to restore the past he took no account of those new elements which for four centuries had been developing themselves in the midst of the Roman commonwealth. In the ancient time to which he returned, the slaves, the equestrian order, the Italians, one might even say the people themselves, had no political existence, nor had they any in his laws. But in giving no protection to the slaves he rendered possible the third revolt, led by Spartacus; in taking away the privileges of the knights he put them on the side of those who wished for a revolution; in crushing the Italians and the people he made ready an army for Lepidus, a party for Pompey. There is no disaster, even to the nameless war of Catiline, that did not arise from this unfortunate dictatorship. An event of considerable importance had lately occurred in the extension of the right of suffrage to the Italians, but this Sylla made no attempt to regulate. In respect to the provincials he was absolutely indifferent; and still here was, in reality, the great problem of the time.

This royal authority, which refused to be permanent, did not,

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, Nos. 1738 and 1740.

therefore, eradicate the fatal germ then undermining the Republic; and when he gave to an aristocracy that was irrevocably doomed the strength to struggle for awhile, Sylla only made the agony longer and more severe.<sup>1</sup> It is a hard thing to wish that liberty should disappear from a people, yet when that liberty is but a sanguinary anarchy, wherein all is lost, civilization, laws, and the moral sense, when the inheritance of the human race is imperilled by the fault of a people, it must be desired that this people return into tutelage rather than that the world itself fall back into chaos.

Moreover, Sylla compromised his laws in advance by depriving them of their best sanction, the legislator's own example. No laws are durable but those which defend themselves by their harmony with the general moral sense of the people, but every day Sylla violated the ordinances he himself had made. He had recognized that murder was a crime, but after the proscriptions were at an end he killed Ofella and Granius without any judicial procedure; he had appointed a punishment for treason, but all his despatches were sealed with the memento of an act of perfidy.<sup>2</sup> He had restricted expenses, but his lavish gifts to the people, and the pomp of Metella's funeral, were an insult to his sumptuary laws; he had prohibited false coinage, but he himself issued a great quantity of pieces to which he gave an arbitrary value.<sup>3</sup> He had professed to honour marriage, but from many citizens he took away their wives and condemned the latter to new unions. He had restored the authority of the senate, but he made senators of common soldiers. He had punished adultery, but the disorders of his own private life were notorious. Could others respect all

<sup>1</sup> Ihne, who much admires Sylla, is, however, obliged to say (vol. v. p. 430): "The Republic was to be saved by no laws or no personal genius." And he adds: "The whole tendency of the age was to Monarchy in place of the Republic." This is a recognition of the fact that Sylla's work was in vain, and history condemns all sterile policy.

<sup>2</sup> The ring representing the treason of Bocchus, delivering up to him Jugurtha.

<sup>3</sup> He resumed the coinage of the plated denarii that had been stopped by Marius Gratidianus (see p. 608, n. 2, and p. 716), and by the severest regulations compelled the State's money to be received without any regard to its metallic composition (Paulus, *Sent.*, V. 25, 1), unless we agree with what seems to be the opinion of Ulpian, that the text of Paulus refers to a legislation of later date. (Cf. *Mosaic. et Romanar. legum collatio*, tit. viii. 7, and Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 40, 41.) It is, at any rate, certain that, from the dictatorship of Sylla to the time of the empire, there were as many false denarii in circulation as there were genuine ones. (Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, i. 231.)

this legislation any more than its author did? He did not himself expect that they would; and his words to Pompey, on the subject of Lepidus, prove that he had no hope of a peaceful sway for his new enactments. In truth, odious to the people and to the Italians, defended only by thick-headed nobles and a coarse soldiery, who were ready to abandon it as soon as they had wasted the money and lost the estates it gave them, the legislation of Sylla had against it the most active class in the State, the equestrian order. Even during Sylla's lifetime two men of this order had begun the struggle,—Pompey, in creating a party for himself within the Syllan party, Cicero in attacking a freedman of the dictator in the case of Roscius, and the dictator himself in a case where the young orator obtained from the judges a declaration that Sylla had not had the power to take away citizenship from the Italian towns.<sup>1</sup> In this reaction Pompey was to be the arm, Cicero the eloquent voice, and both were destined to be borne by it for a moment to supreme power.

<sup>1</sup> He resumed this topic in the *pro Cecina*, 33, in the year 69(?), maintaining that the legislative power cannot abolish certain rights, among others that of liberty, represented by the *jus civitatis*, and that consequently Sylla had not been able to take this away from Volaterræ.

<sup>2</sup> The *bustuarium* was a gladiator who fought at the funeral pile (*bustum*) when a dead body was burned. This custom had its origin in the ancient belief that the *manes* must be appeased with blood. (See vol. i. p. 88.) One of these gladiators is identified as such on the engraved stone copied from Agostini (*Gemme*, ii. pl. cix.) by the sepulchral pyramid in the background.



*Bustuarium.*<sup>2</sup>



## SEVENTH PERIOD.

### THE TRIUMVIRS AND THE REVOLUTION (79—30).

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

##### POMPEY, LEPIDUS AND SERTORIUS (79-70).

###### I.—RECAPITULATION OF THE PRECEDING PERIOD.

THE life of nations divides itself into periods of two kinds: those which may be called organic, of full, tranquil life, and inorganic, or those of violent transformation. Nations are in the first of these epochs when they have found the form of government best suited to their present interests, and in the second when social forces are at strife one with another. The time of the kings at Rome was, so far as we understand it, that of the harmonious formation of the State in its social and political aspects. This was followed by a century and a half of domestic rivalries and feebleness in the relations of Rome to the world outside. After the time of Licinius Stolo, peace between the two orders being established by equality, the fortunes of Rome were again prosperous. But after the heroic wars in Italy and Africa—following one another, as we have seen, in an inevitable sequence, and after those in Greece and Asia—wars rather of policy than of necessity, there succeeded, as the result of causes which we have examined at length,<sup>1</sup> a new period of interior distractions.

<sup>1</sup> Chapters xxxv. and xxxvi.

From the elder Gracchus to Sylla, during fifty years, these men, so heroic when facing Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and the Macedonians, once more became the sons of the she-wolf, murdering one another in order to determine to whom the world should belong.

Each party had blood upon its hands, but the aristocracy had shed the most. In their fifty years the oligarchy counted five victories marked by the murder of the chief opponents of the senate, and crowned at last by the inexorable dictatorship.<sup>1</sup>

###### II.—POMPEY.

The ten years during which the Cornelian constitution lasted formed one of the most disastrous epochs through which the Republic ever passed, an epoch in which men were least secure of the morrow.

The hatred of the people and of the Italians, the resentment of the equestrian order, and four serious wars, were the legacy left by Sylla to his country. Who should profit by this difficult inheritance? A senate, where the proscriptions of the two parties had left not one man above the level of mediocrity; Metellus Pius an unsuccessful general; Catulus, "in whom," according to Cicero, "was the material for many great men," but who was not a great citizen; Hortensius, who lived only for the bar and his fishponds; Crassus, less occupied with public affairs than with the management of his ill-gotten fortune and with buying Rome piecemeal; Philippus, who had so well contrived to steer clear of perils for twenty years, and who, when he had reached the highest honours, rested tranquilly there; lastly, the most capable of all these second-rate men, Lucullus, the eloquent Epicurean, the Roman of Athens, who had until that time remained a subordinate and without inclination for higher duties. These senators, having escaped from such long-continued perils, only desired to enjoy their lives and fortunes, and to occupy themselves in restoring their devastated villas. But around them were coming up a younger generation, more ardent,

<sup>1</sup> Murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 133; of Caius, 121; of Saturninus, 100; of Drusus, 91; of Sulpicius and the friends of Marius, 88: the proscriptions of Sylla, 82.

stronger for good as well as ill. Cicero was then twenty-eight; Caesar, twenty-four; Cato, seventeen; Brutus, younger; while Catiline and Verres had already filled public offices.



Pompey.<sup>2</sup>

By his age Pompey belonged to the younger generation,<sup>1</sup> but decorated with the names "the Great" and *imperator*, and having enjoyed a triumph, he stood apart. And we are here so far from equality, so near monarchy, that without having been regularly appointed to any office, without being senator, without being able to depend upon any political party, Pompey was all-powerful in Rome. Cold, irresolute, and as incapable as Marius of a political conception, he has, however, been unfairly treated by modern writers, who love to judge men by trifles, to paint them by anecdotes, even apocryphal, after the manner of Plutarch. No man preserves for forty years the grand position that Pompey made for himself in early youth unless he is in some way superior to his fellow-citizens. It is true that, up to his last battle, he merited even more truly than Sylla the title of the favourite of Fortune. She did much for him; did he do nothing for her? His wakeful nights, his persevering labours to prepare victory and secure it in advance, are not characteristic of the man who trusts himself slothfully to the favour of the gods.<sup>3</sup>

Without being a Cato, he had his frugality and his aversion for Oriental luxury,<sup>4</sup> and with less of affectation, with a reticent

<sup>1</sup> Born the 29th of September, 106, Pompey was the same age as Cicero. The date of Caesar's birth is usually given as 100. If that were so, he was but a little over thirteen years old when appointed in January, 86, flamen of Jupiter, which is rather young for a pontifical office. He was made ædile in the year 65, but, according to the *lex annalis* (see pp. 365, 366), a candidate for that office must be thirty-seven years of age, which puts back his birth to 102. In placing his birth in that year we find him of the requisite age in 62 for the prætorship, *i.e.*, forty, and for the consulship, which he held in 59, *i.e.*, forty-two completed years. Now, from 82 to 49, Sylla's law in respect to the magistracies was strictly observed, except in the case of Pompey in 70 and in 52; later we shall see the causes for this twofold exception. When Caesar returned to Rome in April, 49, he gave himself the age of forty-two completed years upon his coins. (Cf. Cohen, *Monn. consul.*, pl. xx., *gens Julia*; the coins numbered 14, 15, and 16 bear the figures 52.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of Pompey, from a silver coin.

<sup>3</sup> Πᾶσαν δὲ ῥαστώνην καὶ σχολὴν ἀποτριψάμενος, διετίλει καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αἰετὶ τι πράττων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων. (Diod., xxxviii. 9.)

<sup>4</sup> Δαίτη μὲν γὰρ ἐχρήτο λιτῇ, λουτρῶν δὲ καὶ συμπεριφορᾶς τρυφῆν ἔχουσας ἀπέχετο. Καὶ τὴν μὲν τρυφὴν καθήμενος προσέφερετο πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπνον ἀπεμίριζε χρόνον ἑλάττωνα τῆς ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκης, etc. (*id.*, *ibid.*; Cf. Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 2.) Lucullus had introduced the cherry-tree from

dignity, which announced the man made for command. One day, being ill and averse to food, his physician recommended him to eat a thrush; search was made in the markets, but none could be found. Some one reminded him that the bird could always be obtained from Lucullus, who fed them in coops all the year round, but he would not act upon the suggestion: "If Lucullus had not been an epicure, Pompey could not have lived, then?" he said. He was an eloquent speaker; even at the age of twenty he defended his father's memory, and made so favourable an impression upon the judge at whose tribunal he was pleading that the latter, on the spot, took him for his son-in-law. He was a man of distinguished courage,<sup>1</sup> almost his entire life being spent in camps; also of enterprise and resolution; when all Italy was overrun by the troops of Carbo, he declared for Sylla, and brought an army to the latter, which perhaps saved him. This army Pompey was able to retain in his own service while employing it for the interests of the party; he led the troops wherever the dictator desired, into the Cisalpina, Spain, and Africa; everywhere he was victorious, and his success made an impression upon Sylla, who believed that he could see in this young leader, always fortunate, that same fatality of success which he delighted to recognize in himself.

The terrible dictator was, so to speak, subjugated, and that this invincible good fortune might never be arrayed against his own, he caused Pompey to enter his family, giving him in marriage his granddaughter Æmilia. At one time, however, he had a momentary distrust of the young general, and after Pompey had conquered Domitius and Hiarbas, he ordered him to disband his troops. The soldiers were offended at the idea of losing the pleasure and profits of a triumphal entry into Rome, but Pompey appeased them, and returned alone. This loyalty saved him; Sylla, with all the people, went out to meet him, and saluted him with the title of "the Great." But Pompey was eager for a triumph—a magnificent triumph, and he had brought back from Africa

Cerasus; Pompey brought from the east the use of windmills and watermills, which superseded mills moved by hand, the only kind hitherto known in Italy, and he caused to be translated into Latin by one of his freedmen the works of the Greeks upon medicine.

<sup>1</sup> At the assault on the camp of Domitius he fought without his helmet. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 11.)

elephants to draw his chariot; that Sylla refused him, for the young general was not even as yet a senator. Upon this Pompey went so far as to bid Sylla beware, and remember that the rising sun has more worshippers than the setting. His words produced an immense effect upon the crowd; and Sylla, overcome with surprise, for the first time in his life, yielded. "Let him triumph!" he said, and repeated the words (81). The people applauded Pompey's boldness, and gazed with delight upon this general who did not tremble before the man whom all the world feared.

Pompey had, up to this time, held no public office. He preferred to the consular dignity the position he had made for himself without election by people or senate. Sole among the chiefs of Sylla's party, he had never taken part in the proscriptions, or at least in the pillage that followed them; at Aesculum, during the Social war, he had taken only a few books. This, again, was a happy peculiarity, a reproach to the conquerors, as it were, and a hope for the conquered. Beloved by the soldiers, respected by the people, he possessed an influence which he refused to employ, because he despised an obscure consulship, and he saw that the time had not yet come for him to distinguish himself in that office. He was, besides, only twenty-eight years of age, and could have aspired to the consulship only by violating the law, but he took pleasure in showing his influence by supporting a candidate whom the senate disapproved. Notwithstanding their ill-will, Lepidus was elected, a man who did not conceal his hatred for the new institutions (78).<sup>1</sup> "Young man," Sylla said to Pompey, seeing him crossing the Forum after the election, followed by a great crowd of friends, "I see you rejoice in your victory. 'Tis verily a worthy act to gain the consulship for a bad citizen. But take care; you are raising up an adversary stronger than yourself." These words nearly came true. On hearing of Sylla's death Lepidus made an attempt to prevent public honours being paid to his memory, and at once began to talk of abolishing his laws. But this was going

<sup>1</sup> See in the *Fragments* of Sallust a violent address which this historian puts into the mouth of Lepidus, ending with nothing less than a call to arms; if it is not literally authentic, we may at least regard it as expressing his sentiments.

too fast for Pompey. Notwithstanding Sylla's recent coldness towards him,<sup>1</sup> Pompey respected himself too much to betray so soon the cause he had so greatly served; he joined with Catulus, the other consul, and Sylla was honoured with a final triumph. But on quitting the scene of the funeral the two consuls very nearly came to blows.<sup>2</sup>

### III.—LEPIDUS; NEW CIVIL WAR (78—77).

This Lepidus, father of the triumvir, belonged to an illustrious patrician house, the *gens Æmilia*. In the Civil war he declared himself for Sylla, and secured a considerable fortune from the plunder of the proscribed. Then he committed during his prætorship in Sicily (in 81) such exactions that Cicero gives him, after Verres, the first rank among the plunderers of the provinces.<sup>3</sup> He was thus in a position to construct the finest palace in the city, and decorate it with columns of yellow Numidian marble, the first that had ever been seen in Rome.<sup>4</sup> Rich and of noble birth, the affinities of Lepidus were entirely those of the aristocratic party. But, there, all the highest positions were already filled, and he passed over to the other side, guided in this resolution by his marriage with one Apulia, the daughter of Saturninus, and by his fear of a prosecution for extortion, with which he was threatened. He was influenced most of all, however, by his ambition, for the honest reformers of a past generation had no successors but adventurers.

Men are killed or proscribed at will, but well-founded ideas and real needs can be disposed of only by giving them satisfaction, and as Sylla's restoration had taken into account none of the new conditions which the past had produced, or which the present demanded, Lepidus had only to mention the re-establishment of the laws for distributions of corn, and the recall of those who had

<sup>1</sup> He did not name him at all in his will.

<sup>2</sup> App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *II in Verr.*, iii. 91.

<sup>4</sup> "His house," says Pliny, "was at that time the finest in Rome, but so rapid was the progress of luxury that thirty-five years later more than 100 surpassed it in magnificence." (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24, 4.)



been exiled, when the party which Sylla believed he had smothered in blood reappeared at once.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner was it understood that one of the consuls was ready to undo what the dictatorship had established, than a great crowd of men began to hope for a new confusion. The families of the victims of the proscriptions looked forward to a recovery of their lost wealth and civic rights; the young men of fashion, to obtaining means for their ruinous profligacy; the tribunes, to power; the people, to excitements which would interrupt the monotony of these dull times, when, for the last three years, not a storm had burst in the Forum. The knights could not pardon the nobles for the suppression of their judicial power; the poor were offended by the loss of the corn distributions; and the ambitious men, who were refused access to power by the oligarchy, promised themselves to derive advantage from all these regrets, which were easily changed into hopes. A great province, Spain, was in the hands of Sertorius; the Cisalpina had for governor a Junius Brutus of doubtful fidelity; on every side, the crowd of those who felt themselves ill at ease and out of place, and had so many times before caused revolutions, were calling for one now, and certain of the more conspicuous members of the Marian party ventured to return to Rome. Perperna, the prætor whom Pompey had expelled from Sicily, Cæsar, the son of Cinna the consul, and others, had already arrived, and, as always happens with the proscribed, they had forgotten nothing.

Lepidus proceeded with extreme rapidity; he restored the Sempronian law for the distribution of corn to the people,<sup>2</sup> thereby gaining all the Roman beggars, and to attach to himself the Italians, he promised to restore their lands to all who had been despoiled. Thus, on every side, the dispossessed saw their prospects brighten, and some went so far as to collect weapons.

<sup>1</sup> Lepidus, during his consulship, made one of those useless sumptuary laws which democratic jealousy required, but which were never executed. He forbade the serving at banquets of foreign birds or shell-fish, and designated what might be eaten and how it might be prepared. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 27; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, II. xxiv. 12; Macrobius, *Saturn.*, iii. 17, 13.)

<sup>2</sup> Granius Licinianus, *Fr. ex lib.*, xxxvi.; *ad ann.*, 78: *nullo resistente, ut annonæ quinque modii populo darentur*. This law was doubtless abolished when its author was declared a public enemy, for the re-establishment of five modii dates from the year 73. (Cf. Sallust, *Fragm.*, and Cicero, *II in Verr.*, iii. 70.)

The men of Fæsulæ, the first to be ready, rushed upon the veterans in the *castella* which they had established, and, after killing many, drove the rest out of their territory. This might well have been the signal for a general conflagration. The senate, whom Sylla imagined he had made so strong, were terrified, but derived no energy from their terror. Between Catulus and Lepidus, who were already threatening each other, they knew no way to



*Castellum* (Fortified Post).<sup>1</sup>

interpose save by prayers, to obtain from them an oath that they would not take arms against each other, and the Conscript Fathers believed that they had warded off the impending danger when they had decided that the two consuls should go at once to their respective provinces—Catulus, to the Cisalpine, and Lepidus, to

<sup>1</sup> From the *Virgil* of the Vatican. *Castellum*, with its garrison bivouacking outside, while sentinels (*vigiles*) keep watch by night within the walls. (Cf. Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, pp. 119 and 707.) [This is the mediæval notion of a *castellum*, and bears no trace of an early date.—*Ed.*]

Narbonensis. There was said to be danger of attacks in the latter province, and the senate were guilty of the imprudence of granting a large sum of money to decide the greedy proconsul to set off for his government. As he must, on his way, reduce the



Minerva of Tivoli.<sup>1</sup>

outbreak in Fæsulæ, he was authorized to raise troops; he had therefore all that he needed for levying an army.

While Lepidus slowly moved on his way, Catulus went on with the reconstruction begun by Sylla of the Capitoline temple

<sup>1</sup> Statue of Greek marble, discovered at Tivoli, at Hadrian's villa. (*Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. ii. pl. 12, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 461, No. 857.)

which towered majestically above the Forum,<sup>1</sup> an immense work, of which there now remain only the massive foundations underlying the *Senator's Palace* in Rome, and upon which, in the time of Catulus, stood the *Tabularium*, or Record Office. Under the façade he placed a Minerva of Euphranor, which the people were



Fortune.<sup>2</sup>

accustomed to call the *Catulan*, but he reserved for the temple of Fortune, consecrated by his father after the Cimbrian war,

<sup>1</sup> The inscription engraved on it by order of the senate yet remains: *Q. Lutatius Q. F. Q. N. Catulus Cos. substructionem et tabularium ex sen. cons. faciundum curavit.*

<sup>2</sup> Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 455, No. 834. Statue in the Royal Museum at Berlin, called by Clarac, the *naval Fortune*, on account of the rudder she holds in her right hand, which is due, however, to modern restoration.

two statues by Phidias, stolen, like the former, from Greece.<sup>1</sup> The Romans, incapable of creating masterpieces like these, knew at least how to love them and especially how to steal them. The temple was filled with offerings of all kinds sent by cities, kings, and nations. From this collection one object was missing



Statue of Jupiter.<sup>2</sup>

which should have been there, an exquisite work of art, made of gold and adorned with precious stones, which the king of

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 18, and xxxiv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Fine statue from Lord Leicester's collection at Holkham, given by Clarac. (*Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 396 n, No. 678 n.) The calm expression of the face, the regularly waved hair, as well as the *patera* and the sceptre, have given this figure the name of "the propitious Jupiter."

Syria had destined for the Capitol, and which his envoy, passing through Syracuse, had the imprudence to show to Verres; the latter stole it; and this royal gift, destined for Jupiter, king of the gods, went instead to decorate the boudoir of the *Swallow* (*Chelidon*), one of this Sicilian satrap's mistresses.

The festival of the dedication of this temple lasted for several days, and was marked by a novelty that Cato would have anathematized: Catulus, to shelter the spectators from the sun, caused his theatre to be covered with coarse awnings, later to be replaced by the immense and splendid *velaria* of the empire.<sup>1</sup>

While his colleague was occupied with these pious cares and this solicitude for the comfort of the people, Lepidus was passing through Etruria, collecting men, provisions, and arms from the populations who had been so cruelly treated by Sylla, and calling out the veterans of Marius and Carbo. Junius Brutus, the governor of the Cisalpina, declared for him. Caesar, who was on his way home from Asia, was urged by L. Cinna, his brother-in-law, to do the same, but the character of the leader and the strength of the party did not appear to him secure enough, and he waited.<sup>2</sup> However, by the promise of annulling the acts of the dictatorship Lepidus had soon augmented his army, and when the senate, at last disquieted, recalled him under pretext of his presence being needed for the consular comitia, he marched upon Rome, preceded by the declaration that he came for the purpose of re-establishing the people in their rights, and assuming a second consulship—in fact, the dictatorship.

The Conscript Fathers made an attempt to negotiate, but they were received in such a manner that it became evident hostilities could not be avoided. The situation at Rome appeared dangerous. Cethegus and other ruined young nobles traversed the disorderly quarters of the city, talking of an approaching revenge. The tribunes of that year, chosen under the influence of the Syllan laws, were feeble and timid; but, if the noise of arms were to

<sup>1</sup> Val. Max., ii. 46; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> In 77 and 76, however, he began the war against the partisans of Sylla by accusing two of them, Cn. Dolabella, the former governor of Macedon, and Antonius, who had cruelly oppressed Greece. In taking up the part of accuser Caesar merely followed the example of the young nobles, who were accustomed to make their first appearance in this manner, but the choice of his victims marks the direction of his feelings.



silence the voice of the law, was it not possible that one of these officers, at the approach of Lepidus, might find enough of the old audacity to stir up the crowd and put the Cornelian senate between two dangers? A senator whom we have known for many years roused men's minds by an energetic address, which Sallust has preserved for us, rewriting it somewhat less, perhaps, than usually is the case with speeches reported by him. Philippus reproached the senators sharply for their irresolution: "While you are shuffling and evading, and recasting your speeches, and adorning them with quotations from the poets, you hope for peace rather than defend it, nor do you understand that your supineness takes from you your dignity, from him his fear!"

"Do the demands of Lepidus trouble you? He who says it is his pleasure that to every man should be restored his own, and keeps his grasp on the property of others! that laws imposed by violence should be set aside, yet himself wields the sword! that the right of citizenship be confirmed, who denies that it was ever lost! that for the sake of peace the tribunitian power should be again entrusted to the popular suffrage, that very thing from which all our disorders have sprung!"

"... If this is what you want, if so great amazement has fallen upon your minds that, forgetting the crimes of Cinna, at whose entrance into the city decorum and all distinction of rank disappeared, you nevertheless propose to entrust yourselves, your wives and children, to Lepidus, what need of decrees? What need of help from Catulus? Since you will, put yourselves under the protection of Cethegus and the other traitors who thirst to begin the work of fire and pillage. . . . As for me, I think that the interrex Appius Claudius, the proconsul Catulus, and all others who have the *imperium* and are charged with the defence of the city, should see to it that the Republic be not endangered."

This decree was passed, and Catulus made, or renewed, and extended the law *de vi publica*, which forbade fire and water to the authors of public disturbances;<sup>1</sup> and, at the same time, he increased the levies which were easily obtained through the joint action of Pompey. Too young to aspire to the consulship, too

<sup>1</sup> It is this law of which Cicero made use against Catiline. (*pro Caelio*, 29.)

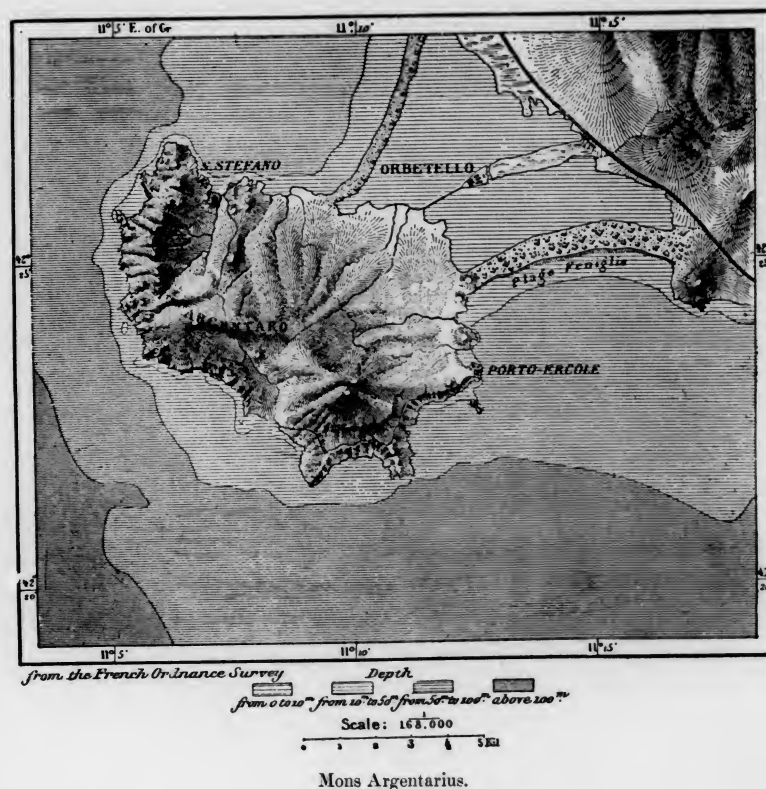
full of his own renown to consent to reach that position by passing through the inferior offices, Pompey seized this new occasion to defy the laws while serving them. A decree of the senate associated him with Catulus in the command of the army, and he was its real head. The proconsular troops, joined by many of the veterans who were threatened with being obliged to restore the lands that had been granted them, established themselves upon the Janiculum, upon the hills of the Vatican, and at the Milvian Bridge<sup>1</sup> to defend the passage of the Tiber.

The second-rate personage who was now posing as the successor of Marius had not concealed his projects long enough to give time for organizing his forces, and was not quick enough to take his adversaries by surprise. Encamping between the Tiber and the Cremera, he despatched emissaries into Rome for the purpose of raising a disturbance, but no one responded. The populace crowded the walls and the river bank to behold a spectacle of far deeper interest than gladiatorial combats—two armies engaged opposite the Campus Martius. The battle was very short; the veterans of Sylla, reinforced by all the nobles, charged so hotly that the raw troops of Lepidus gave way, and fled with their chief in the direction of Bolsena. Lepidus had the design of making for the Samnite mountains, but the manœuvres of his adversaries shut him up in Etruria. Here he suffered a second repulse, and was driven back towards the sea, and while Catulus, with prudent moderation, continued driving him in that direction, Pompey had time to hasten into the Cisalpina, where M. Junius Brutus had shut himself up in Modena. In want of provisions, or perhaps forced by some treason, Brutus surrendered, stipulating for his life, but on the following day Pompey had him put to death. A son of Lepidus, and a Scipio—perhaps the consul of the year 83—who during Sylla's proscriptions had taken refuge in Massilia, were taken in the Ligurian city of Alba and also put to death. The Cisalpina being thus pacified, after the Roman fashion, by murders, Pompey rejoined Catulus, who had just inflicted a second defeat upon Lepidus under the walls of Cosa.

Opposite this city rises from the sea Mons Argentarius,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 133, the plan of Rome, and p. 190, that of the Veian territory.

a promontory sharply defined on all sides, and attached to the continent merely by two sand-banks enclosing a lagoon.<sup>1</sup> These sand-banks Lepidus cut, and made of the promontory an island. He could not, however, long hold the position for lack of provisions, and he embarked by night for Sardinia in the hope of



raising an insurrection among the people there, while his lieutenant Perperna was to secure Sicily, whence they could give assistance to Sertorius, and hoped thus to reduce Rome by famine, cutting off her supplies from the two islands, her principal granaries. Fatigued and disappointed, Lepidus fell ill, and a letter written by his wife

<sup>1</sup> This rock, seven miles long and four in breadth, owed its name to silver mines existing there in early times.

completed his misfortunes. This letter came by accident into his hands, and was of a character to leave him in no doubt as to the fidelity of Apuleia and the esteem she entertained for her husband: "The unfortunate man," she wrote to her lover, "has no commonsense." A few days later he died; thus ended the first act of the new Civil war (77).

This time the victorious party did itself honour by its moderation, and a few years later the senate, upon the suggestion of Cæsar, granted an amnesty to the partisans of Lepidus.

The insurrection had the effect of uniting Pompey with the senate, and gave him back his army. Catulus directed him to disband it, it is true, but he paid no attention to this order, and the senate did not dare to urge the point. In the aristocratic party, therefore, Pompey saw no one above him; in the opposite party it might even be doubted whether the chiefs, if they were victorious, would admit him to a share. Certainly he would have felt the force of a democratic reaction, and he determined that, if it should ever succeed, it should, at all events, be by his agency. He was a good enough citizen, moreover, to wish that the reaction should come into power slowly, without any violent shock, and without further proscriptions. Under these circumstances, therefore, he accepted the position of Sylla's executor, and now went to encounter Sertorius.

#### IV.—SERTORIUS; CONTINUATION OF THE CIVIL WAR (80—73).

We know the character of Sertorius, this Sabine who, like Marius, had neither ancestors nor posterity, and, like him, was a better general than statesman. He had distinguished himself in the Cimbrian war, and his long campaigns in Gaul had so well familiarized him with the language and habits of the barbarians that he was able more than once to penetrate the camp of the Teutones in disguise and obtain information as to their numbers and plans. During the Social war he acted as the senate's agent with the Italian Gauls, and was able to retain them faithful to Rome. Later he sought the tribuneship; the Syllans prevented his obtaining it, and this rebuff threw him for ever into the party

of his former general. Reserved in manners, of great sobriety, of small appetite, brave even to rashness, which caused him many wounds and the loss of an eye, fruitful in military contrivances, and of an activity that no fatigue could weary, Sertorius had all the qualities necessary to the chief of a guerilla band, and his antecedents made him the last hope of the Marian party.<sup>1</sup>

After the insurrection of the slaves against their masters, of the plebeians against the nobles, and of the Italians against Rome, we have seen that all the nations in the eastern part of the empire aided Mithridates with their good wishes or with their military strength, in his attempt to overthrow a hated authority. Fortunately for Rome it happened that, although there was a common consent in hatred, it was impossible to have unanimity in counsel or in action. She must have fallen beneath the weight of a world united against her, but she triumphed over adversaries who came successively to strike ill-concerted blows at her colossal power.

After the defection of Scipio's army Sertorius had gone into Spain (82) with the title of prætor conferred upon him by the Marian party, in virtue of which he had legal authority in those provinces. He studied the country, its resources, the spirit of that valiant race whose maidens chose their husbands among the bravest, the preferred suitor being the one who could offer to his bride the right hand of an enemy he had himself slain; and the Roman general won them by his gentle conduct, which was in strong contrast with the rapacity and insolence usual in governors of provinces. Before this he had served in Spain as military tribune, and had gained the respect of the Spaniards by his adroitness in stratagem.

A Roman garrison at Castula (*Cazlona*) had by their insolence exasperated the inhabitants, and the latter called the men of a neighbouring city to their aid, opening to them by night one of the city gates. A considerable number of Romans perished, but Sertorius had been able to make his escape. Followed by all the Roman soldiers whom he could rally, he at once made the circuit of the city, re-entered by the gate which the Spaniards had

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 17; Suetonius, *Cæs.*, 5.

not closed, and the latter, surprised in their turn, were put to the sword. In the morning, with his soldiers, whom he had caused to put on the dress and arm themselves with the weapons of the barbarians whom they had slain, he marched to the other city, whose inhabitants came out to meet the approaching force, believing them to be their friends. Sertorius attacked them, and the whole population were either slain or sold into slavery. The affair was noised abroad, and from that time the name of Sertorius was famous in Spain. When it was known that he had come into the province invested with the supreme command, and when the Spaniards saw him diminishing the subsidies and excusing the cities from lodging his troops, by living with them in tents, volunteers came to him in crowds. Ready to deceive themselves at any time, they now believed that this Roman, proscribed at Rome, would henceforth fight on their side.

Sylla, meantime, had not forgotten him, and a considerable army arrived in Gaul under the command of Annius Livius Salinator. One of the lieutenants of Sertorius, sent to guard the passes of the Pyrenees, had at first repulsed all attacks, but was soon after assassinated by a traitor, upon which his troops dispersed, and Annius effected an entrance into the provinces (81). Sertorius was too weak to make a stand against him, and fell back as far as Carthagera.

Sylla was victorious on all sides. Every land obeyed him, and expelled those whom he had proscribed; the sea alone was free. Sertorius, with 3,000 men, embarked upon the Mediterranean, and for many months roved the Spanish and African coasts. Once he made a descent on the Pityusæ,<sup>2</sup> and another time pillaged the country at the mouths of the Bætis. Disgusted, however, with this precarious existence, which assimilated him to his allies, the pirates, he at one time is said to have entertained the idea of renouncing a struggle so unpromising, and seeking, afar from the



Coin of Annus and Tarquinius, his questor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. ANNIVS T. F. T. N. PROCOS. EX S. C. Bust of Juno Moneta. On the reverse, C. TARQVITIA. Victory in a biga. Silver coin of the Annian and Tarquitian families.

<sup>2</sup> Now Iviza and Formentara, on the Spanish coast, 700 stadia from the promontory of Diana. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5.)



enslaved world, a tranquil abode in the Fortunate Islands (the Canaries).<sup>1</sup> But his soldiers had little taste for the sweets of the golden age; they persuaded him to abandon a design which he had probably suggested in the hope of stimulating them to renewed efforts.



Punic Money  
of Tingis.<sup>2</sup>

The Marusians, a Moorish people, were at that time in arms against their king, Ascalis, who had been aided by one of Sylla's lieutenants. Sertorius defeated this prince and his auxiliaries, and took by storm the city of Tingis on the African coast, commanding the entrance of the Mediterranean and looking across to Spain, whither Sertorius hoped to return. The rumour of his successes had spread through the province, and many marvellous



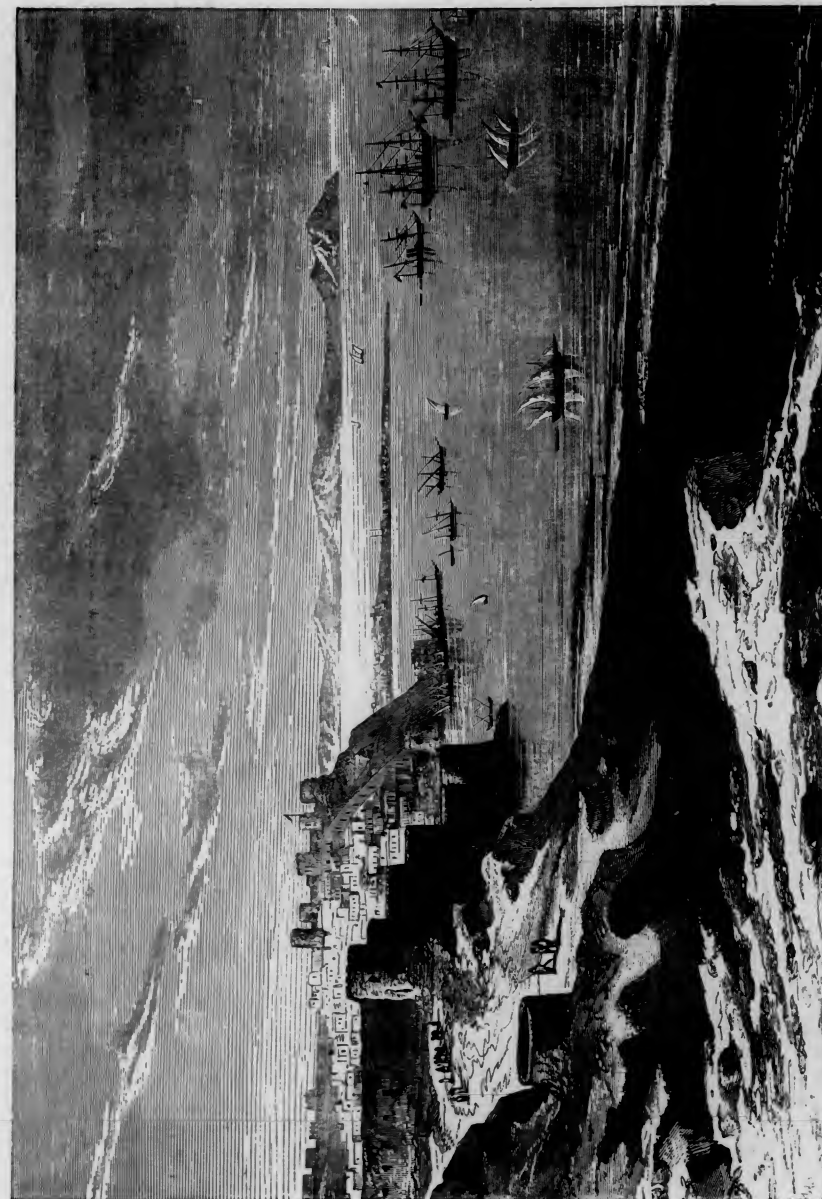
Struggle of Hercules with Antæus.<sup>3</sup>

incidents were added thereto; he had, it was said, discovered the body of Antæus the giant, and, alone of living men, had seen those bones, sixty cubits in length. The Lusitanians, oppressed by Annus, invited him to put himself at their head; he accepted, and, passing through the Roman fleet, he landed in the peninsula with an army of 1,900 Romans and 700 Africans; the Lusitanians furnished him with 4000, foot and 700 horse. It was with less than 8,000 men that he ventured to declare war upon the master of the Roman world. But his soldiers had the most absolute

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Sertor.*, 8; Florus, iii. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Two ears of corn and four Punic letters representing the word *Tinga*. Bronze coin of Tingis (*Tangier*.)

<sup>3</sup> From a painted vase in the Campana collection of the Louvre.



View of Tangier (Tingis).

confidence in this leader, whom they regarded as a second Hannibal.<sup>1</sup>

Sertorius began by defeating the *proprætor* of *Bætica*, and a lieutenant of his conquered and killed the governor of the *Citerior* province (80). Metellus, charged by the dictator to arrest these dangerous successes, could not bring his adversary to a battle (79). Sertorius, who knew the mountain passages as well as the most experienced native hunter, had adopted the local methods of fighting, his soldiers being as prompt to retreat as to attack. With his large and heavy army Metellus could not reach these agile mountaineers, who made their campaign without tents or waggons, who ate as they could, and slept under the stars, who were everywhere, and whom no one could capture. In reality Metellus held nothing outside of his fortified camp, and had much difficulty in victualling his troops. The unexpected attacks of his adversary disconcerted the methodical general. Sertorius gave his troops the example of audacity; splendidly armed, he was always in the front, and made the boldest ventures personally; one day, he challenged Metellus to single combat.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of L. Manlius.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding the confidence he had at first displayed, Metellus was compelled to call to his aid the *proconsul* of *Narbonensis*, and sent forward his *quæstor* with a division to meet the three legions and 1,500 horse who were sent to join him, but Sertorius prevented the junction; the *quæstor* and his division were captured, and when Manlius emerged from the *Pyrenæes* he was so completely defeated that he was almost the only man to escape and find shelter at *Ilerda* (*Lerida*). The road into Gaul was now open to Sertorius, but an attack made



Coin of Ilerda (*Lerida*).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 673, the map of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> L. MANLI. PROQ. Head of Pallas. On the reverse, L. SVLLA. IM.; Sylla in a quadriga. Gold coin of *Lucullian* weight, of the Manlian and Cornelian families.

<sup>3</sup> [In this feature he differed completely from Hannibal, of whom Polybius specially notes that he never exposed his person to unnecessary danger.—*Ed.*]

<sup>4</sup> ILERT., in Celtiberian, over a wolf. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ilerda. The wolf is an extremely rare symbol in ancient numismatics. (Note by M. Cohen.)

by Metellus on Lacobriga in Lusitania, near the mouth of the Douro, recalled him. The proconsul believed himself this time sure of success; but the place was nevertheless relieved, and his legions were compelled to abandon the province.

Notwithstanding the presence of this great army, Sertorius was really master of all Spain; he settled disputes between nations and individuals, levied troops, which he quartered in barracks, not



View of Lerida.<sup>1</sup>

to be burdensome to the inhabitants; he fortified the cities and the passes of the mountains; he drilled the native levies in Roman tactics, and above all devoted himself to gaining their confidence. He had been able to persuade them that he was in direct communication with the gods, a white hind that always followed him being the divine messenger; if he secretly received important news the hind had whispered it in his ear, and when he repeated aloud

<sup>1</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 69.

what the event soon confirmed, the artifice was successful with the childish credulity of the Spanish people. Moreover, he commanded their respect by his care in preventing any licence on the part of his troops; one day, he caused an entire cohort to be put to death as a penalty for their excesses, and hence the devotion of the people was absolute, and, like the Aquitanian chiefs, he was always attended by a band ready to die for him.



The Hind of Sertorius.<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, an army easy to keep in order, but he employed every means to this end. Once his Spaniards, eager to fight, engaged the enemy without his orders, and were repulsed. A few days later he called the army together and caused two horses to be brought into the field, one led by a feeble old man, the other by a very robust soldier, and directed each man to pull out his horse's tail. The soldier seized the tail of his horse with both hands, and exhausted himself in vain efforts; the other pulled out the hairs one by one, and presently had accomplished his task. "You see, fellow-soldiers," said Sertorius, "that perseverance is worth more than energy, and that many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield themselves up when taken little by little." This eloquence in action, of which Hannibal had already made use,<sup>2</sup> impressed the minds of the barbarians much more than any long oration.

The defeat of Lepidus in Etruria gave Sertorius an important reinforcement (77), for Perperna went over into Spain with the considerable remnant of that army; it was the wish of Perperna to act independently, but his soldiers obliged him to place himself under the orders of the most famous of the Marian chiefs. With him came several senators and Romans of distinction. Sertorius

<sup>1</sup> From an engraved statue in the Maffei collection. (De Brosses, *Hist. de la répub. rom.*, vol. i., pl. iii., No. x.)

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 585.



formed of them a senate of 300 members, and to show plainly that he remained a Roman still, in the midst of barbarians, he admitted no Spaniard to this body, even refusing them also the higher grades in the army!<sup>1</sup> This was an error on his part, for the Spaniards had hitherto believed that the exiled Roman would

Coin of Osca.<sup>2</sup>

fight for them, and they now began to see, that whether it were the party of Marius or of Sylla, the popular or the aristocratic faction, all alike had but one desire—to maintain for their own advantage the rule of Rome over the provinces.

Sertorius had gathered at *Osca* (Huesca) the sons of the most important Spanish families to have them instructed in the learning of Greece and Rome, and he took pleasure in observing their work and distributing to the best scholars the golden amulets that were given as rewards to the noble youth in the Roman schools. The Spaniards had regarded these proofs of interest as an honour and a pledge that their children should one day fill offices in the Republic; it now occurred to them that perhaps their sons were detained at Osca as hostages for the parents' fidelity, and their zeal might have cooled had not Metellus opened his career by threats and by the imposition of new taxes. Corneille represents Sertorius as saying:—

Rome, n'est plus dans Rome; elle est toute où je suis.

The idea is noble, and it may have been the thought of the exiled man, but it was unwise to show it too plainly.

Immediately upon his recent successes Sertorius had incited the Aquitanians to revolt, and they had defeated a proconsul and killed a prætor. It was easy for him also to persuade Narbonensis, which had lately furnished recruits to Lepidus,<sup>3</sup> and whose

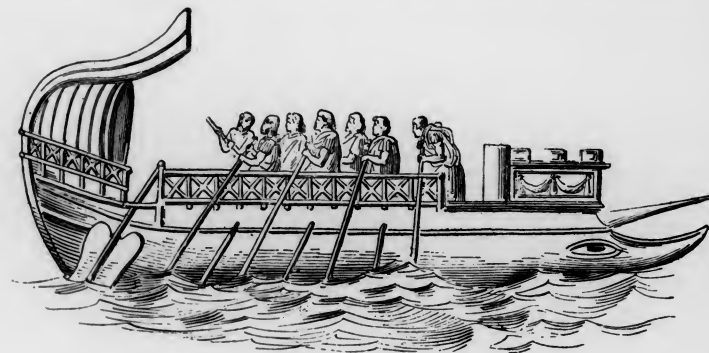
<sup>1</sup> The same has been French policy in Algiers towards the natives serving under the French flag.

<sup>2</sup> OSCA. Man's head. On the reverse, DOM. COS. ITER. IMP. Instruments of sacrifice. Silver coin of Osca, stamped with the name of Domitius Calpinus, Cæsar's lieutenant in Spain.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar. *Bell. Gall.*, iii. 20, and *Fragm.* of Sallust. There were frequent agitations in this province; about the year 90 an insurrection of the *Salluvii* (Livy, *Epit.*, lxxiii); in 83 there was a defeat of the Gauls by Val. Flaccus. The date of the defeat and death of the prætor Val. Præconinus is uncertain. M. Desjardins (*op. cit.*) places it with good reason at about this time.

tribes were not yet all of them trained to obedience. One of his lieutenants even went so far as to guard the passes of the Alps, and he himself received from Rome urgent solicitations to make a descent into Italy, for more than one man, even among the nobles, would have been glad to see the downfall of an order of things which, while serving the oligarchy, placed too serious hindrances in the way of the personal avidity of the oligarchs.

The senate kept a fleet in the Spanish waters, but it was constantly occupied with the pirates, of whom we shall soon have

Swift Vessel (*celes*).<sup>1</sup>

to speak, and who, in this apparent dissolution of the Roman colossus, had taken the sea for their share. As natural allies of all the enemies of Rome, they rendered Sertorius whatever services were desired of them. He had opened to them at the most easterly point of Spain the triple promontory of Diana, a fortress which served as a trading post for prisoners and prizes, a watch-tower<sup>2</sup> whence to keep a look-out over the sea, and to run out suddenly upon transports from the shelter where their light craft lay concealed from the heavy war-ships. The situation, therefore, was becoming grave; a civil war threatened the gates of Rome, and the work of Sylla seemed about to fall into ruin.

<sup>1</sup> From the column of Trajan. These open vessels were employed by the pirates as swift sailors. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 57; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 25; Scheffer, *Mil. nav.*, p. 68.)

<sup>2</sup> This was an old establishment of the Massiliots, who had constructed these towers, of which the tallest was well named τὸ ἡμεροσκοπεῖον, a word signifying the post of the day-sentinel. (Strabo, iii. 159.)

Notwithstanding their reluctance to call upon Pompey for further services, the senate sent him to the help of Metellus with proconsular authority and the office of governor of Hither Spain, thus violating the constitution of Sylla in the very attempt to save it.

Pompey had not disbanded his army, and he now in forty days had completed his preparations and took the road to the Alps with 30,000 foot and 1,000 horse (76). To avoid the passes guarded by Sertorius, and to signalize the opening of his expedition by a bold march, he essayed a new way, which was probably across the Cottian Alps. The Spanish cohorts, thus baffled, fell back upon the Pyrenees, abandoning the Narbonensis,



Coin of Valencia.<sup>1</sup>

which expiated its revolt with fire and sword. Sylla's former lieutenant seemed animated by the inexorable spirit of the dictator. "His road was marked by massacres all the way to Narbo," says Cicero. Then followed confiscations; whole populations were driven out; the Helvii and the Arecomici lost part of their territory, which went to recompense the fidelity of Massilia; the

Ruteni (Rouergue) were united to the Province; and finally, when Pompey passed over into Spain he left as governor in Gaul the hardest and most rapacious of men, the proconsul Fonteius.<sup>2</sup>

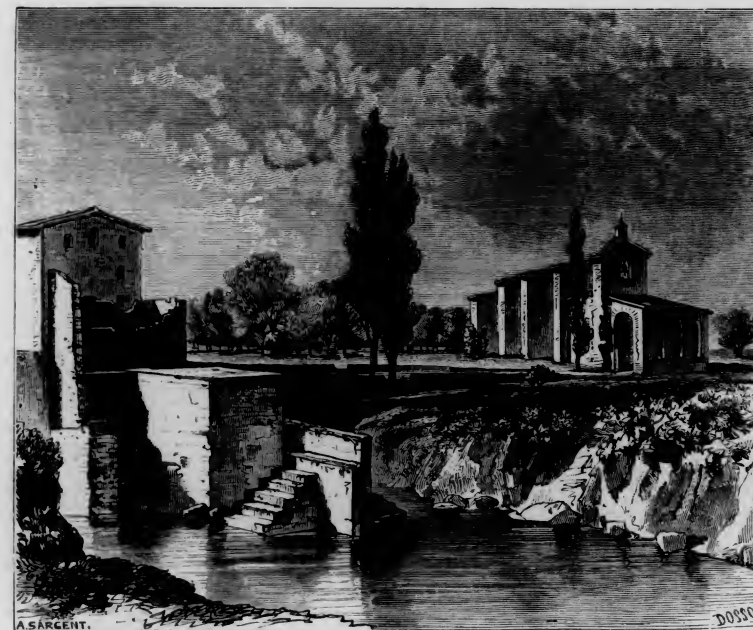
Sertorius did not defend the mountain passes, being at that time occupied with the siege of Lauron (Liria?),<sup>3</sup> not far from Valencia, and Pompey, who flattered himself that he could easily

<sup>1</sup> VALENTIA. Cornucopia and thunderbolt crosswise. Reverse of a bronze coin of Valencia.

<sup>2</sup> A fragment of Sallust, No. 569, mentions in connection with Pompey's stay in Narbonensis the meeting of the provincial assembly. Everywhere we find this institution, whose importance we have already noted (vol. ii. p. 194).

<sup>3</sup> Near Liria has been found a Nymphæum and an inscription purporting that a Sertorius and his wife Sertoriana Festa contributed to the construction of this Nymphæum, *in honorem Edetanorum et patronorum suorum*. (C. I. L., vol. ii., No. 3786.) This Sertorius Euporistus Sertorianus was the freedman of some Spaniard, one of whose ancestors had taken the name of the great general who had given him Roman citizenship. In No. 3744 reference is made to the freedman of another Sertorius. The concession of the *jus civitatis* was a prerogative of the sovereign, that is to say, of the Roman people; but their generals had taken the right of according this recompense in the provinces, as generals of modern nations in remote expeditions can by delegated authority confer certain promotions and decorations. This Marius and Pompey had done, and their acts were ratified by a law. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 8.) After the pacification of Spain, certain concessions made by Sertorius must have been confirmed, or usage caused them to be accepted.

drive him from his position, marched at once upon the city: "I will teach this schoolboy," Sertorius said, "that a general should look behind him as well as before." He first took from Pompey a legion and starved him in his camp; then defeated all his detachments, captured Lauron under his eyes, and forced him to retire as far as the Montserrat to establish his quarters in the country of the Laletani and Indigetes, in the north-eastern angle



The Nymphæum of Liria.<sup>1</sup>

of the peninsula. Such were the disasters of the campaign Pompey had so vain-gloriously begun (76).

Sertorius passed the winter in reconstructing his army, "exercising his soldiers incessantly, according to the ancient method,"<sup>2</sup> and fortifying his position upon the Ebro, to prevent the junction of the senate's two armies, that of the north under Pompey, and of the south under Metellus. After having subjugated a few

<sup>1</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, p. 118; Cic., *pro Fonteio*, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Sall., *Fragm.*, 250.

Celtiberian towns, one of which, Contrebia,<sup>1</sup> detained him forty-four days, he called to his camp the deputies of the cities which supported his cause, explained to them his plans, and obtained from them the means of renewing his munitions of war and of clothing his soldiers.

Coin of Ilercaevonia.<sup>2</sup>Coin of Italica.<sup>4</sup>Coin of Saguntum (p. 763).<sup>7</sup>

At the return of spring he sent Perperna into the country of the Ilercaones, near the mouths of the Ebro, to deprive Pompey of any provisions by sea; he himself went up the valley to make it impossible for his adversary to obtain food from the upper country; and he stationed the other lieutenants, Herennius and Hirtuleius, on the sea-coast for the purpose of keeping Metellus in check, the latter being encamped in Baetica. Unfortunately, Hirtuleius was defeated by Metellus near Italica,<sup>3</sup> and Perperna by Pompey, which rendered a junction of the two generals possible. They marched towards each other along the eastern coast, in order to keep within reach of the fleet. To interpose his army Sertorius threw himself into the difficult country whence the Xucar (*Sucro*) and the Guadalaviar (*Turia*)<sup>5</sup> descend into the fertile plains of Valencia and Elcha.<sup>6</sup> Pompey, who was attacked first, was defeated on the banks of the Sucro; Sertorius was expecting on the following

<sup>1</sup> The story of a part of this siege is found in a fragment of Book xci. of Livy, recovered in the last century in a palimpsest of the Vatican.

<sup>2</sup> M. H. I. ILERCAVONIA DERT(osa). Sailing vessel. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Ilercaevonia.

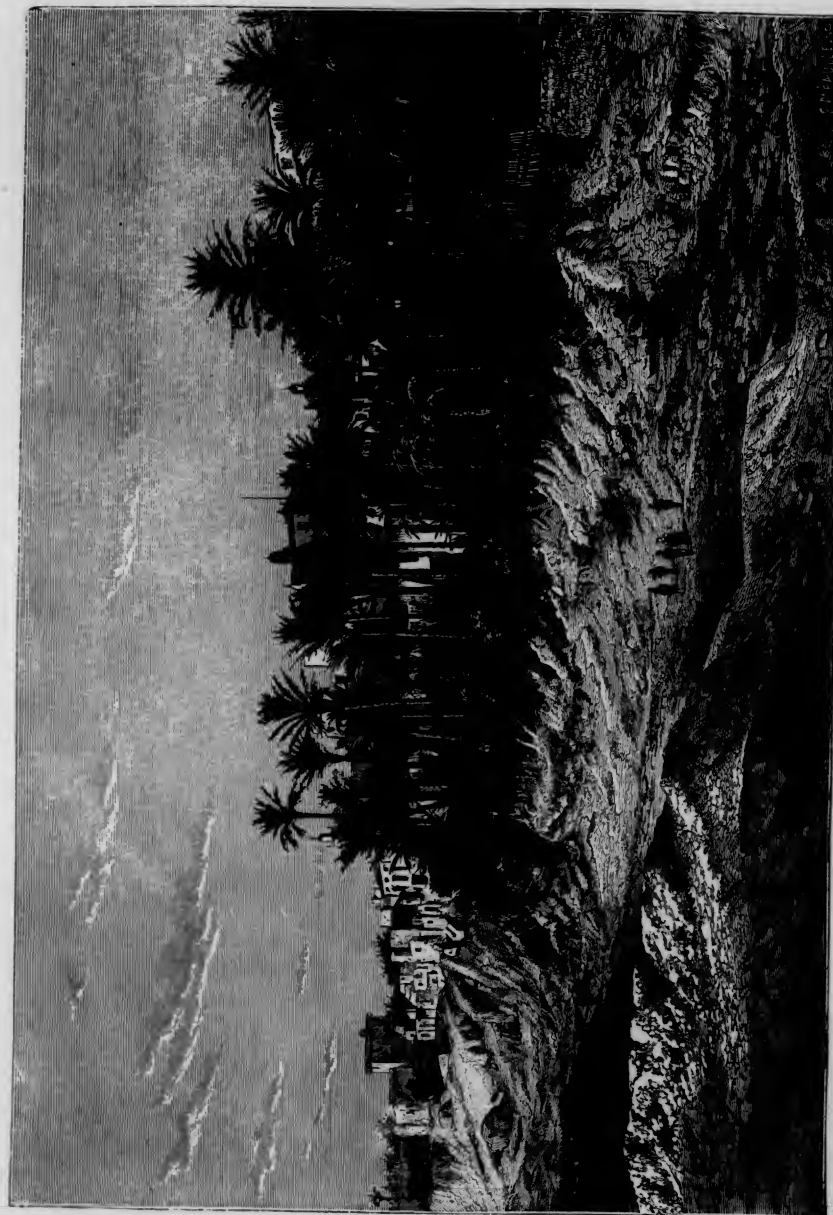
<sup>3</sup> The men of that time, even the best of them, held the lives of others in very slight esteem. Sertorius killed the messenger on the spot who brought him news of the defeat at Italica, that the bad news might not be spread through the camp. (Frontin., *Strategem.*, ii. 7, 5.)

<sup>4</sup> ITALIC(a) PERM(isso) AVG(usti). Legionary eagle between two military ensigns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Tiberius, struck at Italica.

<sup>5</sup> The Turia or Guadalaviar, which falls into the sea near Valencia, traverses a few leagues above that city, a chasm whose precipitous walls are 600 feet high and 30 broad.

<sup>6</sup> The "grove of palm trees at Elcha" (p. 761) is from Laborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 141.

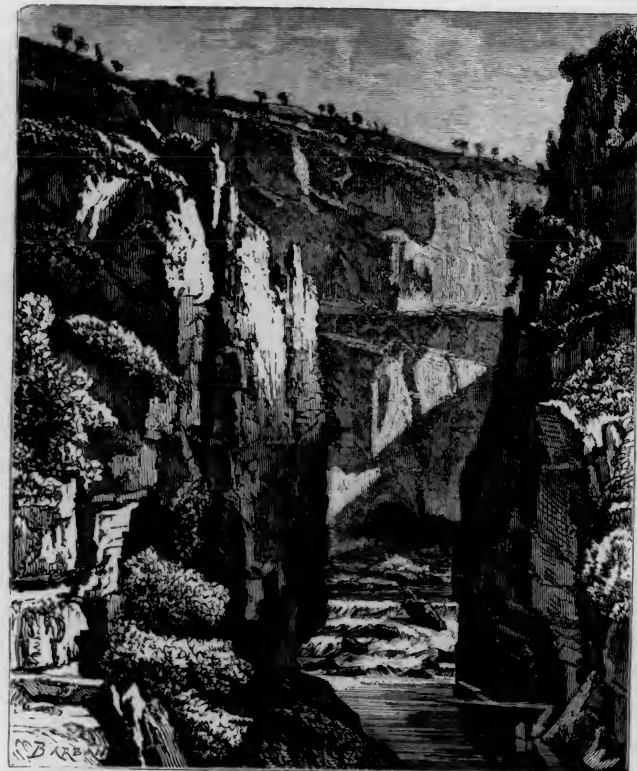
<sup>7</sup> SAGV. INV(icta). Head of Pallas. On the reverse, a Victory crowning the prow of a vessel, pincers, and a Celtiberian inscription. Bronze coin of Saguntum.



Grove of Palm-trees at Elcha.



day to destroy him, when Metellus appeared: "If this old woman had not come up," Sertorius said, "I would have whipped that boy soundly and sent him back to Rome;" and appointing a place for his troops to meet him again he dispersed them. The battle of the Turia therefore, was both a victory and a defeat, and Sertorius would have needed a great success before he could escape



The Waterfall of Chulilla, on the Turia.<sup>1</sup>

from the peril into which he was thrown by the junction of these powerful armies; in reality he was defeated, since he had failed in the attempt to separate his two adversaries.

The generals met near Saguntum. At the approach of his

<sup>1</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 113.

superior both in age and dignity Pompey ordered his fasces to be lowered; but the older general, knowing his young colleague's vanity, would not suffer this. The only prerogative that he reserved was to give the watchword when the two armies camped together. They were about to separate owing to the difficulty of obtaining provisions, when suddenly Sertorius attacked them. His white hind had disappeared since the last battle, but some soldiers



Ruins of the Aqueduct of Chelves, near Saguntum.<sup>1</sup>

meeting her brought her back to him; he bought their silence, and making known to the army that the return of this divine messenger was a presage of good fortune, he advanced, covering his march in the intention of capturing some foraging detachments sent out by the enemy. He fell, however, upon one of Pompey's divisions near enough to the main camp for Pompey to be able to despatch his entire army to their aid, which resulted, however, in the loss of 6,000 men; but, always unlucky in his lieutenants, Sertorius

<sup>1</sup> Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, vol. i. pl. 124.

learned that, at the same moment, Perperna, who was attacked by Metellus, had left 5,000 dead upon the field. An attack attempted on the following day upon the lines of Metellus near Saguntum proved unsuccessful. Sertorius again sent away most of his troops for a time, thus avoiding the necessity of paying and supporting them in the interval, and with the remainder he returned into the mountains, whence he directed his attacks upon the right flank of the combined army, while his allies, the pirates, were to cut off the supplies expected by sea. Winter approaching, Metellus now took up his quarters in Bætica.

Pompey, with more confidence, marched against Sertorius, but his legions, exhausted by cold, hunger, and incessant fighting, only reached, in much disorder, the country of the Vaccæi (75).

The Roman world was at that time much disturbed. War raged everywhere, by land and sea, in Asia, in Thrace,<sup>1</sup> in Spain, all along the coasts, where the landing of pirates to murder and pillage was constantly an object of apprehension. Even nature seemed full of threats. A pestilence beginning in Egypt attacked the domestic animals, and this destruction of oxen and horses brought ruin to agriculture, so that for three years famine decimated the population. The senate exhausted the resources of the treasury in contending with this destitution, and found it impossible to feed their armies, while in the city the famished populace broke out in riots, in one of which Cotta the consul, an estimable man, narrowly escaped being killed. He had ventured to say to the people: "Why, then, should you be at ease in Rome when the armies suffer for food?" The army of Pompey had received no pay for two years, and was in danger of being starved. Their general wrote a haughty and threatening letter to the senate, in which he said: "I have exhausted all that I have, both money and credit, and in these three campaigns you have scarcely given us a year's subsistence. Can I, then, supply the public treasury,

<sup>1</sup> During the whole duration of the war with Sertorius the senate was obliged to maintain in the eastern peninsula as many as five legions against the Dalmatians, the Thracians, and the mountaineers of the Hæmus (Balkans). This murderous strife, without profit and without glory, was temporarily ended by a brother of Lucullus, who advanced as far as the Danube and the Euxine (72-71). Macedon gained in this way a little tranquillity, and the *via Egnatia*, which Cicero calls "our military road," somewhat more security for convoys passing from Europe into Asia.

or can I maintain an army without food or money? . . . . Our services are well known to you, and in your gratitude you give us poverty and hunger. I therefore warn you, and I beg you to reflect; do not compel me to take counsel only of necessity. . . . I warn you that my army, and with it the whole Spanish war, will be transferred into Italy." Notwithstanding the tone of this letter the consul Lucullus, who feared that Pompey might return to dispute with him the command in the Mithridatic war, made haste to send to him corn, money, and two legions.

Mithridates followed all these movements with an attentive eye. Ever since Sylla's death he had been determined to take up arms again: the successes of Sertorius promised him a useful diversion, and he sent to offer this general forty ships and 3,000 talents, asking in return the cession of Asia. Sertorius would only agree to abandon Cappadocia and Bithynia: "Our victories," he said to his counsellors, "should aggrandize, and not diminish, the empire of Rome." "What will not Sertorius command," Mithridates rejoined, "when he is at Rome, if now, a proscribed man, he makes conditions like these?" He accepted them, however, and Sertorius sent to him one of his officers, Varius, with some troops. The pirates served as a bond connecting the two allies. Fortunately for the Republic the matter went no further than an interchange of negotiations. The pirates were not susceptible of discipline, and, with a thousand miles between them, Sertorius and Mithridates could not form any scheme of concerted action.

This alliance with an enemy of Rome served as a pretext for Metellus to put a price upon the head of Sertorius; he promised as a reward for the murder 100 talents and 2,000 *jugera*, but could not shake the fidelity of any of the guards of Sertorius. After the battle of Saguntum, proud of having conquered where his young rival had experienced a reverse, Metellus had assumed the title of *imperator*, and had required wreaths of gold from the cities, and from all the poets of the province songs in honour of his prowess.

In the south and east of the Spanish peninsula almost all the nations recognized the authority of the generals of the Republic; but nothing was settled until the latter should have overthrown the great soldier who, with Hannibal and Cæsar, sums up all the



Saint Bertrand de Comminges.



military science of that century. The two proconsuls decided to penetrate into the valley of the upper Ebro, a difficult country, having a population rugged as their own mountains, and attached to the apparent defender of Spanish independence. Metellus and Pompey advanced, driving Sertorius before them, and on one occasion believed that they had surrounded him on the banks of the Bilbilis, at that time swollen by rains. But Sertorius discovered a passage; he then made a great fence of trees in a semi-circle in front of the ford and set them on fire, while his army crossed.<sup>1</sup> The Romans, after some delay caused by this novel obstacle, renewed the pursuit on the opposite bank, and so sharply that Sertorius narrowly escaped being taken at the gate of



Coin of Calagurris  
(Calahorra).<sup>3</sup>

Calagurris (Calahorra). The Spaniards took him on their shoulders and passed him from one to another up to the walls,<sup>2</sup> whilst in the rear his guard held back the enemy by the sacrifice of their own lives.

A few days later Sertorius escaped from the city, notwithstanding the vigilance of the besiegers, rejoined his troops, and resumed his incessant attacks, till the Romans, who could no longer feed their armies, were compelled to retire, Metellus into Further Spain, Pompey into Gaul, where he established his winter quarters (74).

Here serious perils were to be apprehended. The Gauls of the Province, seeing that the Spanish war still continued, had taken up arms again and attacked Massilia and Narbo, which Fonteius had much difficulty in protecting, and Pompey was obliged to occupy the winter in extinguishing a revolt which cut his communications with Italy, and prevented him from obtaining supplies.

The military events of the years 73 and 72 are unknown. If we are to believe the stories spread abroad by his enemies, Sertorius wasted these years in luxury and profligacy, losing that activity which hitherto had been his chief strength. Hatred and envy kept watch about him. The senators whom he had called together saw themselves with vexation compelled to obey an

<sup>1</sup> Frontinus, i. 5, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. (*Sert.*, 14) cites the fact without naming the city where the occurrence took place.

<sup>3</sup> C. VAL. C. SEX. AEDILES. Ox's head, front view. Small bronze of Calagurris.

adventurer. They tried to make him odious by overwhelming in his name the Spaniards with exactions. All this is extremely improbable. This vicious luxury suddenly appearing in the life of the hardy soldier is not credible, and he was not the man to allow extravagance by which his projects were likely to suffer. But some of the exiles who had gathered around him, feeling that they had sacrificed enough, sought the opportunity to make their peace with Rome, even at the expense of the valiant leader who had saved them. And, furthermore, the war had become wearisome even to the Spaniards: the charge of feeding and clothing the army of their liberators appeared very heavy; signs of discontent began to appear, which Sertorius repressed with severity; and embittered by this unexpected resistance, rendered suspicious, also, because he believed himself surrounded by invisible enemies, he was tempted to commit acts which alienated his men even more. Many of the Spanish children left at Osca were sold or were murdered. A proscribed chief, defending himself by punishments, was already in part conquered; and a conspiracy being formed, of which Perperna was the head, Sertorius was assassinated at a banquet.

Perperna, who took his place, had neither his talents nor the confidence of the soldiers; he experienced only reverses, and ended by falling into the hands of Pompey. To save his life he made a proposal to deliver up the letters which had been written to Sertorius by Roman nobles, asking him to come into Italy. Pompey had already the intention of breaking with the senate, and had no desire to abandon to their vengeance the very men whom he intended to make his friends; he therefore burned the letters without reading them, and caused the traitor to be put to death.

However, much blood was yet to be shed before peace could be restored to Spain. The native chiefs, who, though associated with Sertorius, had fought only for themselves, seized upon the strongholds and defended themselves for a year with the resolution that Spaniards have always shown when besieged: at Calagurris they went so far as to kill their own women and children and feed upon the salted flesh.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Quoque diutius armata juvenus sua viscera visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadaverum reliquias sallire non dubitavit.* (Val. Max. VII. vi. 3.)

After the death of Sertorius, Metellus returned to Italy, and the later operations of the war were conducted by Pompey, who appears to have finished it alone, and certainly obtained all the honour of it. In the reorganization of the two provinces he laid the foundation of the influence which he had later in that country, where there are still standing several triumphal arches, to which tradition attaches his name. He granted citizenship to many Spaniards who had served under him in the country of the Vascones; he built a city called by his own name, *Pompelo* (Pampeluna), and in the upper valley of the Garonne he founded for the remnant of the troops of Sertorius the city of *Lugdunum Convenarum* (Saint Bertrand de Comminges);<sup>1</sup> he also erected on the crest of the Pyrenees an ostentatious monument, with an inscription to the effect that, between the Alps and the Pillars of Hercules, he had taken 876 cities.

A new war in Italy awaited the vain-glorious general; Crassus summoned him against the gladiators, as Metellus had called him against Sertorius.

<sup>1</sup> The limits of the Narbonensis are marked, therefore, by *Lugdunum Convenarum*, Toulouse the country of the Ruteni Provinciales, and the Rhone as far as Geneva. Cicero says in the *pro Fonteio* that the Italians crowded into this rich country, whence Caesar later derived vast supplies.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2133 of the catalogue.



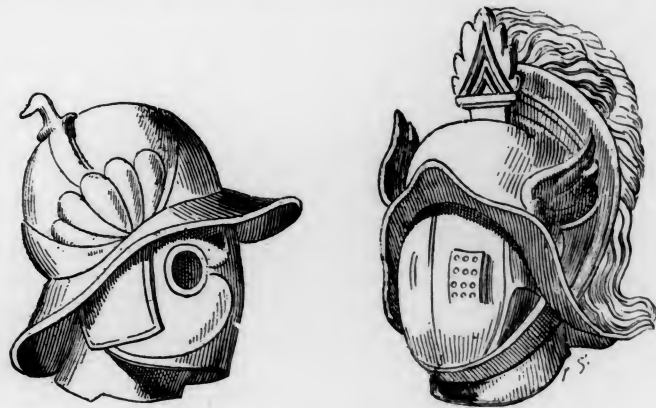
Eagles supporting a Wreath.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### SPARTACUS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES; WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

#### I.—THE GLADIATORS (73—71).

A CERTAIN Lentulus, called *Batuatus*, or the fencing-master,<sup>1</sup> a freedman of some member of the Cornelian *gens*, kept gladiators at Capua, and let them out for hire to the Roman nobles for their games and festivals. Two hundred of these,



Gladiators' Helmets.

mostly Gauls or Thracians, made a conspiracy to escape. Their plan being discovered, seventy-eight, warned in time, fled from their master's vengeance; entering a cook's shop they seized the spits and knives, and thus armed made their way to the mountains,

<sup>1</sup> *Batuo* signifies *to fence*, whence are derived the French words *battre*, *bataille*, *bâton*.

<sup>2</sup> From Mazois, paintings in the house of Scaurus at Pompeii.

as any Calabrian will now do who has brought himself within the law. Upon the road they met some wagons loaded with gladiatorial weapons; these they captured, and thus armed occupied Mount Vesuvius. This volcano had been dormant since the memory of man, and vegetation covered its slopes; the band easily found an inaccessible place in

which to hide themselves, and immediately "elected three chiefs, two Gauls, Crixus and Oenomaüs, and a Thracian, Spartacus, who with great strength and extraordinary courage united a prudence and gentleness more characteristic of a Greek than of a barbarian. It is related that when he was brought to Rome to be sold, as he lay asleep a serpent was seen coiled upon his face. His Thracian wife was possessed by a prophetic spirit, and practised the arts of magic; she declared that this sign foretold to Spartacus a great and formidable power, and that the end should be prosperous. She was with him at that time, and accompanied him in his flight (73).

"They defeated some soldiers sent against them from Capua,



A Sorceress.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marble statue, from the *Capitol Museum*.



and joyfully took possession of their weapons. The prætor Clodius, coming from Rome with 3,000 men, besieged them in their fort. The only way of descent was by a narrow and difficult footpath, which Clodius guarded. Elsewhere there were precipices clothed with wild vines. The band of Spartacus cut vine-branches and



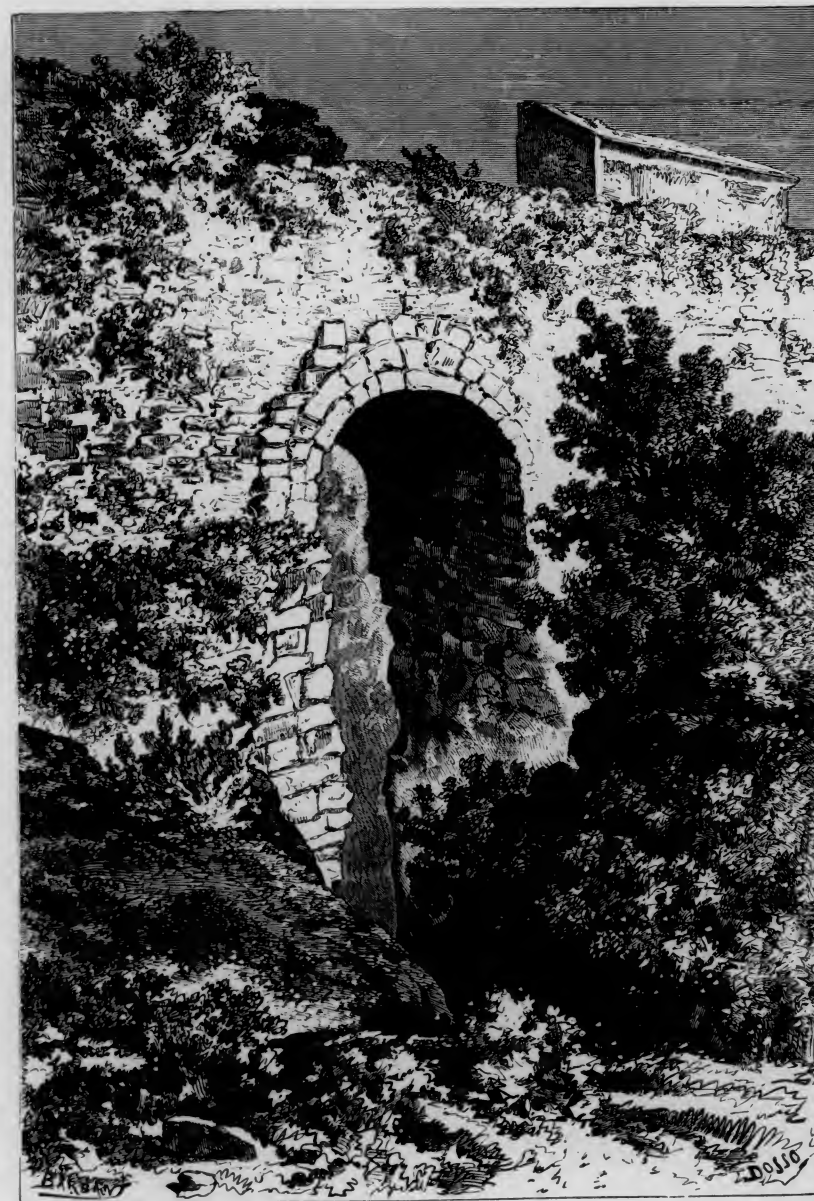
A Shepherd.<sup>1</sup>

made strong ladders, by which they descended the cliffs safely, one who remained above throwing their weapons down to them. The Romans, being suddenly attacked, fled, and left their camp in the power of the gladiators. After this success many herdsmen and active shepherds of the neighbourhood joined them; some of these they armed, and others they employed as scouts and skirmishers."

A second general was sent against them, the prætor Publius Varinius; they defeated one of his lieutenants who attacked them

with 2,000 men, and a second officer had a narrow escape with all his corps; Varinius himself was several times repulsed, losing his lictors and his war-horse, which Spartacus appropriated. The bandit chief showed himself a skilful general and prudent tactician. He never allowed himself to be dazzled by success, and while his

<sup>1</sup> Statue in the *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii. pl. 34.



Bridge at Cora.<sup>1</sup>



against enemies like these, but now they had begun to be formidable. Many farms had been laid in ashes, and even cities—Nola, Nuceria, Cora, Metapontum had been sacked with the fury of men who at last could glut their long pent-up revenge. On one occasion, to save the remnant in a city where his gladiators were killing everybody, Spartacus was obliged to sound an alarm as if the legions were approaching and his band must escape with all haste to avoid capture. He made Thurii his depot, and established workshops and stores of arms; from this place he issued an appeal calling all the slaves to liberty, and 100,000 men had soon gathered about him.

Necessity now silenced the scruples of the senate; two consular armies were made ready against these bandits who were such valiant soldiers (72). Gellius, one of the consuls, fell unexpectedly upon a body of Germans, who, through pride, had withdrawn from the army of Spartacus, and cut them to pieces. But he was less fortunate with the main army. Lentulus, his colleague, who had divided his force with the intention of surrounding the enemy, experienced in turn grave reverses, and another army of 10,000 men, arriving from the Cisalpina, had the same fate. At the elections of 71 no candidate presented himself to solicit the dangerous honour of fighting this hero who had appeared under the jerkin of a slave.

Crassus, that lieutenant of Sylla to whom was due the main credit of victory before the Colline Gate, offered himself, and was commissioned with the title of prætor. Attracted by his renown many volunteers came forward, and eight legions were soon organized. He encamped in Picenum to await Spartacus, who was advancing in that direction, whilst his lieutenant Mummius and two legions, expressly prohibited from fighting or even skirmishing, made a wide circuit to follow the enemy at a distance. But on the first occasion that offered Mummius gave battle to Spartacus, and was defeated with great loss, while those who survived threw down their arms and fled. Crassus was very severe to Mummius and his soldiers. Five hundred among those who



Coin of Metapontum.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This coin represents the river Achelous personified as a horned man, holding the reed and the patera. (De Luynes, *Métap.*, pl. 2.)

had set the example of cowardice were separated from the rest, and every tenth man put to death (decimated).

"Spartacus now retreated through Lucania towards the sea, and in the straits meeting with some Cilician pirate ships, he had thoughts of attempting Sicily, where by landing 2,000 men he hoped to rekindle the war of the slaves. But after the pirates had struck a bargain with him and received his money, they deceived him, and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the sea, and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium; there Crassus came upon him, and set to work to



Coin of Rhegium.<sup>1</sup>

build a wall across the isthmus, thus keeping his soldiers at once from idleness and his foes from forage. This great and difficult work he perfected in a space of time short beyond all expectation, making a ditch from one sea to the other, over the neck of land 300 stadia long, 15 feet broad, and as much in depth, and above it built a wonderfully high and strong wall.<sup>2</sup> All which Spartacus at first slighted and despised, but when provisions began to fail, and he found he was walled in, taking the opportunity of a snowy, stormy night, he filled up part of the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, and so passed his army over.

"Crassus was afraid lest he should march directly to Rome, but was soon relieved of that fear when he saw his enemies dividing; he defeated one corps of them, but could not pursue the slaughter because Spartacus suddenly came up and checked their flight. Now he began to repent that he had written to the senate to call Lucullus out of Thrace and Pompey out of Spain, so that he did all he could to finish the war at once, knowing that its honours would accrue to him that came to his assistance. Resolving, therefore, first to set upon those that had mutinied and

<sup>1</sup> Heads of Apollo and Diana coupled. On the reverse, PHINON, and a tripod. Bronze coin of Rhegium. (See vol. i. p. 469, another coin of this city.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably this was in the region of Castrovallari and Cassano, where the breadth of the isthmus is only about twelve or thirteen leagues; 300 stadia are fifty-five and a half kilometers, about thirty-eight miles.



encamped apart, he sent 6,000 men to surprise them, but being discovered by two women that were sacrificing for the enemy, they had been in great hazard had not Crassus immediately appeared and engaged in a battle which proved to be a most bloody one. Of 12,300 whom he killed, two only were found wounded in the back, the rest all having died standing in their ranks and fighting bravely. Spartacus, after this discomfiture, retired to the mountains of Petelia (Strongoli, in Calabria), followed by the lieutenant and the quaestor of Crassus. But when Spartacus rallied and faced them they were utterly routed and fled; this success, however, ruined Spartacus, because it encouraged the slaves, who now dis-

Coin of Petelia.<sup>1</sup>

dained any longer to avoid fighting or to obey their officers, but upon the march northwards came to them with sword in hand and compelled them to march back again through Lucania against the Romans—the very thing which Crassus desired, for news was already brought that Pompey was at hand, and people began to talk openly that the honour of this war was reserved for him.

“Crassus, therefore, eager to fight a decisive battle, encamped very near the enemy, and began to make lines of circumvallation; but the slaves made a sally and attacked the pioneers. As fresh supplies came in on either side, Spartacus, seeing there was no avoiding it, set all his army in array, and when his horse was brought him, he drew out his sword and killed him, saying if he got the day he should have a great many better horses of the enemies’, and if he lost it he should have no need of this! And so, making directly towards Crassus himself, through the midst of arms and wounds, he missed him, but slew two centurions that fell upon him together, standing his ground and bravely defending himself until he was cut to pieces” (71).<sup>2</sup>

Of this formidable army only the fragments now remained, who, returning too late to the first design of their brave leader, made their way northward, seeking the Alps. Pompey on his

<sup>1</sup> Head of Ceres. On the reverse, ΠΕΤΗΛΙΝΩΝ; Jupiter wielding his thunderbolt and walking; a star and letter H. Bronze coin of Petelia.

<sup>2</sup> Plut., *Crass.*, and Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 14.

return from Spain encountered them, and slew 5,000 more. “Crassus has conquered Spartacus in battle,” he wrote to the senate, “but I have plucked up the whole war by the roots.”

Spartacus had as far as possible reduced the horrors of this war. In Rhegium were found 3,000 Roman prisoners whom he had spared. The senate, however, had no pity for those who had caused Rome to tremble; 6,000 crosses were set up on the high road between Capua and Rome, and as many prisoners hung upon them. The conquerors, rejoicing and wreathed with flowers, returned to Rome along this dolorous way, beneath the anguish and the curses of the dying wretches.

Roman Warriors.<sup>1</sup>

Pompey, who had been absent seven years, was impatiently awaited as an invincible hero by the people; Crassus obtained only an ovation. He had fought against a hundred thousand enemies, but Rome was not willing to avow that a second time she had trembled before her slaves.

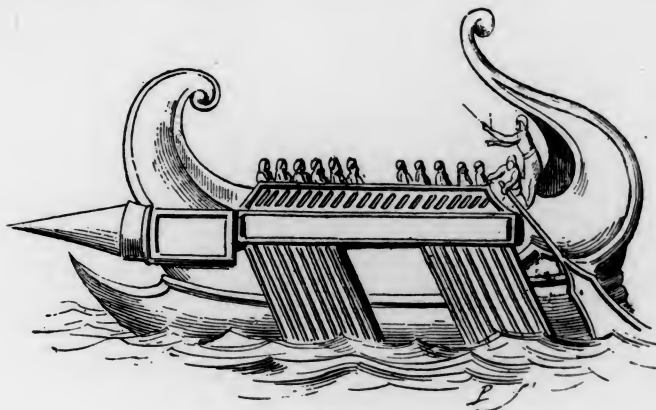
## II.—RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES (70).

During his consulship Lepidus had re-established the distributions of corn at reduced price, which Sylla had suppressed; in 77 Lepidus failed in an attempt to destroy by violence the entire work of the dictator; but the year following, the tribune Licinius, supported by Cæsar, very nearly succeeded. If he obtained nothing, he at least spoke to the people, and, notwithstanding the Cornelian law, which had left the tribuneship only a vain shadow, *inanis species*,<sup>2</sup> he forced the consuls to reply by

<sup>1</sup> From Nicolini, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pl. iii., a painting in the gladiators' barracks at Pompeii.

<sup>2</sup> Discourse of Licinius Macer in the *Fragments* of Sallust.

his sarcasms. Shortly after he fell by an assassin's hand.<sup>1</sup> He bore the same name with that tribune of the people created four centuries earlier upon the Sacred Mount, and it is possible he may have been his descendant. If he fell under the hand of the nobles he atoned perhaps not only for himself, but for the founder of an office which now seemed to many, more odious than ever. But the ally which in the time of Coriolanus had been useful to the first tribunes, now served them again; a famine, caused by the scanty harvests and, above all, by the depredations of the pirates, who arrested the supplies on their way



Greek Pirate Vessel (*hemiolia*).<sup>2</sup>

to Rome, exasperated the people. To appease them, one of the consuls of the year 75, C. Cotta, re-established the distribution of five bushels of corn monthly, *annona*,<sup>3</sup> and made a proposal to

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *Brut.*, 60. Macer says, *circumventus est*, and further on, *ad exitium usque insontis tribuni dominatus est*, the consul Curio. This period was more agitated than the paucity of documents which remain concerning it would lead us to believe. In the *pro Cluentio*, 34, Cicero speaks of a quaestor who sought to excite insurrection in the army, and of another senator condemned for having caused the revolt of a legion in Illyria. Macer (in Sall., *Hist. fragm.*) speaks of the despotism exercised by Catulus, of the tumults which took place during the consulships of Brutus and Mamerus, of the tyranny of Curio, whom he accuses of having killed Licinius, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Enlarged from a coin.

<sup>3</sup> It is not said that Cotta re-established them, but Macer speaks of these distributions as being very recent, and before this mentions Cotta as chief of a third party, who sought by frivolous concessions to deceive the people. (Sall., *Hist. fragm.*)

restore to the tribunes the right of haranguing the people and of holding other offices. The tribune Opimius, however, who brought forward a law contrary to those of Sylla, and attempted to oppose his veto to a decree of the senate, by a decision of the praetor lost both his property and his office.<sup>1</sup>



The *Annona*.<sup>2</sup>

The reaction, therefore, went on slowly, but it went on, aided by the very abuse which the senate made of their victory, giving up the allies to pillage, and selling the verdicts of the tribunals. "These disorders will never cease," said the tribune Quinctius, "until we have re-established in their rights those vigilant magistrates whose incorruptible activity caused a wholesome fear." He even obtained the condemnation of C. Junius, the presiding officer of a tribunal, and he accused many judges.<sup>3</sup> But Lucullus, at that time consul (74), stopped him, perhaps by buying his silence.

The year after there came to the tribuneship a man of talent and audacity, Licinius Macer, one of whose speeches has been saved from the wreck of time: "What a difference," he exclaimed, "between the rights transmitted to you from your ancestors and the slavery imposed on you by Sylla! . . . Those who have been set up to defend you have turned the whole power you gave them against you. They have submitted themselves to the rule of a faction who in time of war have assumed the control of the treasury, of the army, and of the provinces. In all these civil commotions, though other objects are pretended, the contention on both sides is for sovereignty over you."<sup>4</sup> . . . One thing only has

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 60: *bona, fortunas, ornamenta omnia amiserit*.

<sup>2</sup> ANNONA AVGUSTI CERES. Bronze of Nero's time. The *annona*, indicated by her cornucopia, is standing before the seated figure of Ceres; the goddess holds out to her ears of corn.

<sup>3</sup> Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 33, 34; Ps. Ascon., p. 103; Plut., *Lucull.*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Phaedrus (i. 15) brings forward this idea, whose truth was to be made apparent to the Romans of that day:—

*In principatu commutando saepius  
Nil prater domini nomen mutant pauperes.*

—"By the change of rulers the poor usually gain nothing but a change of masters."

continued to be the aim of both parties—to take from you the tribunitial power, the weapon prepared by your ancestors for the defence of your liberty.

“Give not to slavery the title of tranquillity. . . . Reflect, too, that unless you gain the mastery they will press you harder than before, since all injustice seeks to increase its safety by severity.

“What think you that we should do, then? some one will say. First of all I think that you should lay aside your present fashion of talking much and doing little, and of forgetting liberty the moment you leave the Forum. You yourselves, by executing the lordly commands of the consuls and decrees of the senators, give them your sanction and authority, and increase and strengthen the despotism exercised over you. . . . I do not recommend armed violence or a secession, but only that you should forbear to shed your blood in their behalf. Let them hold and exercise their offices in their own way; let them obtain triumphs; let them pursue Mithridates as well as Sertorius and the remnant of the exiles with the images of their ancestors; but let danger and toil be far from you who have no share in the advantage of them; unless indeed your services have been repaid by the late law for the distribution of corn, a law by which they have estimated the liberty of each individual at the price of five bushels of corn, an allowance not more liberal than that which is granted to prisoners.”

Macer did not counsel a refusal to pay taxes,<sup>1</sup> as has been done in modern times, for the reason that there was no longer any tax paid in Rome; he proposed the refusal of military duty, a grave novelty, for Sertorius and Spartacus were not yet defeated; Mithridates was again assuming the offensive; Thrace required repeated expeditions; and the pirates covered the seas. If he had been obeyed the nobles would certainly have sacrificed their

<sup>1</sup> Macer adds a sentence worth remembering for the comprehension of the corn laws: “This corn which they give you is your own property, *vestrarum rerum*, and this paltry boon suffices not to relieve you from domestic anxieties, *neque absolvit cura familiari tam parva res*.” He was right on the first point, and all the customary declamations on this subject will never make it true that, to the mind of the ancients, the tribute of natural products paid by subject nations was not the property of the Roman people themselves. (See p. 425.) On the second point also he was right: a family could not live upon its five *modii* monthly. This assistance given to the Roman poor no more relieved them from the necessity of labour than does the aid we furnish to our objects of charity enable them to live in idleness.

animosities for the safety of Rome; but to follow their tribune the people required a spirit of discipline and a resolution which they no longer possessed. Men continued, therefore, in the words of Macer, to speak instead of acting; but they spoke much. They cried out against those tribunals which Sylla had established, where the senator who had devoured a province was secure of impunity on condition of abandoning a portion of his plunder to his colleagues who had remained at home, and who were now his judges. Men extolled the beneficent severity of the early censorship, the good results of the tribunes' veto, things all now dead, but which, if they could be restored to life, would give back tranquillity and dignity to the State.

Far off in Spain, Pompey heard these complaints. Such had been the skilful moderation of his conduct that both parties feared him equally, and at the same time both looked to him with hope. He assumed the position of mediator, writing to Rome that if before his return harmony should not have been restored between the senate and the people, he himself would labour to adjust matters immediately upon his arrival.<sup>1</sup> Another general, who became an emperor, began his political career thus, eighty years ago. The Roman senate was neither more clear-sighted nor stronger than the French Directory. Living, like the latter, by expedients, and from day to day, it accepted, for the sake of gaining a little time, this ominous interposition of a military chief, and made reply to the tribunes that it would be necessary to await the return of the great Pompey (72).

He arrived at the close of the following year (71); and the applause of the people won him completely. The whole city went out to meet him; he accepted, rather than solicited, the consulship and a triumph. Having been a general before he was a soldier, he now became consul without having been quæstor, ædile, or prætor.<sup>2</sup> Crassus, who, notwithstanding his public services and his profuse liberality towards the people,<sup>3</sup> was almost forgotten

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Hist. fragm.*

<sup>2</sup> He was so much a stranger at this time to civil affairs that he asked his friend Varro to prepare for him memoranda on the home administration, a sort of consular manual, *εἰσαγωγικόν*, as to what a consul should say or do in the senate. (Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, xiv. 7.)

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, in *Crassus*. He had invited the populace to an entertainment where 10,000 tables were set, and had distributed among them corn enough to last three months.



in this triumph of his rival, dared not show his discontent; and it was only after obtaining Pompey's approbation that he solicited the second consulship.

There are two kinds of ambition, that of superior men who feel themselves able to accomplish great things, and that of the incapable, who seek power for the mere enjoyment of it. To the Gracchi, Sylla, and Cæsar belongs the former kind of ambition, Marius and Pompey had only the latter. For six years Pompey had kept aloof from party strife, but when war was at an end the Forum resumed its power; there once more reputations were to be won and authority to be gained. Either Pompey must fall quickly into obscurity or he must at last speak and show his colours. Should he take sides with the senate or with the people? Neither his own antecedents nor the welfare of the State acted as the deciding influence. The senate had leaders after its own heart, men filled with the *esprit de corps*, having but little personal ambition, partisans of law and order, such law and order, at least, as Sylla had created. Catulus, for example, was the oracle of this assembly, and Lucullus its hero. In the senate Pompey would have been simply absorbed. He remembered that after his successes against Lepidus the attempt had been made to compel him to disband his army. Sylla, moreover, had left nothing more to be done for the nobility by which their gratitude could be secured; the people, on the contrary, awaited everything, and could bestow everything in return: Pompey went over to the people.

In an assembly convoked by a tribune at the gates of the city before the triumph of Pompey, the latter had declared that the popular magistracy must be set free from its restrictions, that the provinces must be relieved from pillage, and the tribunals purged from venality—that is to say, that at every point the authority of the senate must be overthrown and the work of the dictator undone.<sup>1</sup> Very early in his official career, a Pompeian law, sharply contested by the senatorial leaders, but supported by Crassus and Cæsar, restored to the tribuneship all its rights. Pompey's legions, encamped near the city, had rendered it impossible for the senate to make an effectual resistance (70).

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *I in Verr.*, 15. This tribune was M. Lollius Palicanus, and acted as Pompey's agent in the affair. (See vol. i. pp. 326 and 434), and the coin commemorating this occurrence.

After the people came the turn of the knights. They obtained the re-establishment of their privileges of farming out the revenue of the province of Asia, and they claimed the judgeships as eagerly as the people had clamoured for the old tribunate. But on this latter point Pompey left the chief part to others.

Cicero, though very brave in the Forum and the curia, where the word was power, had less courage in the ordinary routine of life. After the two orations, one of which at least was a direct attack on the Cornelian legislation, he went off prudently to Athens and Rhodes to obtain from the Greeks the sole treasure they still possessed, the art of Isocrates.<sup>1</sup> Rome had already seen great orators, but never that harmonious fluency, that brilliancy, that inexhaustible raciness, that clearness of style which permanently stamped the Latin language. At thirty years of age (76) he entered official life as quæstor in Sicily, filling the position with honour, and he was soliciting the ædileship at the time when the Sicilians entrusted to him their cause against Verres.<sup>2</sup> Cicero saw that in the midst of the reaction at this time going on, and in which he cordially sympathized, such a case might be raised to the height of a great political event.<sup>4</sup> Although a member of the senate since his quæstorship, he belonged to the equestrian order. Here lay his friendship, his interests, and hence came his political ideas. Cicero desired to have the *judicia* given back to the knights according to the law of Caius Gracchus, for the purpose of reconstructing that *medius ordo* which would maintain the balance of power in the State.<sup>5</sup> Now Verres was a senator; the Metelli and the Scipios supported him; Hortensius, the consul-elect, was his counsel, and the accused said openly that he was sure of acquittal



Coin of Rhodes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This residence of two years in Greece (79-78) is explained by motives of health and the desire to complete his literary education. This may be the real explanation. In 79 Sylla had abdicated.

<sup>2</sup> Head of the sun with rays, right profile. Rhodian drachme. (See p. 126, the Rhodian rose.) [The colossus of Rhodes had been an image of Helios, perhaps copied on the coins.—*Ed.*]

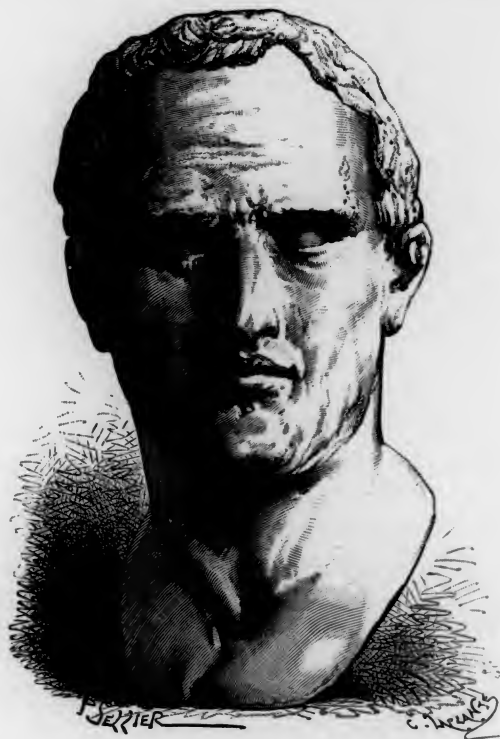
<sup>3</sup> Verres had been for three years prætor in Sicily (73-71).

<sup>4</sup> Cicero says expressly (*II in Verr.*, v. 69) that the law concerning the *judicia* was proposed in consequence of the prosecution of Verres.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero served at once his own interests and those of his party; Hortensius was the leader at the bar, and the *Verrine* orations ousted him. Ultimately the two advocates often pleaded on the same side, but Hortensius always allowed Cicero to speak last. (Cf. *pro Murena*; *pro Rabirio*, etc.)

because he had divided his three years' plunder into three parts, one for his advocate, one for his judges, and the third only for himself. Cicero attacked him boldly, and in the opening sentences of his speech showed his policy (70).

"There has long existed an opinion fatal to the Republic, and even among foreign nations it has become a matter of common

Cicero.<sup>1</sup>

remark, that in your courts a rich man cannot be condemned." He then refers to the words of Catulus reproaching the senators who by their venality as judges had re-established the tribunitian power, and Pompey's words: "The provinces have been pillaged and justice auctioned. These abuses must be arrested."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From a bust of Parian marble in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3294. [It differs widely from other busts, and must be regarded as of doubtful authenticity.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> He says of the senate (*de Leg.*, iii. 12): *Non modo et censores, sed etiam et iudices omnes*

"This I undertake," he exclaims, "this duty of my ædileship most glorious and most honourable, I promise to perform; . . . everything shall not only be made public, but also, where evidence can be had, shall be matter of legal action,—everything of an infamous and disgraceful character that has been done in judicial business within the ten years of the jurisdiction of the senate."<sup>1</sup> And he ventured to add, forgetting Rutilius and the many scandalous acquittals: "The Roman people shall learn through me why and how it is that when the equestrian order exercised jurisdiction for almost fifty years in succession in no case of a Roman knight acting as judge did there ever occur the slightest suspicion of venality."

Verres, in alarm, fled after the first hearing, abandoning to the Sicilians 45,000,000 sesterces. But the avenging eloquence of Cicero pursued him even in his exile. The orator wrote what he had not been able to deliver; he unrolled the long picture of the crimes of Verres, and ended as he had begun with threats against the nobles. "So long as force constrained her, Rome endured royal despotism; but on the day when the tribuneship recovered its rights, your reign, mark you, was ended." Their power, indeed, could not survive these scandalous revelations: an uncle of Cæsar, the prætor Aurelius Cotta, carried a law<sup>2</sup> by which, according to the wise arrangement of Plautius Sylvanus, the *judicia* were divided between the senators, the knights, and the tribunes of the treasury.<sup>3</sup>

*potest defatigare.* In 74, however, the senate had timidly asked for a law against the venality of the judges, which law neither L. Lucullus nor his brother Marcus, who succeeded him in the consulship, were willing to propose. (Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 49.)

<sup>1</sup> Upon the corruption and venality of the tribunals, see Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 22, 35, 37; Walter, *Geschichte des röm. Rechts.*, ch. xxviii. § 237-8; Ascon. in Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 141-145, and Cic., *ad Att.*, i. 16. When venality did not succeed they had recourse to entreaties. See a singular example of these supplications in Cic., *pro Scauro* (Orelli), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See in *II in Verr.*, iii. 96, the efforts of Aurelius, who spoke every day from the rostra against the senatorial courts.

<sup>3</sup> The tribunes of the treasury, *curatores* of the tribes (see vol. i. p. 429), were originally the army paymasters. (Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, vii. 10; Varro, i. 4; Gaius, *Inst.*, iv. 27; and Festus, *s.v. Ararii*.) It is not known in what way the *tribuni ærarii*, originally officials, became a class in the State; doubtless they were required by reason of their financial responsibility to possess a certain amount of property, and the name of *tribuni ærarii* came at last to be applied to all who had that amount, as *knight* was assumed by right of property. In the latter days of the Republic the equestrian *census* was 400,000 sesterces, and that of the *ducentary* judges in the time of Augustus was 200,000. It may be supposed that the tribunes of the treasury

Cicero gained a brilliant victory. It did not, however, prevent the accuser of Verres from defending a few years later Fonteius, the spoiler of Narbonensis. In the eyes of the great advocate his art took precedence even of justice itself. Concerning the latter, he was not always solicitous, for his language was "that of the cause, not of the speaker;"<sup>1</sup> and there are always to be found artists in pleading for an impossible defence.

This year (70) was one of expiation for the senators. The restoration of the tribuneship to its early rights took from them half what Sylla had given them, and the prosecution of Verres deprived them of the rest. Humiliated as a political body, they were personally attacked by the censorship, which also reappeared at this decisive date. Sixty-four senators were expelled; the nobility itself, which Cicero still pursued with his sarcasms, was thus degraded.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding all the blood shed by Sylla, his political work had not lasted eight years, and the constitution of the Gracchi was again emerging.

When the censors made out their list of the equestrian order, Pompey, who, although consul, was not yet senator in rank,<sup>3</sup> appeared as knight merely,<sup>4</sup> in order to do honour to the new power of his order. He came into the Forum, leading his horse by the bridle. "Have you made all the campaigns required by the law?" the censor asked, and Pompey replied: "I have made them all, and under myself as general." This haughty answer was an insult to his country's law and to the principles of equality; but the crowd, who only sought a master, applauded; even the censors rose, and accompanied him to his house, followed by all the populace.

Pompey was for the moment the hero of the multitude, but never was popular hero more ill-suited to play his part; to live

had an intermediate fortune, 300,000 sesterces, for they are placed in the judicial laws of Augustus between the knights and the *ducenaries*. In this case they would have been citizens of the second class, the knights forming the first and the *ducenarii* the third.

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *pro Cluentio*, 50.

<sup>2</sup> *II in Verr.*, v. 71.

<sup>3</sup> And could not be, since he had not before his consulship filled any senatorial office, which would have given him the *jus sententiæ dicendæ*.

<sup>4</sup> Soon after, in 67, Roscius Otho, the tribune, fixed the *census* of the knights at 400,000 sesterces (about £3,200), and assigned to them in the theatres fourteen rows of separate seats. (Livy, *Epit.*, xcix.; Dion., xxxvi. 25.)

among the people, to be of access to everyone, to undertake warmly the cause of even the humblest citizen, to know every man by name, and to manifest an indefatigable activity in behalf of each man's rights and pleasures; to speak on every cause and for every individual, such was the hard life of the demagogue.<sup>1</sup> Pompey, accustomed from boyhood to command, disliked seeking the favour of the crowd; his cold, grave character did not respond to the enthusiasms of the Forum.<sup>2</sup> He would have been the worthy figure-head of a peaceful empire; in a stormy republic he was out of place; it was therefore safe to predict that, yielding to his instincts, and in spite of his ambition, he would end by returning to the aristocratic party. In the two years which followed his consulship he rarely appeared in public,<sup>3</sup> and was always accompanied by a numerous suite who kept the crowd away as from the presence of a king. He understood, however, that this nominal royalty would weary the people, and that it would be wise for him to keep the public enthusiasm alive by new services. A war alone could give him the needed opportunity.

### III.—WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

Since the shock caused the Republic by the Gracchi there had been only trouble within and revolt without. Liberty had, indeed, perished in the struggle, but power was preserved, and the provinces fell back into a more oppressed condition than before. But at every epoch of slavery there are men who prefer to be bandits than to be slaves. The wide sea was the asylum of those who refused to live under the Roman law: they became pirates, and since the senate had destroyed the navies of the world without replacing them by its own, the profits were certain, the risk was nothing. This brigandage, therefore, within a few years had attained a strange development. Mithridates received important assistance from the pirates during his wars, and when, upon the

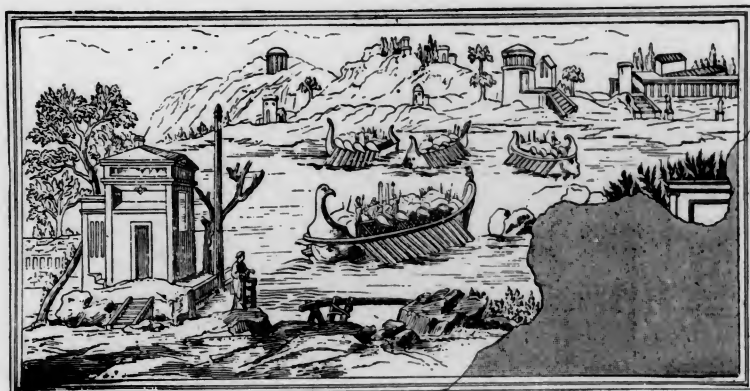
<sup>1</sup> See the advice of Quintus to Cicero, *de Petitione consulatus*.

<sup>2</sup> Later we shall see him in opposition to Clodius. At Miletus, the orator Æschines having been too free of speech in his presence, he either caused him or permitted him to be sent into exile, where the unfortunate man died. (Strabo, IV. i. 7.)

<sup>3</sup> He refused a consular province, being unwilling to spend a year in obscurity.



order of Sylla, he disbanded his marine forces, his sailors at once added themselves to the pirate fleet. From all quarters men flocked to this standard, equally attractive to the brave and the rapacious. Ruined and desperate men from every party, those who had lost their fortunes by war or by the decree of justice, citizens banished from their homes, slaves who had escaped from prison, all were received here. Even men of distinguished origin shared in this chase of Ionian, Egyptian, and Greek merchants. The sea between Cyrene and Crete, and between Crete and Delos, or Smyrna, was called by them "the Golden Gulf,"<sup>1</sup> so many were the captives their rapid vessels made in these waters. They made no attempt at concealment; gold and purple and precious stuffs adorned their vessels, some of which had their oars plated with silver, and every



Vessels laden with Plunder and Troops.<sup>2</sup>

capture was followed by long orgies to the sound of musical instruments. Their songs must have been like those of Byron's *Corsair*:—

"O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,  
Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free,  
Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,  
Survey our empire and behold our home!  
Ours the wild life in tumult still to range,  
From toil to rest, and joy in every change!  
No dread of death—if with us die our foes—  
Save that it seems even duller than repose!"

<sup>1</sup> Florus, iii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> From a Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th Series, pl. 14.) The

Cilicia, with its numberless harbours and its mountains descending to the coast had been their first lair; but upon all the shores they had their stores, their places of refuge, and their watch-towers. They were believed to be masters of a thousand vessels; they had at this time pillaged more than 400 cities, Cnidos, Samos, Colophon, and the most venerated temples, among others those of Samothrace and Epidauros, that of Neptune on the isthmus of Corinth, of Juno at Samos, and at Argos, etc., and it is well known that temples at that time contained not merely offerings to the gods, but deposits made by their worshippers. From the temple of Samos they took away 1,000 talents. A poet of that day wrote after the pillage of Delos: "They have reduced Apollo to poverty, and of the great wealth that he had stored up there is left him not so much as one little piece of gold which he might give as a present." These pirates, however, Asiatic in origin for the most part, had a form of worship, but it was a barbarous ceremonial, the sanguinary mysteries of Mithra, which they were the first to disseminate in the West.



Coin of Cnidos.<sup>1</sup>



Coin of Colophon.<sup>2</sup>

There were too many Greeks among them for these robber-bands not to have framed a theory of their honourable calling. "There is no injustice," they said, "in recovering by skill that which has been lost by violence. The possession which powerful men have snatched from us all at once we recover by degrees." It was therefore with a calm conscience that they plied their profitable trade. And it does not appear, in fact, since rights in

first of these four boats bears at the stern either a laurel or a palm branch, emblem of a successful expedition. The prow represents the head and breast of a bird. Two of the others have a human face. By these emblems the vessels are designated and recognized.

<sup>1</sup> ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ. [Copied from the famous Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles]. Time of Caracalla.

<sup>2</sup> ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ(ατηγῶν) ΚΑ(αυτίου) ΚΑΛΑΙΣΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΝΩΝ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΙΩΝΩΝ. Apollo Clarius seated in a temple, before which are thirteen figures of representatives of Ionia raising the right hand (see p. 194, *seq.*); in the centre a bull before the altar. Bronze coin of the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, struck at Colophon.

ancient times was merely the right of the strongest, why this organized state of pirates had not as good a claim to call themselves masters of the sea as the Romans to be masters of the land.

Robin Hood used to spare the Saxon churl and to slay the Norman sheriff; in like manner the pirates were pitiless towards the Roman, setting his ransom at a high price, and selling him into far-off countries when he could not pay it. At times, when a prisoner exclaimed with the haughty cry that kings respected, "I am a Roman citizen!" they would feign amazement and terror, and falling prostrate before him, beg for pardon; then they would bring to him sandals and a toga, that he might no longer be unknown, and then mocking his pretensions they made him walk the plank on his way to the Eternal City. This was the fate of the prætor Bellianus.

From Phœnicia to the Pillars of Hercules not a vessel passed that did not pay black-mail. Italy and Greece being all sea-coast, the Græco-Roman world lived along the shore, and there were their finest villas and most beautiful cities. How much anxiety and distress was caused by the sudden incursions of these bandits! Two prætors with their rods and lictors were carried off: Brundisium, Misenum, Cajeta, even Ostia, at the very gates of Rome, suffered pillage. Lipara paid them an annual tribute; one of their leaders had the audacity to enter the harbour of Syracuse with four of his vessels; another burned in Ostia a consular fleet.<sup>1</sup>

At this moment Sertorius was inciting revolt in Spain; Spartacus was about to call the gladiators to arms, and Mithridates was preparing a new war in Asia. It would have been possible for the pirates to serve as a bond between all these rebels; but this immense force, which might have given its chief vast power, as happened later in the case of Sextus Pompeius, lacked discipline and union; brigandage was more intelligible to their minds than state-craft; they did indeed conduct the envoys of Sertorius to

<sup>1</sup> [It is not generally known how terribly this evil was reproduced by the Saracens and Turks in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All the coasts of Italy and Greece again became depopulated, and the modern towns of Calabria are mostly still, like eagles' nests, on the top of cliffs far from the sea. It was not till the present century that the last stronghold of these hornets, Algiers, was destroyed by England and France. (Cf. Finlay's *Greece*, v. 90, seq.)—Ed.]

Mithridates,<sup>1</sup> but they were false to Spartacus and caused his ruin.

So long as they had pillaged only the Greeks or the Syrians they had been left undisturbed. The oligarchy which governed the Roman world cared but little for the misfortunes of the subject nations; it was even for the interest of the great, as the price of slaves fell, thanks to the stock supplied by the pirates. But when they waylaid the Roman convoys laden with grain, then it was that the famished people began to find their dignity wounded by this bandit insolence; and a vigorous effort was made against them (78).

The occupation of Cilicia, which the prætor Antonius commenced in the year 103, had not been prosecuted with the ardour usually shown by the Romans in extending their provinces. The senate had contented itself with establishing in this country a military post, whence a watch was kept upon the Syrian kings and upon the kings of Pontus and Armenia if they should venture into Asia Minor; but no attempt had been made to destroy the establishments of the pirates all along the coasts. Sylla, prætor in Cilicia in 92, did not concern himself with anything beyond the Taurus.<sup>2</sup> The ambitious designs of Mithridates were beginning to appear and caused the pirates to be forgotten, so that the latter, during the great struggle of the Pontic king with Rome, and especially during the Social and Civil wars, were left to increase undisturbed. The dictator, however, had not by any means lost sight of them; in 79 he caused a grandson of Metellus Macedonicus, Servilius Vatia, to be made consul, and the year after, the latter was



Triumphal Coin of Servilius.<sup>3</sup>

sent as proconsul in Cilicia with a powerful fleet and an army. He was an upright man and a valiant captain. The pirates had

<sup>1</sup> The war of Sertorius lasted from 82 to 72; that of Spartacus from 73 to 71; that of Mithridates recommenced in 74, and the pirates had been attacked as early as the year 103 by the orator Marcus Antonius. This war was a legacy of the civil wars, the revolt of the provinces and of the slaves. (Cf. Appian, *Mithrid.*, 43.)

<sup>2</sup> See p. 581.

<sup>3</sup> M. SERVILIUS LEG. Head of Liberty. On the reverse, Q. CAEPIO BRUTVS IMP. Trophy. Coin of the Servilian family.

only racing vessels, "sea-mice,"<sup>1</sup> very swift, but incapable of resisting the shock of the galleys. Servilius destroyed a great number of them in a naval battle which they were imprudent enough to accept in sight of Patara; then, for more than three years,<sup>2</sup> he occupied himself in attacking and destroying one after another a multitude of their strongholds. These were laborious campaigns, in which the struggle was even more against nature than against man: in summer, torrid heats and deadly miasma; in winter, the icy winds from the snowy summits of Taurus; the rivers were torrents, the roads, gorges impracticable to regular troops. Built on the steep declivities of the mountains, these fortresses required an actual siege, in which the persistency of the defenders equalled the tenacity of the attacking force; at Olympus the pirate chief, rather than surrender, made an immense pile of his booty, set it on fire, and perished in the flames. When Servilius believed that he had destroyed the chief nests of the pirates he went across the Taurus in search of those land-pirates, the Isaurians, whom no government had ever been able completely to subjugate.

Coin of Patara.<sup>3</sup>

Like the eagle who makes her eyrie at the highest point that she may see her prey afar off, they had perched their principal town, Isaura, on a straight cliff overlooking the plain of Iconium. Servilius subdued the place by cutting through the solid rock a new channel for the mountain torrent that brought water to the town. From this success he gained the surname of Isauricus; but he had no sooner re-entered Rome in triumph than the sea-mice reappeared in every direction.<sup>5</sup>

Coin of Isaura.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Μυοπόρων, boat-mouse. [A doubtful derivation.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Three years according to Eutropius (vi. 3) and Orosius (5, 23); five (73-74) according to Cicero. (II in Verr., iii. 91, 211.)

<sup>3</sup> ΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝ. Apollo holding a laurel branch, between a raven, prophetic bird, and a tripod. Reverse of a bronze coin of Gordian III., struck at Patara.

<sup>4</sup> ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΙΣΑΡΩΝ. Bellona fighting. Reverse of a bronze coin of Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the reduction of the Cyrenaica into a province about the year 75 (see p. 481) was a measure concerted with the great expedition of Servilius against the pirates of Cilicia, to strengthen the Roman watch over the eastern Mediterranean.

The senate at last decided to constitute a great maritime command, which was given to Antonius, the prætor, whose sister had lately been carried off by the pirates from her villa near Misenum. The island of Crete, in the centre of the Levant, had become since the capture of Cilicia the chief refuge of these free-booters, who shared with the inhabitants the profits of their expeditions. After having driven away these dangerous visitors from the Italian coasts, the prætor next turned his attention to Crete. An ill-directed attack resulted in disaster; the enemy captured several of his vessels; the officers were hung, and the sailors sold into slavery. Antonius made his escape, but survived his defeat only a few days, gaining from it the derisive appellation of *Creticus*. The Roman oligarchy accepted this affront without avenging it, save in words; they threatened from a distance, requiring the Cretans if they desired peace to give up 4,000 talents, the prisoners, the deserters, and their three admirals who had had the insolence to defeat Antonius.

Coin of Iconium.<sup>1</sup>Coin of Cydonia.<sup>2</sup>

The Cretans were not men to part with so much money without a severe struggle; in 68 Metellus, at the head of a considerable army, came to demand it. This little nation dared to meet him in the open country, and afterwards delayed him before each one of their cities, Cydonia, Gnossus, and Gortyn. The proconsul spent two campaigns in reducing to a province this last asylum of Greek liberty, a not very honourable liberty, it must be owned, protecting in Crete many more vices than virtues.

Metellus thus added a new surname to all those which his haughty race had already attained. But his expedition did not put an end to piracy, and it is not certain that, at the very moment

<sup>1</sup> COL. AEL. ICONIE. S. R. (*senatus Romanus*). A priest leading two oxen; behind them, two standards. Bronze of Gordian III., struck at Iconium.

<sup>2</sup> The Cretan Diana (Britomartis or Dictynna). On the reverse, the same goddess as a huntress; she holds a lighted torch and extends one hand towards her dog. Tetradrachm of Cydonia.



when he was sending off his laurel-wreathed despatches to Rome, some of the numerous creeks of the great island did not still shelter a considerable number of filibusters.

Coin of Gnosus.<sup>1</sup>

Isolated expeditions could not, in fact, destroy these Protean enemies; driven from one point they reappeared at another, and, owing to the skill of their pilots and the lightness of their vessels,

Coin of Gnosus.<sup>2</sup>

they, like the Spanish *guerillero*, were able to laugh at their pursuers.

Meanwhile the grain-ships from Sicily and Sardinia no longer came in, and gratuitous distributions of corn were at an end. For a few sesterces the people sold their votes; for five bushels of corn a month, they conferred the Empire. In the year 67, the tribune Gabinius proposed that one of the consuls should be invested for three years with absolute and irresponsible power, with command of

Coin of Gortyn.<sup>4</sup>

the sea and all the coasts of the Mediterranean for 400 stadia inland.<sup>3</sup> This space included a great portion of the lands subject to Rome, the most important nations, and the most powerful kings. The nobles took alarm at this unheard-of

authority destined for Pompey, although Gabinius had not mentioned his name; they made an attempt to kill Gabinius,<sup>5</sup> and one of the tribune's colleagues opposed his veto. Such, however, was their humiliation that Catulus could find nothing better to say to the people than that they ought to economize so important a personage, and not expose incessantly so precious a life to the perils of war. "For if you lose him, whom have you to take

<sup>1</sup> The Minotaur on a tetradrachm of Gnosus.

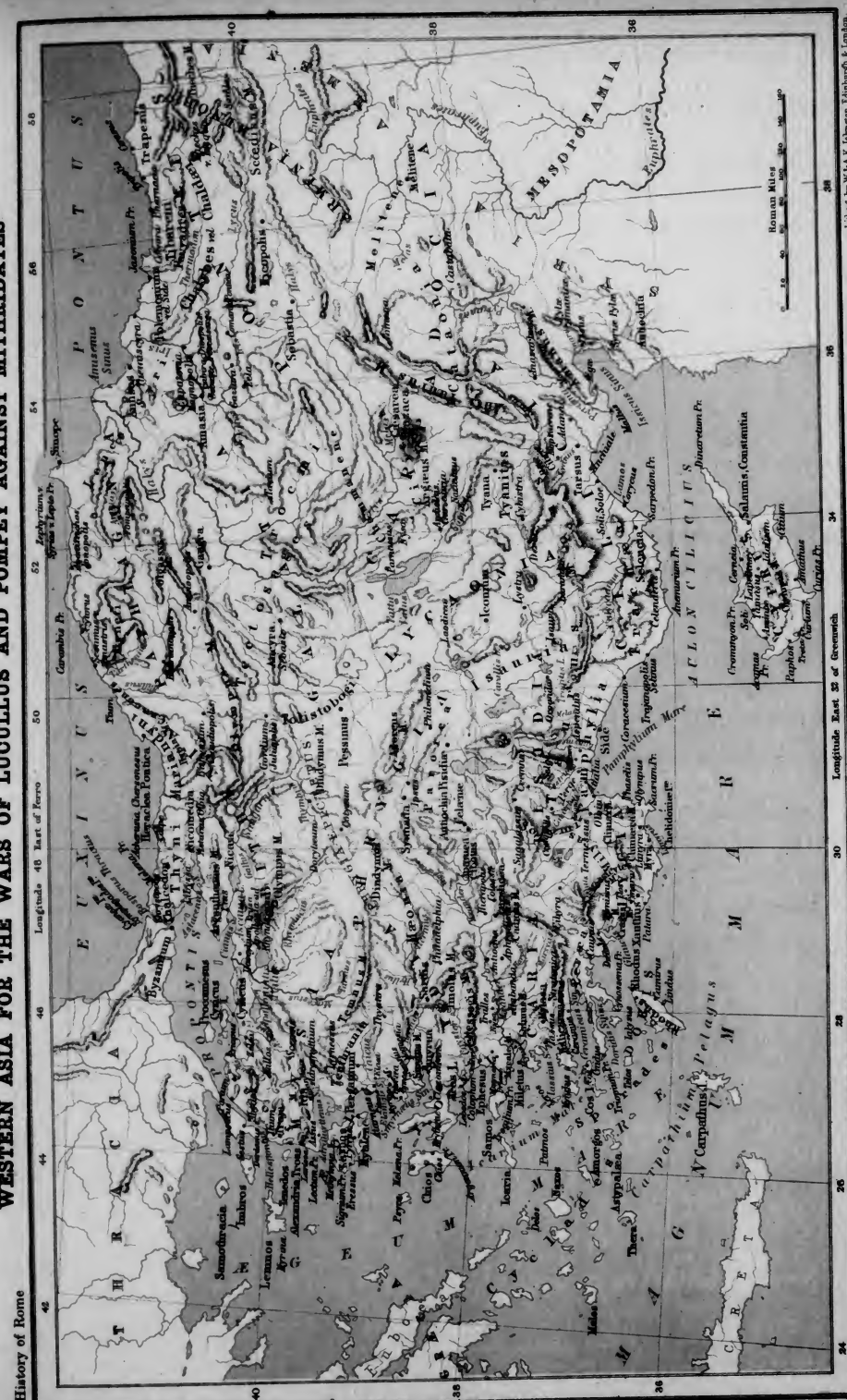
<sup>2</sup> The Labyrinth. Reverse of a coin of Gnosus.

<sup>3</sup> Vell. Paternus (ii. 31) says fifty miles, and Dion. three days' march.

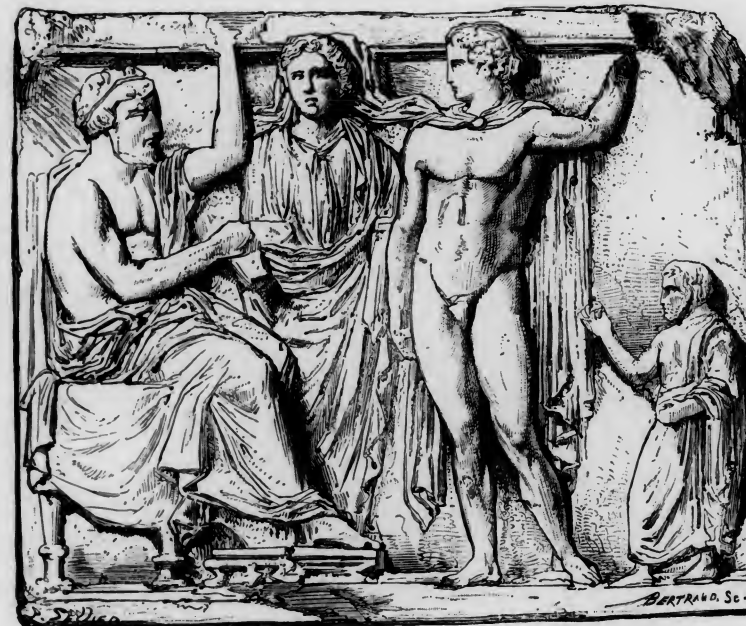
<sup>4</sup> Europa holding an eagle, near the plane-tree where the divine bull had stopped. From that time, it was said, the sacred tree never lost its leaves. On the reverse, the bull leaping. Tetradrachm of Gortyn. For the Cretan legends, see Decharme's *la Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, ch. viii. p. 616, seq.

<sup>5</sup> Dion., xxxvi. 8, 20; Vell. Paternus, ii. 31.

# WESTERN ASIA FOR THE WARS OF LUCULLUS AND POMPEY AGAINST MITHRIDATES



his place?" "Yourself," cried the populace, and Catulus was silent, after having counselled the senators to secure for themselves a retreat upon some Sacred Mount, where they could, like their ancestors, defend their liberty. The people voted the forces that the decree assigned to the general, 500 galleys, 120,000 foot-soldiers, 5,000 horse, and permission to draw from the treasury all the money he might require. One of the consuls, Piso,



Bas-relief at Gortyn.<sup>1</sup>

who still made some opposition, ventured to say to Pompey: "If you choose to emulate Romulus, you will end as he did;" but the people were ready to tear Piso in pieces, and the tribune Trebellius narrowly escaped being deposed, on account of his veto. Pompey, however, had too great a respect for forms to make any attack upon the consular and tribunitian dignity. A century earlier Rome would not have deigned to send a consul against

<sup>1</sup> Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage en Asie mineure*, pl. 124. Three colossal divinities and a worshipper.

enemies so contemptible, and now the army, the treasury, and sovereign power, were all entrusted to Pompey. The people were hungry, and they cared little for their liberty.<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, who liked precedents of monarchical authority, had actively supported the proposition.

Coin of Soli.<sup>2</sup>

At the news of this decree, the pirates abandoned the coasts of Italy; the price of food suddenly fell, and the people at once began to exclaim that the mere name of Pompey had brought the war to an end.<sup>3</sup> He chose for his lieutenants twenty-four senators who had already been generals of armies, divided the Mediterranean into thirteen parts, allotting a squadron to each, and in forty days had swept the Tuscan and Balearic Seas. Neither could the terrified pirates offer any resistance in the eastern Mediterranean. They came in crowds to surrender themselves, with their wives and children, and with their vessels;

Coin of Adana.<sup>4</sup>

Pompey employed them in the pursuit of their former accomplices. Those who had more courage, however, carried their treasures away to the seaports of Mount Taurus, and collected their vessels off the promontory Coracesium. Being defeated and then besieged in an adjacent position where they had sought shelter, they gave up the islands and strongholds that yet remained to them; 120 forts on the crests of the mountains from Caria, as far as Mount Amanus were razed; Pompey burned 1,300 vessels and destroyed all the dock-yards; then, following the moderate policy he had pursued in Spain, instead of selling his prisoners, he established them in the depopulated cities, Soli, Adana,

Coin of Epiphania.<sup>5</sup>

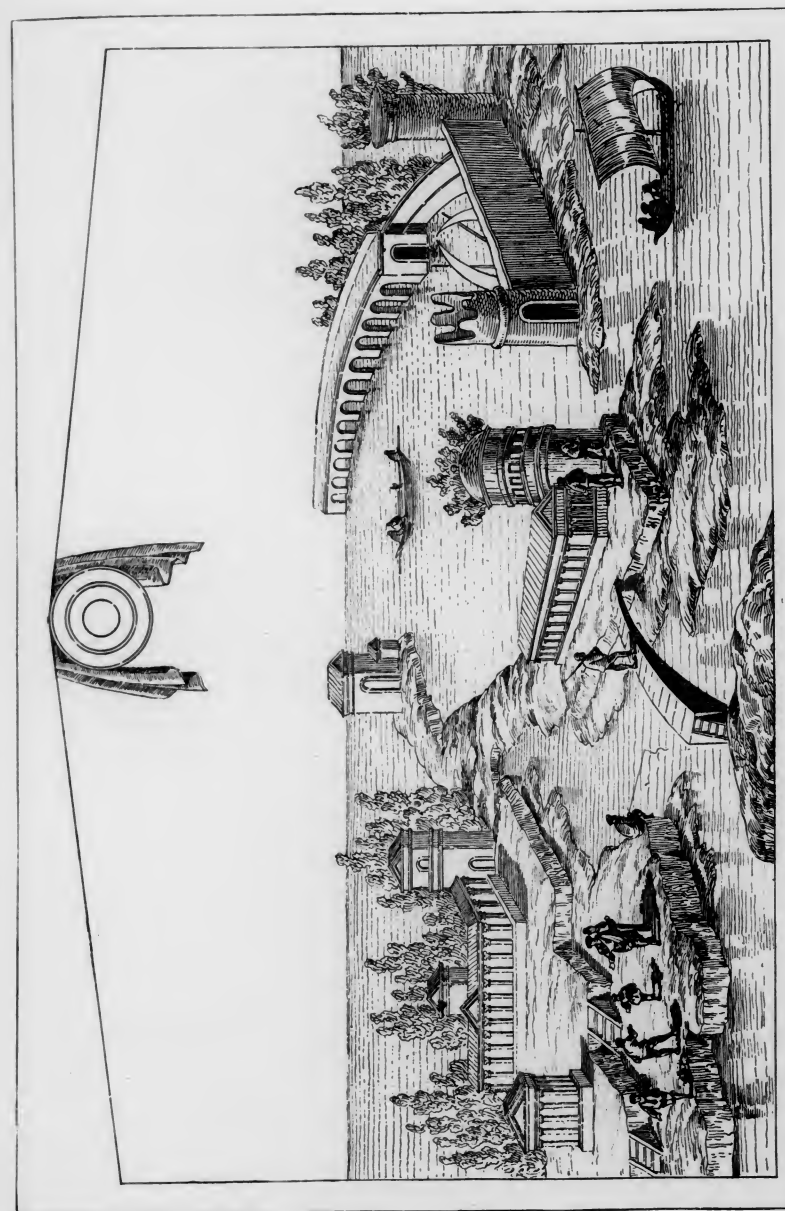
<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Pomp.*, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Kneeling archer. On the reverse, ΣΟΛΕΩΝ. Bunch of grapes in a square. Silver coin of Soli.

<sup>3</sup> Appian (*Bell. civ.*, ii. 18) calls him τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀντοκράτορα.

<sup>4</sup> ΑΔΑΝΕΩΝ ΑΥΞΑΝ ΕΥΜΑ. A Victory walking. Bronze coin of Adana.

<sup>5</sup> ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΕΤ(ΟΥ) ΣΚ. (year 206 of the era of Epiphania). Serapis seated; Cerberus before him. Reverse of a bronze coin, struck at Epiphania, in Cilicia.



A Port or Harbour.



Epiphania, and Mallus, also at Dyme in Achaia, and even in Calabria. Virgil, when a child, saw near Tarentum one of these pirates who had lived contentedly upon the land which Pompey had allotted to him.<sup>1</sup> Ninety days had sufficed to terminate this not very formidable war, brought to a happy issue by the moderation of the general, as much as by the rapidity of his movements. The Romans had recovered the Empire of the Mediterranean, and were able to call it *mare nostrum*. Piracy, however, had disappeared for a time only; never, even under the Emperors, was Rome able to suppress it completely. During the expedition of Gabinius into Egypt, the Syrian coasts were pillaged by numbers of freebooters; and even in our own time, those seas thickly sown with islands, promontories, and ports hidden at the base of mountains have been the last refuge of the Corsairs whom Christian nations have driven from the remotest corners of the ocean.

Metellus had been entrusted, before the passage of the *Gabinian law*, with the duty of taking Crete from the pirates. Although his command was an independent one, Pompey maintained that the other had lost the right of directing his campaign, and was but a lieutenant; and he sent an order to Metellus to suspend his operations. An officer sent by Pompey, Octavius, even came to the aid of the cities which Metellus was besieging. "He afflicted even his best friends," says Pompey's biographer, "by this unworthy jealousy, which made him regard any success obtained by others as so much stolen from his own glory." An injustice even more conspicuous had the effect of raising the nobles against him; he snatched from the hands of Lucullus the conquered Mithridates, that he might have the easy triumph of giving him the fatal blow.

<sup>1</sup> *Geor.*, iv. 125-148.

<sup>2</sup> The engraving (p. 801) is copied from a Pompeian picture. (Roux, *Hercul. et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th Series, pl. 28.) A wharf with open arches, letting the waves pass through while breaking their violence, and detaining the sands which they bring with them; the piles formed a shelter sufficient for vessels. We have here, perhaps, a specimen of a little harbour on the Neapolitan coast, which, constantly beaten by the south-west wind, had need of constructions of this kind.

## CHAPTER L.

## LAST WARS AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

I.—VICTORIES OF LUCULLUS OVER THE KINGS OF PONTUS AND  
ARMENIA (74—66).

AFTER his interview with Sylla at Dardanus, Mithridates had returned to his own country, where on every side revolts were breaking out. The people of Colchis desired one of his sons for king; he granted the request, but soon after caused the young man to be seized, loaded with golden chains, and decapitated. In the Cimmerian Bosphorus the cities refused him obedience; he gathered, to chastise them, an army which was so numerous that Murena, who had been left in Asia with the title of pro-prætor, and the command of Fimbria's two legions, feigned to believe himself menaced (83). He also felt a desire for battle, a victory, a triumph, and his soldiers clamoured for booty. He invaded Cappadocia, from which Mithridates had not yet withdrawn, and took the city of Comana, pillaging its famous temple. The king complained of this attack as an infraction of the treaty made

Jewel from the Cimmerian Bosphorus.<sup>1</sup>Coin of Comana.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pendant (half size) found in the tomb of a priestess of Demeter. (*Antiq. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. xix.)

<sup>2</sup> The goddess of Comana (Bellona) leaning on her shield and holding a club. Perhaps this piece belongs to the Pontic Comana. (Millingen, *Anc. Coins of Gr. Cities*, p. 67.)

with Sylla, and the pro-prætor replied that the treaty not having been written—which was true—he was not informed as to its provisions. He continued his advance and entered Pontus; but he was defeated, driven back across the Halys in disorder, and the Pontic army had already reached the frontier of the Roman province, when an envoy of the dictator arrived, to arrest hostilities and restore all things to their previous condition (81).

Sylla had had enough of war and military fame; he wished to end with peace, and for this purpose avoided whatever might cause a disturbance in the East. The same year (81), a Ptolemy, Alexander II., had bequeathed to the Romans two kingdoms, Egypt and Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> The dictator contented himself with claiming the money deposited at Tyre by the dead prince, and allowed the two illegitimate sons of Ptolemy VIII. (Lathyros) to divide the inheritance.

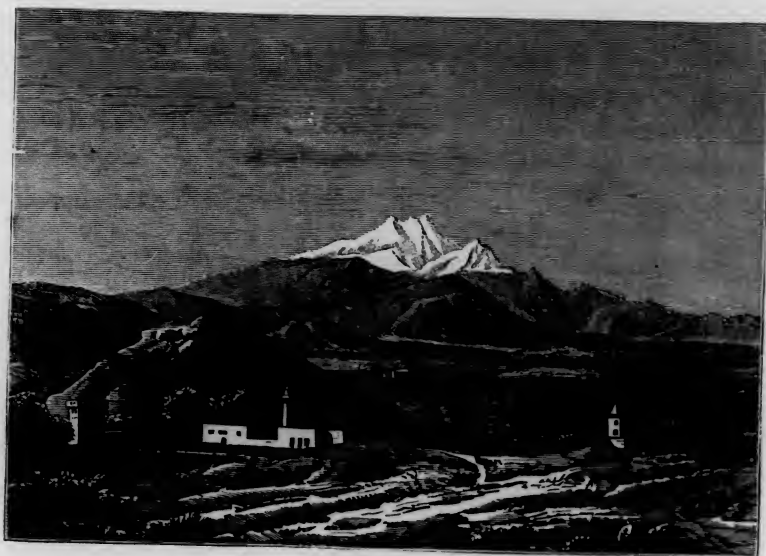
Mithridates also had need of peace to re-establish his authority. For several years he appeared to be exclusively occupied with subjugating anew the Cimmerian Bosphorus, whose government he entrusted to his son Machares, and with the conquest of the barbarous tribes between Colchis and the Palus Mæotis. But as soon as he received intelligence of Sylla's death, he at once incited Tigranes, the king of Armenia, to invade Cappadocia. This prince seized upon the Cappadocian capital, Mazaca, at the foot of Mount Argæus, and carried away 300,000 people from that kingdom to found his own new capital, Tigranocerta. The cession of Bithynia

Mount Argæus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 16. He adds, however: *Dicitur contra, nullum esse testamentum.* At Rome, the right of bequest being absolute, the art of obtaining a will in one's favour became a very fashionable pursuit. The senate did what the private individual did, and wills cleverly obtained, made Rome the heir of three kingdoms, Pergamean Asia, Bithynia, and the Cyrenaica. Alexander II., King of Egypt, was persuaded likewise, but Sylla was unwilling to lay claim to an inheritance which he must needs have conquered. The matter was allowed to rest, but it was not forgotten, for in 63 the tribune Rullus included in his agrarian law the lands of the royal domain in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ ΕΤ Ρ (year 100 of the city's era). Mt. Argæus above a temple; on the summit a statue, between a star and the crescent of the moon. Reverse of a bronze coin of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. Mount Argæus, a volcanic mass, high enough to have perpetual snow (according to Strabo), and whence it was said the Euxine and the sea of Cyprus could be seen, furnished two things rare in Cappadocia, wood and water. (See p. 806.)

to the Roman senate made by Nicomedes III. when dying (74), decided Mithridates to enter the field himself. Moreover the occasion seemed favourable. The best generals of Rome and nearly all her armies were occupied against Sertorius in Spain, or against the Dardanians (Servia) and the Thracians who were ravaging Macedon, and all the eastern peninsula,<sup>1</sup> with their predatory incursions; the sea was covered with pirates, and the Bithynians, whom the publicans had in a few months brought to

Mount Argæus.<sup>2</sup>

a condition of revolt, were calling the king of Pontus to their aid. He at once began immense preparations. All the barbarous tribes from the Caucasus to Mount Hæmus furnished him with auxiliaries, the Romans proscribed by Sylla drilled his troops, and we have related how Sertorius sent him officers.

Lucullus and M. Cotta were at this time consuls; the former

<sup>1</sup> Conquest of a part of Dalmatia and capture of Salone after two years' siege by the pro-consul G. Cesconius (78-77); laborious campaigns of Appius Claudius, governor of Macedon (78-76), and of G. Scribonius (75-73) against the Thracians and Dardanians; successful expeditions of M. Lucullus, brother of the conqueror of Mithridates, against the people of Thrace, the Balkans, and the right bank of the Danube, and subjugation of the Greek cities on the shore of the Euxine (72-71).

<sup>2</sup> Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie min.*, vol. ii. pl. 85.

aspired to the command of this war. Far from having spent in pleasures and study, as has been asserted, a youth without public service, for more than ten years Lucullus had been constantly in harness. In 90 he served in the Social war; in 88 he preceded Sylla into Greece as proquaestor, and coined in the Peloponnesus, with great integrity, all the money which the army wanted during the Pontic war.<sup>1</sup> This general had not the vessels which he needed to dispute the sea with the enemy's forces, and in the midst of countless dangers, Lucullus visited Crete and Cyrene,<sup>2</sup> Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, Cnidos, etc., passing through the pirate and royal fleets, which infested the eastern Mediterranean, in quest of vessels for a Roman fleet. He was successful; and also made an important diversion by encouraging the Greek cities of Asia in their revolt against Mithridates. At Chios and Colophon he aided the inhabitants to drive out their garrisons, and although later he allowed Mithridates, who was surrounded in Pitane, to make his escape, that he might not give

Coin of Rhodes.<sup>3</sup>

Fimbria the honour of ending the war, he twice defeated the king's fleets and opened to Sylla the road to Asia.<sup>4</sup> He used the greatest moderation in apportioning the war-tax of 20,000 talents. Many cities, however, still resisted, and in two engagements he dispersed the people of Mitylene and Elæa, finally returning to Rome just late enough to escape any complicity in the proscriptions. The dictator received him with the greatest distinction. Their tastes had much in common; both delighted to unite intellectual gratifications with the refinements of luxury, and Sylla left to Lucullus both the

Coin of Cos.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Lucull.*, 2. When Sylla had exacted from Asia a tax of 20,000 talents he again employed Lucullus in its coinage (*ibid.*, 4). On the Lucullan coinage and in general upon Roman coins struck in the provinces by the generals in virtue of their *imperium*, see Lenormant, *La Monnaie dans l'antiquité*, vol. ii. p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> From the work of Robert Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Coin of Rhodes with head of Bacchus, surrounded by rays like that of the sun, given p. 787.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Lucull.*, 3 and 4; Appian, *Mithrid.*, 52-3.

<sup>5</sup> *ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ*. Hippocrates seated. Bronze coin of Cos.



guardianship of his son and the duty of revising, before giving them to the world, the commentaries which he had written in Greek. Prætor in 77, and consul in 74, Lucullus, through re-



Captive Bithynia<sup>3</sup>

spect for the memory of Sylla, as much as through zeal for the aristocratic party, resisted the efforts of the tribune Quinctius, whom he ended, perhaps, by buying over.<sup>1</sup>

The Cisalpina had fallen by lot to him as consular province, while his colleague had received Bithynia. But the proconsul of Cilicia dying at this time Lucullus asked and obtained his province. This army, a little less than 32,000 men, was composed of raw recruits, and of Fimbria's veterans, who were twice rebels,<sup>2</sup> and habituated to extreme licence. Like Scipio and Paulus Æmilius, he began

with drilling his troops in order to restore discipline, and was marching upon Pontus, when he learned that Mithridates, having persuaded the republic of Heracleia to unite with him, had invaded Bithynia with 100,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 100 scythe-armed chariots, while a fleet of 400 sail, keeping along the coast

<sup>1</sup> Sall., *Hist. fragm.*: Ascon. in Cic., in *Cecilius*, 3; Plut., *Lucull.*, 5.

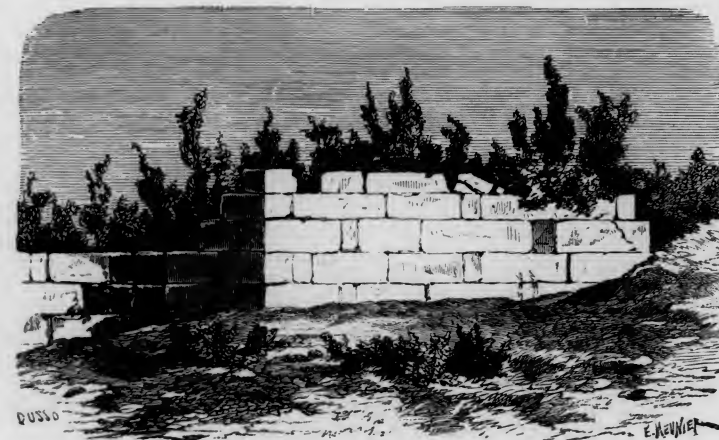
<sup>2</sup> They had mutinied against the proconsul Val. Flaccus and had abandoned Fimbria.

<sup>3</sup> Statue in the Blundell collection. (Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 768A, No. 1906A.)



Crete.

would co-operate with the land forces. Lucullus was further informed that all the publicans had been massacred by the inhabitants; and that Cotta, eager to fight, in order to secure to himself the honour of victory, had just suffered two defeats in the same day, one by land, the other by sea, and was now closely blockaded in Chalcedon. The officers of Lucullus urged him to throw himself upon Cappadocia and Pontus, now left defenceless. "I had rather," said the general, "save one citizen from the enemy, than make easy conquest of spoils; besides, it

Coin of Heracleia in Bithynia.<sup>1</sup>Cyzicus: Remains of Walls. (Perrot, *Expl. de la Galatie*.)

would be leaving the object of the chase and going to the empty lair." And he marched to the relief of the besieged. But at sight of the immense number of the king's troops, he deemed it prudent not to engage in a general action, and posted himself where he could cut off the supplies.

In ancient times, even more than at present, it was an extremely difficult problem to supply large masses of men with provisions.<sup>2</sup> The Romans knew how to solve it with considerable skill: to the

<sup>1</sup> Head of Bacchus with a bunch of grapes behind it. On the reverse, TIMOΘEOY ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ; Hercules erecting a trophy. Silver coin of Timotheos and Dionysios, kings of Heracleia in Bithynia.

<sup>2</sup> [And yet ancient historians are always telling us of vast hosts in actions!—Ed].

barbarians it was not at all a subject of forethought. Lucullus planned his campaign with this idea in view: to keep his own little army in provisions, and to prevent the king's forces from obtaining supplies.

In the mountainous peninsula, on which Chalcedon is situated, Mithridates soon found himself destitute of food. To obtain it he extended his lines to the westward, into Mysia, and made an attempt to surprise Cyzicus. Lucullus followed him, and encamping in a favourable position in the rear of the royal army,



Coin of Dejotarus.<sup>1</sup>

blocked the roads, and waited for famine to give him the advantage over this multitude. The city was strong, it was devoted to the Romans, and a few troops thrown in by Lucullus, together with the sight of his camp, visible from the walls, sustained the courage of the inhabitants. The season was also in their favour; it was winter, and a violent tempest destroyed in a day all the king's works. After eating everything that their camp could furnish, even to the dead bodies of their prisoners, the besieging force was decimated by pestilence and famine. A large detachment sent out by Mithridates to obtain food was surprised at the passage of the Rhyndacus, and lost 15,000 men.<sup>2</sup> One of his lieutenants, Eumachos, who was to cut off the Roman communications, was also defeated in Phrygia by the Galatian prince, Dejotarus. Between the immovable camp, and the impregnable city, Mithridates saw his vast army melt away, while he could not bring it into action, and he decided to escape to his fleet, leaving the land forces to get out of the enemy's hands as best they could. The army retreated towards the Æsepus and the Granicus, and these rivers, swollen by the rains, arrested their flight. The Romans came up with them and killed the larger number, while the rest escaped to Lampsacus. A few of the royal vessels were yet cruising



Coin of Sinope.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΕΙΟΤΑΡΟΥ (of the King Dejotarus). An eagle between two caps of the Dioscuri. Bronze coin of Dejotarus, King of Galatia.

<sup>2</sup> In speaking of this engagement Sallust said in his great *History*, now lost, that there for the first time camels were seen by the Romans. Plutarch answers him (*Lucullus*, 11) that they had seen them a century before this at the battle of Magnesia.

<sup>3</sup> ΣΙΝΟΠΙΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΤ. Eagle upon a fish. Silver coin of Sinope.

in the Propontis and on the coast of the Troad, and Lucullus, arming galleys, pursued and sunk them. In one of these encounters, he captured Varius, the agent of Sertorius, and put him to an ignominious death (73). The captives were so numerous that in one of the Roman camps, a slave could be brought for four drachmæ.

Meanwhile Mithridates was fleeing in the direction of the Euxine. An officer to whom the proconsul had entrusted the duty of closing the Thracian Bosphorus forgot himself in the celebration of festivities and in securing his initiation into the Samothracian



Galatia (Hassan-Ochlan).<sup>1</sup>

mysteries. When the king arrived at the entrance of the strait the passage was unguarded; tempests however wrecked all his vessels, and it was on board a pirate ship that he finally arrived at Pontic Heracleia. Thence he made his way to Sinope and Amisus, and sent to his son Machares, and Tigranes, his son-in-law, entreating them to furnish him assistance promptly. Diocles, whom he sent with great sums of money to the Scythians, went over to the Romans instead.

Lucullus, leaving Cotta to subjugate those Bithynian cities

<sup>1</sup> Bas-relief sculptured on a rock (a king upon his throne). (Perrot, *Explor. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc., pl. xii.)



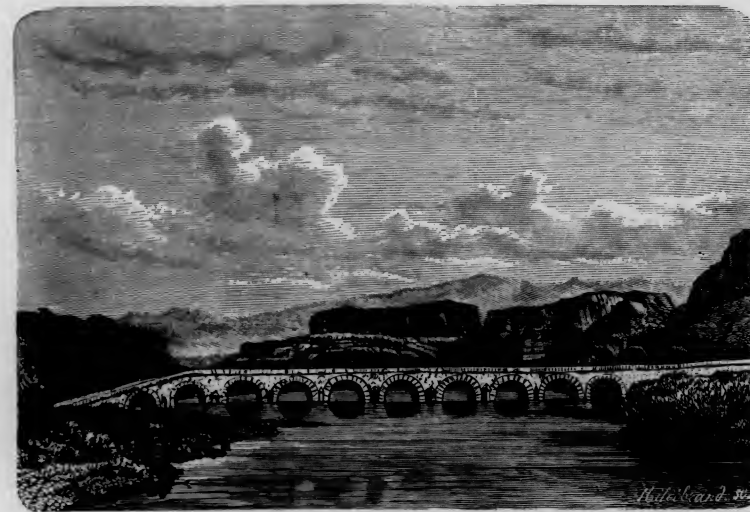
which still held out, crossed the Halys, the principal river of Asia Minor, and penetrated into Pontus; 30,000 Galatians followed him, bearing provisions for his army. With the design of drawing the king into a battle before the arrival of the expected reinforcements, the proconsul ravaged the country and remained for a long time, notwithstanding the murmurs of his troops, besieging Amisus (73—72). In the spring, on hearing that Mithridates had collected 44,000 men at Cabira, near the head waters of the Halys, in the mountains which separate Pontus from Armenia, Lucullus went in search of him with three legions. A traitor revealed to him the paths leading to the royal camp, but the Pontic cavalry at first repulsed the Roman attack, and Lucullus narrowly escaped being assassinated by a Seythian chief who had come over to the Romans as a deserter. When, however, he had examined the position he resumed the tactics which had so well served him before Cyzicus, and by a great number of small combats hemmed in and starved his enemy. Mithridates was already meditating a retreat when a panic suddenly seized his troops, and the king only made his escape by scattering his treasures along the way, thus arresting the pursuit.

Before crossing the frontier of Armenia, whither he was going to seek shelter with Tigranes, the despot remembered that he had left his sisters and his wives behind him, and he sent one of his eunuchs to them to bear them the order of death. One of his sisters took the poison offered them, cursing her brother, while the other commended him that in his own danger he had been mindful that they should go out of the world without disgrace. The most beloved of his wives, that beautiful Monima, who, fifteen years before, had exchanged the freedom and elegance of Greek life for the servitude of the harem, sought to strangle herself with the string of the diadem she wore upon her head, but it was not strong enough, and broke, upon which she trampled it under foot, exclaiming, "O wretched diadem that will not help me even in this small matter!" and fell upon the eunuch's sword.

After the victory of Cabira, Lucullus advanced almost to Colchis, but some places still held out behind them, among others Amisus, defended by the engineer Callimachus, and Heracleia, which detained the proconsul Cotta for two years. Those Greek

cities, surrounded as they were by barbarians, were fortified with a skill over which the military science of the time could not triumph, and the sea remaining open to them, they had no fear of famine. When, however, they saw no hope of succour they surrendered. After regulating the affairs of Pontus and negotiating with Machares, who was not ashamed to send a golden wreath to the conqueror of his father, Lucullus returned to pass the winter at Ephesus.

The province had need of his presence, devoured, as it was,



Bridge of Thock-Geuza, on the Halys.<sup>1</sup>

by publicans and usurers. It had not yet been able to complete the payment of the war-tax imposed by Sylla, or, rather, it had, indeed, paid it six times over by the accumulation of interest and the exactions of the revenue-farmers. The desolation was widespread, and when Lucullus had fixed the legal rate of interest at 1 per cent. a month, and forbidden the exaction of compound interest, when also he had limited the right of the creditor over the income of the debtor to one-fourth, the blessings of the people prevented him from hearing the complaints of the publicans. We

<sup>1</sup> The date of construction of this bridge, on the main road from Cappadocia to Pontus, is at present unknown. The illustration is from Texier, *Descript. de l'Asie mineure*, vol. ii. pl. 84.

shall see that he soon paid dearly for this wise and generous conduct.

Some months before this he had sent his brother-in-law, Appius Clodius,<sup>1</sup> to claim from Tigranes the extradition of Mithridates. Tigranes, master of Armenia, conqueror of the Parthians, whom he had driven back into the depths of Asia, and of Syria, whence the Seleucidae had disgracefully disappeared, was at this time the most powerful monarch of the East. He held all the military and commercial roads of Anterior Asia; by Media, Atropatene and the upper valleys of Euphrates and Tigris commanding



Tigranes, King of Armenia.<sup>2</sup>

the southern roads, and by Syria, eastern Cilicia, and a part of Cappadocia, those of the west. Whichever side he raised his war-cry he was able to hurl down from the Armenian plateau countless hosts which nothing seemed able to resist. A crowd of famous chiefs lived at his court as slaves; when he went out four kings ran before his chariot. He had compelled the Parthians to allow him to take the title of king of kings, or suzerain of all the Asiatic princes. Mithridates had not recognized this supremacy in the time of his own prosperity, and hence he had obtained from Tigranes little assistance in the last wars against Rome, and had been coldly received when he came to seek shelter in Armenia. The embassy of Clodius changed completely the intentions of Tigranes. The Roman had been obliged to go into Syria, where the king was at the time, and he had been detained at Antioch under pretext that Tigranes was completing the subjugation of Phœnicia. After the custom of eastern courts, the delay had been intentional, with the view of giving the ambassador a profound sense of the power of the Armenian monarch, and, at the same time, of manifesting the indifference of the king of kings towards Rome. Clodius had, however, profited by the delay in forming intrigues with the chiefs and cities of this region; the king of Gordyene promised to take

<sup>1</sup> This man was a member of the *gens Claudia*, but the name is habitually written *Clodius*. Other members of this family also wrote the name in the same way. (Orelli, 579.)

<sup>2</sup> Head of Tigranes, King of Armenia, wearing the tiara. From a tetradrachm. This coin, probably struck in Syria, bears on the reverse a Greek inscription.

the field as soon as Lucullus should appear, a promise which afterwards caused the murder of the whole of that royal race. When the interview finally took place, Clodius declared briefly that he had come either to obtain Mithridates or to declare war: Tigranes had never before heard language so direct and haughty; he replied that he accepted war, and summoning Mithridates, who had not hitherto been admitted to his presence, he promised him 10,000 men as an escort to his kingdom, whilst he himself should put all his forces upon a war-footing. He thus repeated the error which had ruined Philip and Antiochus. While Mithridates was fighting with the Romans in Asia, Tigranes was far away in Phœnicia; now that Mithridates was a fugitive, Tigranes was ready to enter the lists (70).

Lucullus was not at all alarmed at this struggle which he had brought on. He left 6,000 men to defend Pontus, and took with him only 3,000 horse and 12,000 foot, old soldiers of the Fimbrian legions, who reluctantly followed a general always the protector of the native populations against rapacity (69). He made his way towards the provinces of the Euphrates recently conquered by Tigranes, where the people, many of whom were Greeks, with horror found themselves subjected to a prince who required servile obedience. The understanding which Clodius had established with many of the inhabitants of this region was useful to Lucullus, who passed the Euphrates and Tigris unmolested, causing his troops everywhere to observe the strictest discipline. Tigranes could not believe in such audacity; the first messenger who told him the approach of the legions atoned for his information with his life. The advance guard of the legions was able to disperse the first force sent against them. The king, at last uneasy, fled in all haste from his capital, and withdrew into the mountains lying between the head-waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, where he gathered around his standards soldiers from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

When he had thus collected about him [according to the historians] more than 250,000 men, and received intelligence that Lucullus was besieging the Armenian capital with an army which seemed to the king a mere escort, he scorned the advice of Mithridates to starve out his adversary, and hastened to give him

battle. So soon as the army of Tigranes appeared, crowning the heights whence Tigranocerta is visible, Lucullus, leaving under command of Murena 6,000 men to prevent a sortie from the town, advanced, with 11,000 men and some cavalry, to meet the king. "If they come as envoys," said Tigranes, "they are

Lucullus.<sup>1</sup>

numerous; if as enemies, they are very few." The Roman general, who manifested in this war as much boldness as he had shown prudence and slowness in his campaigns against the king of Pontus, began the attack. Tigranes was the first to flee; his tiara and diadem fell into the hands of the enemy. Lucullus asserted that he had only five men killed and 100 wounded, and [of course]

<sup>1</sup> Bust, said to be of Lucullus, in the Museum of the Hermitage. In the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, New Series, vol. viii. Nos. 1 and 2, E. Schultze has maintained the authenticity of this bust.

estimated the barbarian losses at 100,000 (6 Oct., 69). A revolt of the Greek inhabitants of Tigranocerta facilitated an assault upon the town, and the legionaries found in it, not to speak of other booty, 8,000 talents of coined gold, and received from their general 800 drachmæ apiece. Never was an easy victory more richly rewarded.<sup>1</sup>

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, receiving the alliance of all the neighbouring princes, and soliciting that of Phraates, king of the Parthians. This prince was seeking to obtain Mesopotamia from Tigranes, and he had many humiliations of his house to avenge upon the Armenians; but, on the other hand, Tigranes showed him that all the thrones of the East were alike menaced by the victories of the legions. A Roman deputy found him undecided between the two parties. Lucullus would not permit this neutrality, and ordered his lieutenants in Pontus to bring him their forces. He had such a contempt for these kings that he felt no hesitation about going forward into the heart of Asia and attacking a third empire. But his officers and soldiers, who had become too rich to be willing to incur further dangers, refused to follow him, and he was obliged to content himself with only completing the defeat of the king of Armenia. The army of the Armenian king, reconstructed by Mithridates, and composed only of the best troops, had lately reappeared in the neighbourhood of Lucullus, refusing to fight and seeking to intercept his supplies. In order to bring on an action, Lucullus marched upon Artaxata, the real capital of Armenia,<sup>2</sup> where were the wives and children and the treasures of the king. Upon this Tigranes followed him, and to save his second capital, gave battle. The result was the same as in the preceding year (68).

Phraates III.<sup>2</sup>

Artaxata, built, it is said, by Hannibal, stood on the shores of the Araxes, to the north-east of Mount Ararat, a lofty mountain whose peak, 15,000 feet high, is covered with perpetual snow.

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of Tigranocerta have been sought at Sert, upon the Chabûr, at Mejafarkin, and at Amid or Amadiâh. (Cf. S. Martin, *Mem. sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 173; Ritter, *die Erdkunde*, vol. x. p. 87.)

<sup>2</sup> From a silver coin of this prince, who was also called Arsaces XII., and surnamed Theos.

<sup>3</sup> Ruins called Lake Tiridates, the Throne of Tiridates, near the meeting of the Aras and the Zengue, are regarded as marking the site of Artaxata.



When the winds which sweep these icy summits reach the valleys below they bring with them a sudden winter, and at this time deep snow arrested the Roman army in their pursuit. The soldiers refused to remain in this rigorous climate, and Lucullus, abandoning the siege of Artaxata, retreated towards the south into Mygdonia, and took by assault Nisibis (67). This was the limit of his successes.

He had not understood the art, which Scipio and Sylla practised, of softening by affable manners the rigour of his authority, and his soldiers could not forgive him for keeping them eight years constantly in camp, and having at their expense spared the cities with which he had made terms, instead of taking them by violence, which would have authorized their subsequent pillage. His brother-in-law, Clodius, a young noble, full of criminal audacity, encouraged the soldiers by seditious language; "they were only the muleteers of Lucullus," he said, "serving to escort his treasures, and while he, for his own advantage, pillaged the palaces of Tigranes, they were forced to spare those whom the rights of victory gave into their hands." At Rome, Lucullus had other enemies, the publicans, those harpies devouring the substance of the nations, who by his regulation had been arrested in their career of rapine. Since he had command in Asia the province had rallied; in four years all the debts and mortgages had been paid off. But he forgot both Rutilius and that permanent conspiracy of which Cicero speaks, formed by the knights against those who repressed their avidity. Once more enjoying supreme power through Pompey's measures, they made haste to be revenged upon the man who was compelling them to justice and moderation. While the army of Lucullus held its general in forced inaction, the publicans, supported by the ex-tribune Quinctius, at that time prætor, took from him his command, and caused a decree to be passed disbanding a portion of his army (67).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Thus ended one of the most brilliant campaigns ever conducted by a Roman general, and one which places Lucullus in the highest rank for ability and resource. This sort of energetic and cultivated sybarite, who bears a certain family likeness to Sylla and to Cæsar, is only produced by a luxurious and long dominant aristocracy.—*Ed.*]

## II.—POMPEY SUCCEEDS LUCULLUS IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF ASIA (66).

Mithridates and Tigranes, profiting by these misunderstandings, returned into their kingdoms; the king of Pontus even defeated a lieutenant, killing 7,000 men, 150 centurions, and twenty-four tribunes (67). Another would have shared the same fate had not Mithridates been wounded in the combat by a deserter. The arrival of Lucullus, who had at last succeeded in winning over his soldiers by making them ashamed of abandoning their comrades, drove back the king into Lesser Armenia; but they would not follow him there. In vain their general entreated them; there were other masters than he in his camp; they told him to go and find the enemy himself if he wanted to fight, and consented to remain under his command until the end of summer only on condition of remaining in camp.

Meanwhile the two kings had again assumed the offensive; Cappadocia was invaded, the Romans driven from Pontus, a pro-consul, Glabrio, put to flight and pursued as far as Bithynia. When the commissioners arrived charged by the senate with the organization into provinces of the new conquests, everything seemed again undone. In reality, by the carelessness of the government, which during eight years had neglected those who were fighting its battles in distant parts of the empire, the grandest campaigns that a Roman general had yet conducted, the most astounding victories the legions had as yet won, were rendered useless, and in the spring of 66 the situation was as difficult as it had been in 74. But they had ascertained the worth of these Asiatic hordes and knew of a certainty that they could terminate the war at any moment they set themselves in earnest to do so.<sup>1</sup>

Pompey, who had just brought his campaign against the pirates to an end, was at the head of a considerable force in

<sup>1</sup> [Yet this was perhaps what misled Crassus and caused his defeat and death in the Parthian war twenty years later.—*Ed.*]

Cilicia. For a long time his friends at Rome had intended him to have command of this war. The tribune Manilius formally proposed sending him against Tigranes and Mithridates with unlimited power over the army, the fleet, and the provinces of Asia. The senate rejected this bill, which perpetuated the regal authority of a deserter from the party of nobles; but the stubbornness of the people and the knights foreboded a fresh defeat if they persisted; they chose rather to renounce the right that Sylla had granted them of preliminary examination of legislative measures. Catulus alone protested at length against the *rogation*, and when he saw that the people merely listened without being impressed, he exclaimed: "Since it is so, it only remains for you to seek some Tarpeian rock or Sacred Mountain whither you can fly and retain your liberty." Till lately the dictatorship had come from the nobility, now it came from the people—an obvious indication that both sides were prepared for servitude. The rogation was supported by Cæsar and by Cicero, who delivered on this occasion his first public address, and passed without opposition. Manilius had taken care before the voting to distribute the freedmen amongst the thirty-five tribes. Sylla's former lieutenant went even so far as to seek support which the Gracchi would have scorned.

On receiving the news Pompey hypocritically railed against fortune which had overwhelmed him with labour and denied him the peaceful existence of an obscure citizen. His actions soon belied his words; he hastened to appear in his new command, multiplying edicts, calling to him all the troops and allies, and taking care to humiliate Lucullus by rescinding all his acts. The two generals met in Galatia;

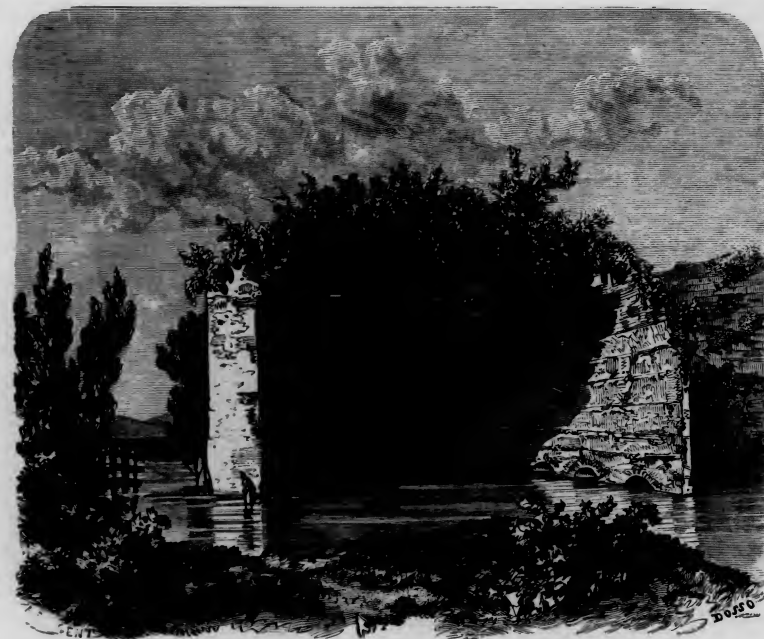


Lucullus Triumphant.

the interview commenced with the customary compliments, but ended with mutual insults. "Like the dull and cowardly bird of prey which tracks the hunter by the smell of the offal, Pompey," said Lucullus, "comes down upon the carcase slain by others, and reaps the reward of their sufferings." Mutual friends separated them (66). When Lucullus set out for Italy his rival permitted him to take with him only 1,600 men to celebrate his triumph,

and for three years he succeeded in hindering him from obtaining even this honour.

Irritated at the injustice of the people and the weakness of the senate, which had abandoned him, Lucullus withdrew from a government whose inevitable downfall he could foresee, and went to enjoy in his villas the immense wealth he had brought from the spoils of Asia. His luxury and magnificence earned for him the

Temple of Mercury on the Bay of Naples.<sup>1</sup>

surname of the "Roman Xerxes."<sup>2</sup> His gardens, says Plutarch, are still considered to be amongst the most beautiful in the imperial domain. He had constructed near Naples enormous subterranean canals through which the sea flowed so as to form a reservoir for fish. At Tusculum they admired his palaces, fitted up as summer and winter residences, with their large saloons, broad terraces, and delightful views. Each apartment had its peculiar

<sup>1</sup> *Voyage pittoresque de Naples et Sicile*, vol. i. part ii. p. 212 (Paris, 1782).

<sup>2</sup> Vell. Paterc., ii. 23. See in Plutarch (*Lucull.*, 39-41) the oft-repeated anecdotes respecting his suppers, his buildings, his fish ponds, of which Varro also speaks.

furniture and special attendance. Cicero and a friend, wishing one day to take him by surprise, asked for an invitation to dinner, on condition that he would make no special preparation. He merely said to his servant: "We will sup in the hall of Apollo," and his two guests were served with a most sumptuous feast, since in this hall the cost was never to be less than 50,000 drachmæ. The enlightened support which he gave to literature claims indulgence for this indolence and luxury, which, in the midst of so much corruption was no longer a disgrace.<sup>1</sup>

Lucullus had only a small army and a few ships; Pompey had 60,000 men and an enormous fleet, with which he encircled the whole of Asia Minor from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus. Mithridates, still at the head of 32,000 men, but weary of this incessant struggle, asked the new general on what terms peace would be granted to him. "Trust yourself to the generosity of the Roman people," the proconsul replied. Mithridates had too much courage to end like Perseus after fighting like Hannibal. "Very well!" said he, "we will fight to the last!" and swore never to make peace with Rome. Pompey had already marched as far as Lesser Armenia. In his first encounter, a night engagement on the banks of the Lycus, the Pontic army was destroyed, and Mithridates escaped with only two horsemen and one of his wives, who, attired as a man, followed him everywhere and fought by his side. Arriving at one of his strongholds he distributed to those who had rejoined him all his money and some poison, that each might hold in his own hand his liberty and life. Having taken these precautions he wished to fly to Tigranes, but this prince had put a price upon his head, so he went back towards the source of the Euphrates and reached Colchis, where he wintered. Upon the field of battle Pompey founded Nicopolis, the city of victory.

In the despotic courts of the East the prince is neither a husband nor a father. Tigranes, rendered suspicious and cruel through his reverses, had caused the death of two of his sons; the third revolted, perhaps at the instigation of Mithridates, and sought shelter among the Parthians. Phraates had at last

<sup>1</sup> He collected a valuable library, which he opened to the public, and he was constantly surrounded by men of letters. (Plut., *Lucull.*, 59.) He died some time before the breaking out of the next Civil war.

come to the conclusion that it was time to look for a share of the spoil of his neighbour, and had just completed a treaty of alliance with Pompey. The young Tigranes afforded him the opportunity of making a useful diversion; Phraates gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and took him back with an army into his father's kingdom. The old king withdrew at first to the mountains, leaving the two princes to waste their time and strength before the walls of Artaxata. Phraates was the first to tire; he returned to his country, fearing lest too prolonged an absence should excite disturbances. The young Tigranes was conquered by his father and compelled to take shelter in the Roman camp. Pompey set out for Artaxata, and had not proceeded more than fifteen miles when the envoys of Tigranes met him, and shortly the king himself. At the entrance to the camp a licitor made Tigranes dismount, who, as soon as he saw Pompey, took off his diadem and wished to prostrate himself before him. Pompey prevented him, made Tigranes sit beside him and offered him peace on condition that he renounced his claims on Syria and Asia Minor, that he would pay 6,000 talents and recognize his son as king in Sophene; thus here, too, the old policy of the senate was applied. Tigranes thus enfeebled, but not subdued, was not powerful enough to be formidable, but sufficiently so to hold in check the king of Parthia, whose conduct had for a long time been equivocal. This new vassal was then to do police duty for Rome in Upper Asia as in former times Eumenes had done in Asia Minor, *reges . . . . vetus servitutis instrumentum*.

Tigranes had expected greater severity; in his joy he promised the Roman troops a bounty of fifty drachmæ per man, 1,000 for a centurion, and a talent for a tribune. But his son, who had hoped to succeed to his crown, could not conceal his disappointment; his secret intrigues with the Parthian and Armenian nobles having been discovered, Pompey, in defiance of the law of nations, and although he was his guest, loaded him with chains and reserved him for his triumph.

Some troops had been left in Armenia to watch over the movements of the Parthians, who had just reminded Pompey that the boundary of the two empires was to be the Euphrates. With the remainder of the army divided into three corps, Pompey



wintered on the banks of the Cyrus. He intended going in the spring in search of Mithridates as far as the Caucasus, that he might boast of having borne the Roman eagles from the heart of Spain and Africa to the uttermost end of the habitable world, even to the rocks upon which Jupiter had bound Prometheus.<sup>1</sup>

Albania is bounded on the south by the Cyrus. In the middle of December 40,000 men crossed the river in the hope of surprising the camps; everywhere they were repulsed, and Pompey himself passing over the Cyrus on the return of the open weather (65), after traversing Albania, penetrated among the Iberians, a people who neither the Persians nor Alexander had subdued. Pompey



Scythian Amazon.<sup>2</sup>

had left behind him the historic grounds of the Roman republic to enter the land of fable.

Then he reached the Phasis, at whose mouth was one of his lieutenants in charge of the Pontic fleet, when a revolt of the Albanians brought him back. He subdued them and meant to reach the Caspian Sea; a lack of guides, the difficulties of the country, and the news of an attempt of the Parthians upon Gordyene brought him back into Armenia, when he established himself in Amisus, where, during the winter, he held his court with all the barbaric splendour of an Oriental potentate. Surrounded

<sup>1</sup> App., *Mithrid.*, 103. Pompey, accompanied by the Greek, Theophanes, sought in good faith for the rock where Æschylus lays the scene of his tragedy.

<sup>2</sup> From a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Capitol.

by Asiatic chiefs and ambassadors from all the kings, he distributed commands and provinces, granted or denied the alliance of Rome, treated with the Medes and the Elymæans, who were rivals of Parthia, and refused to Phraates the title of "king of kings." Mithridates was driven back into wild regions where he was forgotten, and the fortunate proconsul, not very desirous of risking his fame against the barbarians of the northern shores of the Euxine, was already dreaming of other and easier victories. He had almost reached the Caucasus and the Hyrcanian Sea; it was now his wish to go to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, taking possession on his way of Syria, which Tigranes had abandoned.



Antiochus XIII.  
Asiaticus.<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 64, after organizing Pontus into a province as if Mithridates had been already dead, and leaving a fleet to



Coin of Alexander Jannæus.<sup>2</sup>



Coin of Ptolemais.<sup>3</sup>



Coin of Ascalon.<sup>4</sup>

cruise in the Euxine, he crossed the Taurus. Syria was in the most deplorable condition. Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus,<sup>5</sup> whom Lucullus had recognized as king, had not been able to establish his authority; a crowd of petty tyrants divided his cities among themselves, and the Ituræans and Arabs pillaged the country. Pompey, who was determined, notwithstanding the sibyl, to make the Euphrates the frontier of the Republic, reduced Syria and Phœnicia to a province, and only left Commagene to Antiochus, Chalcidice to a Ptolemy, and Osrhoene to an Arab chief, with the

<sup>1</sup> From a coin.

<sup>2</sup> Jehonathan Hammelek (in Samaritan), within the spokes of an eight-rayed wheel. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ around an anchor. Coin of bronze of Alexander Jannæus.

<sup>3</sup> COL(onia) PTOL(emais), turret-crowned woman (the city of Ptolemais) seated on rocks, holding ears of corn; at her feet a flowing river. Bronze coin of Ptolemais, struck under Hadrian.

<sup>4</sup> Turreted female head. On the reverse, A C, and a vessel. Bronze coin of Ascalon.

<sup>5</sup> This Antiochus was the seventeenth of the Seleucid kings, who had for two centuries and a half reigned over Syria.

design that these provinces, being dependent on Rome, should guard for her the banks of the great river at the only place where the Parthians could cross. In the interior of Syria the Ituræans (Druses), who possessed many castles in Mount Lebanon, were reduced by a severe chastisement.

In Palestine the Maccabees had gloriously reconquered the independence of the Hebrew people, and since the year 107 one of



Petra (Tomb), called that of Absalom.<sup>1</sup>

their race, Aristobulus, had held the title of king of the Jews. With this designation the new dynasty had also assumed the manners and cruelty of the princes of the time; Aristobulus had killed his mother, and at the instigation of queen Salome had

<sup>1</sup> Photograph taken by the Duc de Luynes in his journey in the East, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, near Jerusalem.

caused his brother Antigonus to be assassinated. Under his successor, Alexander Jannæus, the new kingdom extended from Mount Carmel to the Egyptian frontier, and from the Lake of Gennesaret to the land of the Nabathæans (Petra); Ptolemais (Acre) and Ascalon alone on the Mediterranean shore remained free. But after



Ruins of the Palace of John Hyrcanus.<sup>1</sup>

his time (69) six years of civil war cost the lives of 50,000 Jews, and the disputes of the Pharisees and Sadducees shook the State to its foundations. The former, occupied especially with the law and with religious observances, the latter with the aggrandizement of the nation, formed two hostile factions.<sup>2</sup> The Pharisees were influential with the regent Alexandra, widow of Jannæus, and committed horrible excesses, as parties at once political and

<sup>1</sup> Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, monographie du Haram-ech-cherif*, pl. xxxiv. (Araq-el-Emir).

<sup>2</sup> The Pharisees have had until now a very bad name, but M. Cohen (*Pharisiens*, 2 vols., 1877) has undertaken their defence. The Pharisees of the New Testament were merely the enthusiasts or the hypocrites of the party.

religious are apt to do when they have the power. A second civil war between the two sons of Alexander, the weak Hyrcanus II. and the energetic Aristobulus, brought about fresh complications. Hyrcanus was expelled from the throne, but the Pharisees called in foreign aid; they promised the king of the Nabathæan Arabs to restore to him the conquests of Jannæus, and Aretas came with 50,000 men to besiege Aristobulus in Jerusalem.

One of Pompey's quæstors, Æmilius Scaurus, was at this time at Damascus; both rivals offered 400 talents for his assistance.



Denarius representing Aristobulus.<sup>1</sup>

Hyrcanus had already promised a large sum to the Nabathæan chief, and could only furnish the money after a victory; Aristobulus could pay it at once, and Scaurus took sides with him, writing to Aretas that unless he at once withdrew he would be declared an enemy to the Roman people. The Arab king yielded

(64). When Pompey arrived he proposed to examine into the matter himself, and cited the two brothers to appear before him at Damascus (64—3). Aristobulus tried with the general the method that had served him so well with the lieutenant; sending



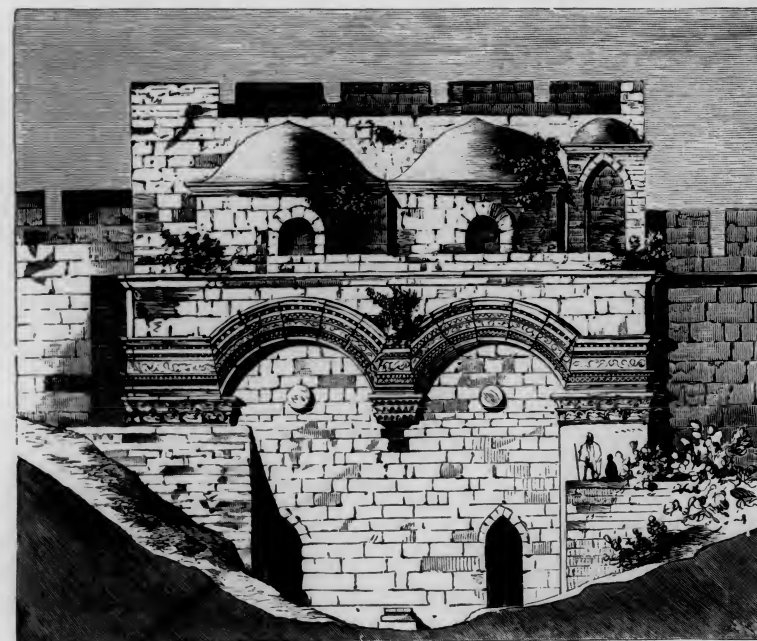
Nabathæan Coin.<sup>2</sup>

to Pompey a golden vine of the value of 500 talents and of the most exquisite workmanship; this time, however, without gaining his cause. Pompey, who wished to go as far as Jerusalem, which no Roman general had ever yet entered, sent away the two competitors, and postponed his decision in their case until he should have chastised the Nabathæans. This impartiality was not what had been expected by Aristobulus. He retired to his castles, and a few days after consented to give them up; he levied troops, then disbanded them; and finally threw himself into Jerusalem, whence Pompey enticed him under pretext of a conference. The partisans of Hyrcanus opened the gates of the city to the proconsul, who besieged the party of Aristobulus in the

<sup>1</sup> BACCHIVS IVDAEVS. The Aristobulus of the Greeks was named Bakkhi; the Romans, believing that the name was derived from Bacchus, called him Bacchius. The Jewish prince, indicated by the presence of the camel, the animal used for riding in his country, kneeling, offers an olive branch to his conqueror. (Note by M. de Saulcy.) Reverse of a silver coin of the Plautian family.

<sup>2</sup> Veiled head of the wife of Aretas, with the legend, *Koulda, queen of Nabath, year*. . . . The date is uncertain. (M. de Saulcy.) Silver coin of the Nabathæan kings.

temple for three months. A final assault, in which Cornelius Sylla, the son of the dictator, was the first to scale the wall, at last gave the Romans the place. No quarter was given, and 12,000 Jews lay dead around their sanctuary; during the massacre the priests continued to officiate at the altar without neglecting a single detail of the ritual<sup>1</sup> until their blood was mingled with that



Golden Gate of the Temple at Jerusalem (Western Façade).<sup>2</sup>

of the sacrifices. Pompey entered into the Holy of Holies, where the high priest alone entered once a year, but he respected the sacred vessels and even the treasures of the temple, valued at 2,000 talents. Hyrcanus, re-established in the high priesthood, on condition of renouncing the title of king and the diadem, was further required to pay an annual tribute and to restore to Syria the conquests made by the Maccabees, together with the maritime

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 4, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, pl. viii.



cities, Joppa, Gaza, and others; this was, so to speak, a military road into Egypt, which Pompey thus opened to the legions.<sup>1</sup> Judæa, it is true, was not united to the Roman province, but it was left to fall into that condition of demi-servitude through

Coin of Scaurus.<sup>2</sup>

which Rome caused nations to pass who had not yet completely lost their patriotism. The Pharisees, therefore, had gained their cause; Jewish royalty was now a mere shadow, and of the glorious achievements of the Maccabees nothing was left. The Nabathæans had been pursued by Pompey's lieutenant, M. Scaurus, but he could not reach Petra, protected by frightful deserts.

Coin of Aretas.<sup>3</sup>

Aretas tried to retain Damascus, whose inhabitants had appealed to him to protect their trading interests, but Damascus was within Roman reach; Aretas, therefore, bought a peace, so that Pompey was enabled to reckon him in the list of conquered kings.

During these operations fortune was at work for Pompey in the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Mithridates, who had been believed dead or else a hopeless fugitive, had reappeared with an army at Phanagoria on the Bosphorus to inquire of his son Machares about a wreath which he had sent to Lucullus, soliciting to be received among the number of the allies of Rome. Machares knew the implacable temper of his father, and sought to escape, but was surrounded and slain.

Reverse of a Coin of Aretas.<sup>4</sup>

Mithridates thus found himself again in possession of a kingdom; neither age nor reverses had crushed his lofty

<sup>1</sup> Josephus says, in fact (*Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 8), that Pompey left to Scaurus the government of Lower Syria as far as the Euphrates and the Egyptian frontier.

<sup>2</sup> M. SCAVR. AED CVR EX SC REX ARETAS. A camel and Aretas kneeling, presenting an olive branch. (See p. 830, n. 1.) On the reverse, P. HYPSSAE AED. CVR. C. HYPSSAE COS. PREIVE (Preivernum) CAPTV. Figure in a quadriga; behind, a scorpion. Silver coin of the Æmilian family.

<sup>3</sup> Laurelled head, with the Nabathæan legend, *Haratat the king, loving his people*. A silver obolus; this piece in copper was current as a half drachme. (Note by M. de Sauley.)

<sup>4</sup> Two cornucopiæ and Nabathæan legend. Reverse of a bronze coin of Aretas (*Haratat*) and his wife, *Sequailat*.

ambition. The Roman fleet barred him from the sea; Asia was subject to them. One route, however, remained open to him; all the way to Thrace the nations knew his name and his standards; he proposed to march through this region; at his voice they would rise in arms up the valley of the Danube as far as Gaul, whose warlike inhabitants would swell his ranks; thence from the Alps he might precipitate upon Rome a torrent of barbarians. But his plans became known; his soldiers and officers recoiled from such fatigues and dangers. One of them, Castor, set the example of revolt by seizing upon Phanagoria. Even his son, Pharnaces, conspired against him. This the old king

Cistophorus Coin of Tralles.<sup>1</sup>Cimmerian Bosphorus: Laurel Wreath of Gold.<sup>2</sup>

pardoned; but soon the defection became general. Mithridates proposed to march against the rebels, but his very escort abandoned him. He returned into his palace, and from its walls he saw his son proclaimed king. He then took poison; but in vain, for the potion had no effect upon him; he essayed to kill himself with his sword, but his hand failed him. A Gaul finally rendered him this last service (63). He was at the time of his death

<sup>1</sup> This coin of T. Ampius Balbus was struck at Tralles after the victory of Pompey over Mithridates. (Cf. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 78, fig. 14.)

<sup>2</sup> This wreath, of magnificent workmanship, is represented in the *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. v. No. 3.

sixty-eight years of age, and for a half century had occupied that historic stage whence he departed in such tragic fashion. We may say with Racine:<sup>1</sup> "His defeats alone made nearly all the military fame of three of the greatest generals of the Republic, Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey."

Massive Gold Ring.<sup>2</sup>

Pompey was before the walls of Jericho when news came to him that the greatest of Rome's enemies, after the Carthaginian hero, had, like Hannibal and Philopœmen, perished by treason. As soon as Jerusalem was taken he returned into Pontus to Amisus, where Pharnaces, with a last and shameful act of treason, sent to him, with magnificent presents, the body of Mithridates clothed in rich attire after the fashion of the Bosphorus. The body was much disfigured, but could be recognized by the many scars which covered the face. The Roman caused him to be honourably interred at Sinope, in the tomb of his ancestors.

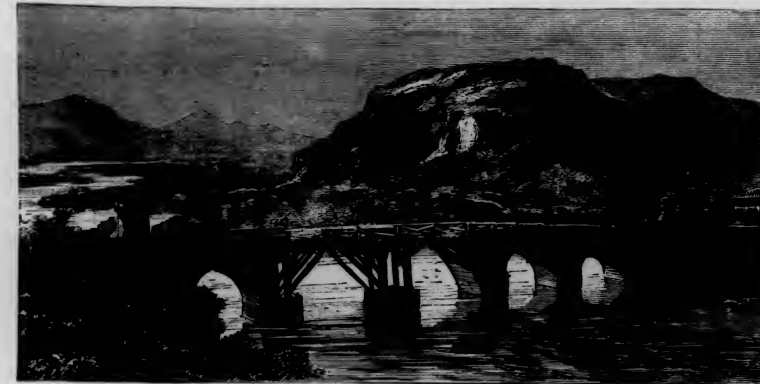
### III.—RE-ORGANIZATION OF ANTERIOR ASIA (65).

In Asia Minor the population dwells along the coasts. Upon the shore of the Euxine the cities are less crowded than on the Ægean Sea, but much of the land is no less fertile. Pompey relinquished the arid and mountainous interior of Paphlagonia to a prince, Attalus, who claimed to be of the ancient race of the Pylæmenidæ, the early kings of the country, and he included in Bithynia the fertile region sloping down to the Euxine, between the Halys and Sangarius, together with some portions of Pontus lying eastward of the former river. The great Greek city Amisus,

<sup>1</sup> Racine, preface to *Mithridates*.

<sup>2</sup> Ring with an intaglio in Syrian garnet. (*Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.*, pl. xv. No. 9.)

in the centre of this region, seems to have been garrisoned as the advanced post of the Roman sway. Although Pompey had not ventured to carry further eastward the domain of the Republic, he made it a point to preserve the memory of his victories over

The Sangarius, between Sabandja and Gheiveh.<sup>2</sup>

Mithridates by giving the new province the double name of Pontus and Bithynia.

He also organized the province of Cilicia, which was divided into six districts, namely, Cilicia of the plain,<sup>1</sup> and that of the mountains, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, to which were added the Phrygian territories of Laodicea, Apamea, Synnada, and later (58) the island of Cyprus. Tarsus was its capital, *caput Cilicie*. From Cicero's letters we know the cities where the governor held his assizes: Tarsus, for Cilicia of the plain; Iconium, for Lycaonia; Philomelium, for Isauria; Perga, for Pamphylia; Laodicea, whose jurisdiction

Coin of Apamea.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cilicia Campestris* and *C. Aspera*.

<sup>2</sup> Copied from the *Voyage de Constan. à Ephèse* by Comte A. de Moustier. (*Tour du monde*, vol. ix. No. 223.)

<sup>3</sup> The Meander and the Marsyas, rivers on the banks of which Apameia is built, recumbent beneath the Diana of Ephesus. The head of the goddess is surmounted by her temple and two hinds are at her side. The legend should be read thus: Πουέλιου Αὐρηλίου ΒΑΚΧΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΗγυρίων ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ, or, Publius Aurelius Bacchius, president of the feast of the Apameians; the Meander and the Marsyas. Coin of Apameia.

included twenty-five cities, Apamea fifteen, Synnada twenty-one.

The vast territory between Mount Amanus and the Arabian desert formed the new province of Syria; but it comprised too many peoples, dynasties, and cities who, at the fall of the Seleucidae and upon the defeat of Tigranes, believed themselves independent, for Rome to do more in this region than to assume rights of suzerainty without interfering with local liberties. She



Coin of Archelaus.<sup>1</sup>

left great privileges to these populations, whose affection towards her was indispensable on this remote frontier.

After the share of the sovereign people came that of the client-kings, in recompense for his parricide Pharnaces kept the Bosphorus, sharing with Castor of Phanagoria the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. The tetrarch of the Tolistoboi in Galatia, Dejotarus, had shown himself faithful and valiant, and Pompey gave him the luxuriant pasture-lands between the Halys and the Iris and in the neighbourhood of the rich cities of Pharnacia and Trapezus (Trebizond); he added to this the poor and mountainous region of Lesser Armenia, where Dejotarus would mount guard in the interest of Rome over the



Coin of Comana.<sup>2</sup>

frontier of Greater Armenia. Brogitarus, his son-in-law, received the fortress of Mithridatium with a territory extending along the joint boundary of Pontus and Galatia.<sup>2</sup> The son of the general at Chæroneia, Archelaus, was named high priest at Comana; we have already mentioned the share assigned to Attalus in Paphlagonia; Ariobarzanes had recovered Cappadocia, and Pompey gave him in addition Sophene, making

<sup>1</sup> Head of Archelaus. On the reverse, a club. Silver coin.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xii. 367.

<sup>3</sup> COL. IV. AVG. G. I. F. COMANORV. Woman standing in a temple. Reverse of a bronze coin of Caracalla, who had raised Comana in Cappadocia to the rank of a colony. This city contained the renowned temple of Anaitis, whom Strabo calls Enyo, and the Greeks confused with Bellona. She was a goddess honoured, like all the feminine divinities of Asia, with an orgiastic worship, wherein were shown "contrasts of purity and impurity, of warlike energy and unbridled lust." (See *Gazette archéol.*, 1876, p. 10.)

him master of the fords of the Euphrates. Gordyene, further eastward, remained in the possession of Tigranes. The Seleucid Antiochus held Commagene, a small province where the Romans had need of a docile vassal, because it joined Cappadocia to Syria and commanded the passage of the Euphrates. On the left bank of the great river the emir of Osroene, Abgar, had also accepted the position of client of Rome. All the avenues into Asia Minor by the Upper Euphrates were therefore well guarded.

These dynasties remained objects of suspicion even while they were rewarded, but it was not so with the cities. Rome loved municipal life, and to favour the Asiatic cities seemed to her general an act of good policy in this land of slavery. Pompey founded or re-peopled as many as thirty-nine cities, whose sites were so well chosen that some of them yet exist. He declared free the great city of Antioch on the Orontes, and near it Seleucia, which had repulsed all the attacks of Tigranes; on the coast of Palestine, Gaza; on the Euxine, Phanagoria; on the Ægean Sea, Mitylene. Cyzicus, which had so bravely resisted Mithridates, received an extensive territory and Pontic Heracleia, Sinope, and Amisus, notwithstanding their long resistance to the Romans, were raised from their ruins.

Assisted by the commissioners of the senate, Pompey prepared the rules of government (*formula*) for the new provinces, Pontus and Bithynia, Syria and Cilicia, and did it with so much ability that two centuries later these regulations were still in force. Never did conquerors obliterate by more benefits the memory of their victories, and we cannot sufficiently admire that genius for government which so well foresaw the needs of the subjects and the necessities of the empire. From the Euxine to the Red Sea all Anterior Asia had been reconstructed without submitting it to that uniformity of administration which provokes resistance by violating ancient customs and manners. Subject cities of every degree, vassal princes, free republics, all political forms were here, and balanced one another. The kingdom of Pontus, which had so long threatened Rome, had ceased to exist, and Armenia, fallen from the high rank she had for a moment held, was no longer anything save a barrier against the great Oriental empire of Parthia, which Rome was yet unable to reach.



Coming into Asia after Sylla and Lucullus, Pompey had no brilliant victories to win, but he organized the sway of Rome here; he fixed limits which the empire could never pass, and we willingly admit his boast, as he displayed his triumphal robe, that he had brought to an end the long travail of Roman greatness.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved stone (cornelian) of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1871, which has been called the triumph of Pompey, but, according to Chabouillet, is only an athlete's victory.



Conquering Athlete.<sup>1</sup>

END OF VOL. II.

## ALPHABETICAL INDEXES.

### I.—COINS AND GEMS.

	Page		Page
Abdera . . . . .	90	Ariarathes IV. . . . .	58
Abydus . . . . .	23	— V. . . . .	158
Acerræ . . . . .	559	— VI. . . . .	647
Aces, king of Thrace . . . . .	77	Ariobarzanes . . . . .	527
Achæan coin . . . . .	12	Aristion . . . . .	661
Achæan league . . . . .	168	Aristobulus, denarius representing . . . . .	830
Acilius Glabrio . . . . .	49	Arsaces IX. . . . .	581
Acrocorinthus . . . . .	138	Arverni . . . . .	487
Adana . . . . .	800	Ascalon . . . . .	827
Ægina . . . . .	17	Asculum . . . . .	555
— (drachme of) . . . . .	—	Athens . . . . .	14
Æmilius (Paulus) and Perseus . . . . .	113	— . . . . .	660
Æneia . . . . .	77	Athlete (conquering) . . . . .	838
Æsernia . . . . .	555		
Ætolian drachme . . . . .	4	Baleares . . . . .	154
— league . . . . .	129	Beaked galley (cameo) . . . . .	53
Alabanda . . . . .	100	Bocchus . . . . .	552
Alexander Jannæus . . . . .	827	— delivering Jugurtha to Sylla . . . . .	565
Alexandria Troas . . . . .	61	Boeotia . . . . .	88
Aluntium . . . . .	620	Bonus Eventus . . . . .	729
Amisus . . . . .	642	Bovianum . . . . .	574
Annius and Tarquitius his questor . . . . .	749	Bustuaris . . . . .	731
Annona, the . . . . .	783	Byzantine . . . . .	18
Antibes . . . . .	486		
Antigonos . . . . .	16	Calagurris (Calahorra) . . . . .	739
Antiochus II. Theos . . . . .	211	Campanian (silver) . . . . .	2
— III. (tetrastater of) . . . . .	29	Carbo . . . . .	443
— IV. . . . .	87	Carteia . . . . .	158
— — . . . . .	125	Carthaginian coin from Sicily . . . . .	148
— V. Eupator . . . . .	159	Carystus . . . . .	552
— XIII. (the Asiatic) . . . . .	827	— didrachme of . . . . .	33
Apamea . . . . .	835	Cassius Longinus . . . . .	368
Apellicon . . . . .	660	Cato . . . . .	343
Aquilius (Manius) . . . . .	513	Centuripæ . . . . .	616
Archelaus . . . . .	836	Chalcis . . . . .	29
Aretas . . . . .	832	Chance . . . . .	213
— (reverse of a coin of) . . . . .	832	Chios . . . . .	53
Argæus (mount) . . . . .	805	— . . . . .	309
Argive didrachme . . . . .	15	Cinna . . . . .	601

	Page		Page
Cirta	458	<i>Halicarnassus</i>	19
Cisalpine	168	—	611
Clazomenæ	60	Heracleia in Bithynia	811
Onidus	793	Heracleia in Macedon	30
Colchis	642	Heracleia Pontica	552
Colophon	60	Hercules Musagetes	62
—	793	Hero on horseback	40
Comana	804	Himera	705
—	836	Horseman with Macedonian hat.	64
<i>Congiarium</i>	314	Iasus	23
Corcyra	188	Iconium	797
Corinthian didrachme	15	Iguvium, <i>as of</i>	549
Cornelia (cameo)	399	Ilercavonia	760
Cos	807	Ilerda (Lerida)	753
Cotys	84	Illyria	168
Cydonia	797	Insignia of the quaestor	181
Cyme	60	—	182
Cyrenaica	639	Ionia	198
Cyrene	451	— (Magnesian)	198
Cyzicus	633	Isaura	796
Dejotarus	812	Italica	155
Delphi	687	—	760
— (priest at)	211	Juno, diademed, with the <i>Aegis</i> of	
Demetrius Poliorcetes	211	Minerva (cameo)	435
— I. Soter	153	Jupiter Capitolinus	530
— I. —	159	Lamia	46
Dioscuri on horseback	258	Lampsacus	612
Dyrrachium	133	Larinum	700
Eagles supporting a wreath	771	Lepidus	7
Elephant and his driver	468	—	72
Elis	135	Leptis	451
Emporiæ (drachme of)	150	Lesbos	123
Ephesus	53	Lucania	556
Epidaureus	114	Lucullus triumphant	822
Epiphania	800	Lycurgus	16
Epirus	130	Lysimachia	42
—	168	Macedon	116
Eretria	33	— (second)	168
Erythræ	61	Mallos	207
Eubœa	46	Manlius L.	753
Eumenes IV.	47	Maroneia	30
Fæsulæ	565	—	76
<i>Fides</i>	412	Massiliot	484
Flaccus (Valerius)	713	Megalopolis	80
Flamininus Titus Quinctius	31	Metapontum	778
Fonteia (the <i>gens</i> )	625	Metellus	135
Fulvius	439	Methymna	159
Gnossus	798	Miletus	553
—	798	Mithridates VI. (Eupator)	554
Gomphi	32	Mithridates the Great	641
Gortyn	798	Motulus	555
Halæsa	615	Mitylene	655

	Page		Page
Nabathæan	830	Rhegium	779
Neptune	167	Rhodes	126
Nicomedes II. of Bithynia	647	—	787
— III.	554	—	807
Nuceria	556	Ring (massive gold)	834
Numidian	452	Rome personified (cameo)	74
—	453	Sabellian bull goring the Roman wolf	550
— horse	452	Saguntum	760
— king or prince	139	Saturninus Lucius Apuleius	520
Oath of the eight nations	550	<i>Scarabæi</i> (Phœnician)	345
Opimius	435	Scaurus	832
Opus	22	Seleucus IV.	86
Orchomenus	668	Senate personified	340
Oresti	36	Serapis and Isis	245
Osca	756	Sertorius (the hind of)	755
Panticapæum (golden coin of)	388	Servilius (triumphal coin of)	795
Parisades	643	Sicyon	114
Patara	796	Sinope	812
Peace	201	Smyrna	18
Pella	111	Socrates	212
Perga	612	Soli	800
Pergamus	168	Sylla	478
—	196	— (dream of)	714
— (cistophorus) didrachme of	4	—	587
Perseus	85	Tarragona	150
Petelia	780	Tectosagi	487
Phalana	99	Tenedos	611
Phanagoria	388	Terence	265
Pharnaces I.	82	Termessus	57
Pheræ, drachme of	35	—	58
Philip V. of Macedon	83	Thasos	39
Philippopolis	78	— (didrachme of)	23
Philippus	532	Thessaly	168
Phocæa	335	Tigranes, king of Armenia	816
Phraates III.	819	Tingis (Punic money of)	750
Phrygia	162	Tralles (cistophorus of)	833
Pompeius Rufus	602	Trebizond	642
Pompey	734	Trocmi	58
Populonia	689	Tuder	688
Porcius Lecca	287	Valencia	758
Præneste (pediment of the temple at)	175	Venusia	543
Prusias I.	19	— ( <i>as of</i> )	544
— II.	86	Vessel (merchant)	371
Ptolemais	827	Vesta and her temple	585
Ptolemy Apion	482	Volaterræ (a <i>sextans</i> of)	689
— IV. Philopater (222–205)	4	Voting scene	369
— V. Epiphanes (205–181)	7	Warriors joining their swords	27
— VI. Philometor	125		
— VI. —	160		

## II.—MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

	Page		Page
Enaria ( <i>Ischia</i> ), island of . . . . .	595	Borghese vase . . . . .	120
Esculapius (altar of) . . . . .	114	— — (details of the) . . . . .	119
Agricultural implements . . . . .	290	Bosphorus (Cimmerian), laurel-wreath of gold . . . . .	833
Agrirentum (sole approach to the fortress Cocalus on the summit of Agrirentum) . . . . .	394	Brazen bull . . . . .	504
Alexander the Great (bust of) . . . . .	637	Bronze lamp found at Stabie . . . . .	572
Amazon (Scythian) . . . . .	826	Buffoon or jester . . . . .	307
Amphore . . . . .	422	Cadmeia and the plains of Thebes . . . . .	331
Anio (sources of the) . . . . .	361	Calculator . . . . .	311
Anubis . . . . .	268	Capitol (pediment of the) . . . . .	523
Apiarium (bee-hive) . . . . .	305	— (second temple of the) . . . . .	725
Apochori (plain of, at the foot of Mount Tomarus) . . . . .	9	Captive province . . . . .	479
Apollo . . . . .	254	Car bearing captives . . . . .	122
— (altar of) . . . . .	89	— — prisoners . . . . .	121
— (figurine of) . . . . .	686	Carpenters . . . . .	310
Aquæ Sextiæ (battlefield of) . . . . .	490	Carthage (territory of, map) . . . . .	145
Aqueduct on the principle of the Siphon at Patara . . . . .	653	Castellum (fortified post) . . . . .	739
Argæus (mount) . . . . .	806	Castri (Delphi), plateau of, and Mount Parnassus . . . . .	91
Argentarius (tomb of an) . . . . .	430	Catana ancient aqueduct at . . . . .	179
Argentarius (mons) . . . . .	746	Census the (sacrifices) . . . . .	295
Arpinum . . . . .	447	Census the (registering) . . . . .	295
Ascoli (Asculum) . . . . .	569	Centuripæ (remains of ancient baths near) . . . . .	616
— (sling-bullets found at) . . . . .	570	Centurion . . . . .	624
— — — — — . . . . .	571	Ceres of the Vatican . . . . .	623
Aspendus in Pamphylia (theatre at, exterior) . . . . .	612	Chæronea . . . . .	665
— — — — — (interior) . . . . .	613	Chalcis and Euripus (map) . . . . .	115
Ass (bronze) . . . . .	598	Charioteer standing in a <i>quadriga</i> . . . . .	324
Athens (the Long Walls of) . . . . .	658	Chariot-race . . . . .	325
Athlete with the <i>strigillum</i> . . . . .	208	Chariot with four horses <i>quadriga</i> . . . . .	323
Athletes (Roman) . . . . .	355	Chastity (the goddess) . . . . .	262
Aventine hill and remains of the <i>ponte Rotto</i> . . . . .	438	Chelves (ruins of the aqueduct at, near Saguntum) . . . . .	764
Bacchanals (fragment of <i>senatus-consultum</i> of the) . . . . .	251	Chios (view of the island and harbour of) . . . . .	307
Bacchus . . . . .	252	Cicero . . . . .	788
— in India . . . . .	506	Circus (the games of the) . . . . .	279
— Indian (called Sardanapalus) . . . . .	652	Cirta (Constantine, the rocks) . . . . .	459
Baiæ (temple of Diana at) . . . . .	583	— (the natural bridge) . . . . .	465
Balearic Islands (map) . . . . .	154	Client . . . . .	313
Banquet . . . . .	261	Chulilla (the waterfall of, on the Turia) . . . . .	763
Battering-ram (used by hand) . . . . .	659	Collar and decorations worn by a centurion . . . . .	470
Bird-catcher . . . . .	679	Combatant (wounded) . . . . .	494
Bithynia (captive) . . . . .	808	Combatants . . . . .	535
Blacksmith . . . . .	310	Combat between genii and wild beasts . . . . .	631
Boar hunt . . . . .	280	Comedy (scene of a) . . . . .	265
<i>Bonus Eventus</i> . . . . .	728	Conclamatio over the dead . . . . .	723
Book ( <i>volumen</i> ) . . . . .	377	Concord . . . . .	585
		Cora (bridge at) . . . . .	755

	Page		Page
Corinth (ruins of the temple of) . . . . .	134	Frieze (Greek) brought to Rome . . . . .	349
Cornelii (Scipios), ruins of the tomb of the, upon the Appian Way . . . . .	357	Fullers (workshop of) . . . . .	372
Cornelius (Lucius) . . . . .	560	— — — — — . . . . .	373
Corpse upon a cart . . . . .	436	Funereal couch . . . . .	419
Cow-herd . . . . .	403	— fillet of an inhabitant of Panticapæum . . . . .	643
Crete (view of Khamia) . . . . .	809	— pile . . . . .	726
Cuirass ornamented with <i>phalera</i> . . . . .	470	— scene . . . . .	81
Cumæ . . . . .	722	Gaëta . . . . .	593
Cup (silver) . . . . .	226	Galatea (Hassan-Ochlan) . . . . .	813
— — — — — . . . . .	377	Galatian (dying) . . . . .	59
Cybele . . . . .	246	— — — — — . . . . .	667
Cyprus . . . . .	160	Gallic prisoner . . . . .	72
— (turreted head from) . . . . .	671	— — and trophy . . . . .	73
Cyrenaica (terra-cotta figurine of) . . . . .	528	Gardens (viridarium) . . . . .	695
— (Vase from) . . . . .	161	Gaul (wounded) falling from his horse . . . . .	71
Cyzicus (remains of walls) . . . . .	811	— — — — — killing himself . . . . .	163
Dainties . . . . .	366	Gibraltar (bay of, map) . . . . .	156
— — — — — . . . . .	367	Gladiator . . . . .	324
Delphi (sculpture from) . . . . .	659	— (the so-called Dresden) . . . . .	498
Demeter (head of, found at Apollonia) . . . . .	33	— — (Thracian) . . . . .	389
Diana (temple of) at Baiæ . . . . .	583	Gladiators (combat of) . . . . .	326
— (temple at Evora) . . . . .	187	— — — — — . . . . .	327
— (the combatant) . . . . .	621	— — helmets . . . . .	772
Distribution (gratuitous) to the people . . . . .	426	Goat-herd . . . . .	301
Domitius (inscription of) . . . . .	488	Gortyn (bas-relief) . . . . .	799
Drinking scene . . . . .	352		
Dyrrachium (bas-relief of), Dalmatian warriors or gladiators . . . . .	676	Health (ruins of the temple of, at Albani) . . . . .	253
Elcha (the grove of palm-trees at) . . . . .	761	Herald (Roman) . . . . .	173
Entremont (monument at) . . . . .	485	Hercules . . . . .	696
Ephesus (ruins of the Gymnasium) . . . . .	654	— struggle with Antæus . . . . .	750
Epicurus . . . . .	215	— with his club . . . . .	442
Eros (the) of the Vatican . . . . .	620	Hero called the fighting gladiator . . . . .	297
Eryx (Mt.) and remains of the temple of Venus . . . . .	617	Himera (Termini), ruins of . . . . .	706
Evora (temple of Diana at) . . . . .	187	Histrion . . . . .	471
Euripides . . . . .	207	Horseman (Roman) . . . . .	424
Eyerdur (iron gates across the lake) . . . . .	650	Huckle-bones (women playing with) . . . . .	444
Farm (a) . . . . .	699	Hygieia . . . . .	362
Farnese bull (the) . . . . .	209	— and Esculapius . . . . .	365
Faunus with the child, or Silenus and Bacchus . . . . .	283	Hyrcanus (John), ruins of the palace of . . . . .	829
Ferentinum . . . . .	539	Iasus . . . . .	24
Fettered race (the) . . . . .	509	Iron gates across the lake Eyerdur . . . . .	650
Flamininus Titus Quinctius . . . . .	76	Isis and Serapis (worship of) . . . . .	244
Fortune (the goddess) . . . . .	537	Isocrates . . . . .	273
— — — — — . . . . .	718	Italica (mosaic from) . . . . .	155
Forum (bas-relief), representing 1, orator on the rostra; 2, a judge sitting in court . . . . .	427	Ixion upon the wheel . . . . .	270
— (Roman, aspect of the in 1653) . . . . .	405	Jerusalem (golden gate of the temple at) . . . . .	831
		Jester . . . . .	695
		Jewels . . . . .	363
		— found at Koul-Oba . . . . .	645
		— of Cimmerian Bosphorus . . . . .	804
		Jugurthine war (map) . . . . .	457



	Page		Page
Juno	434	Ocriculum (mosaic from details of a section)	567
— Matuta (restoration of the temple of)	221	Olive gathering	303
Jupiter	742	— wreath in gold	726
— (altar of)	78	Olympus (mt.) and the defile of Tempe (map)	101
Larissa (present condition)	98	Orator (the)	233
— (votive column found at)	197	Orchomenus (ruins of)	669
Lerida (view of)	754	Ornaments found at Koul-Oba	
Lictor (bas-relief of the Vatican)	533	Ostia (mosaic at)	591
Lictors	174	Ostian road (Roman bridge over the)	582
Locri (ruins of)	538		
Lucullus	818	Penates	241
Marines fighting on shipboard	573	Personification of cities (bas-relief in the Louvre)	709
Marius (Caius)	446	Petra (tomb), called that of	828
—	507	Phoenician car	147
— (so-called trophies of)	501	Phrygian archer	497
Marriage (Roman)	292	Pirate vessel (Greek)	782
Mars	379	Pisos (tomb of the)	693
— and Venus	491	Platea (view of the)	663
Matron	525	Plato	213
Matuta or Leucothea (the dawn)	346	Pompey	704
Mediterranean fish	242	Port or harbour	801
Megalithic remains; dolmens of Sigus	224	Præneste (chest of)	684
Melpomene	450	— (details on the chest of)	685
Menander	267	— (wall of)	682
Mendicant	260	Proserpine's (lake), near Enna	395
Mercury (temple of, upon the Gulf of Naples)	400	Providence	238
Messina and Tauromenium (road between)	823	Psyche (or Veus) of Capua	563
Metelli (tomb, said to be of the)	396	Pydna (environs of, map)	109
Metrodorus	415	— (funeral couch in marble found in a tomb at)	110
Miletus (marble lion found at)	216		
Milveta of Herculaneum	230	Reader	376
— of Tivoli	551	Roma dea	638
Minturnæ	740	Roman eagle	496
Misenum (ruins at)	597	Rome deified	382
Mitylene (view of)	440	— mistress of the world	284
Modius	127		
Monaco	517	Sacrifice	290
Musicians	165	—	328
	281	Sailing vessel	599
Naples: Arcade of the aqueduct called Ponti Rossi	541	Saint-Bertrand de Comminges ( <i>Lugdunum Convenarum</i> )	767
Negro	387	Salerno (gulf of, from the north)	557
Nola (vase from)	575	Samothrace (the victory of)	112
Nuceria (view of)	777	Sandal (patrician, <i>calceus patricius</i> )	410
Numidia (view of the mountains of), the gorges of the Chiffa	455	Sandals	411
Numidian desert (view of the), environs of Biskra	475	Sangarius (the), between Sabandja and Gheiveh	835
— palm-trees (group of)	453	Sarcophagus of Bacchantes	248
Nymphæum of Liria	759	— from Patrae	189
		— representing a combat	132
Ocriculum (mosaic from)	566	Saturn (temple of)	519

	Page		Page
Satyr	243	Thock-Gheuze (bridge of, upon the Halys)	815
Scenic representation	356	Tiber (mouth of the)	603
Sculptor	239	Tibur (cascades of Tivoli)	635
Scythian warrior armed with the <i>acinaces</i>	651	Tomb	402
Segesta (temple of)	511	— of a freedman of Pompeius	390
Shepherd	404	— of an <i>Argentarius</i>	430
—	774	— said to be of Marius, near lake Fusaro	608
Shepherdess and her flock	302	— of the Pisos	693
Ship equipped	184	Tombs of the kings of Pontus	648
— of war	774	Travellers	577
Shoemakers	311	Trumpeter (Roman)	662
Sisyphus	270	Tullianum (the)	480
Slave taking refuge upon an altar	510	Tusculum	342
— under the scourge	392		
— (young)	421	Vase (silver)	347
Smyrna	629	Veiled pontiff clothed in a long robe	199
— (aqueduct near)	522	Veles (a)	666
Soldier armed with a sling	662	Venus Anadyomene	269
— (Roman)	416	— of Onidus	348
—	469	— of the Esquiline	588
Sorceress	773	— found at Nuceria	508
Spoletto (aqueduct of)	547	— ( <i>Victric</i> )	719
— (temple of Clitumnus)	701	Verona (porta de' Borsari at)	503
Stabia (bronze lamp found at)	572	Vessels laden with plunder and troops	792
Stonecutters	310	— (swift), <i>celes</i>	757
Sun-dial or Gnomon	282	— (transport)	203
Sun (the) personified	79	Vestal	727
Suppliants (procession of)	312	— of the Florentine Museum	409
Sword found at Pompeii	441	Victory (the) of Samothrace	112
Sylla	477	Victory (Pompeian painting)	609
Syracuse (temple of Minerva transformed into a church)	386	Villa on the seashore	695
— (quarries of), used as prisons	172	Volaterræ (Etruscan walls of)	687
— (ruins at)	344	Voting upon the <i>pons suffragiorum</i>	406
		Votive column of the Dioscuri found at Larissa	197
Tagus (gorge of the)	67		
Tanagra (figurine of), woman playing with huckle-bones	675	Warrior, found near Tarentum	432
— (terra-cotta figurine from)	664	— (Greek)	673
Tangier ( <i>Tingis</i> ), view of	751	Warriors (Roman)	781
Tantalus	270	Weaver	311
Tarentum (warrior found at)	432	Whip (the) of the <i>lorarius</i>	391
Terracina	596	Wine cart	351
<i>Testudo</i> (a)	106	Wine dealer's sign	605
Thalia	266	Woman weighing out wool	310
Thasos	39	Wreath of gold	333
Thermopylae	51		

III.—COLOURED MAPS AND PLATES.<sup>1</sup>

1. Illyria, Greece, Macedon, etc.—The Macedonian wars—Wars against Antiochus and the Galatians	8
2. Territory of the Republic about 130 B.C.	164
3. South-Eastern Gaul, for the creation of the province of Narbo and the wars of the Cimbri	484
4. Italy—The Social war—The Civil war	540
5. Wars against Mithridates	798
1. Macedonian tomb, found at Pydna	110
2. Corinthian vases	136
3. The triumph of Amphitrite (Pompeian picture)	170
4. Dancing girls (Pompeian picture)	220
5. Bronze bed (and detail) found at Pompeii	224
6. Decoration of a villa (Pompeian picture)	326
7. Vases, glass, and earthenware	622
8. Cup of Mithridates or the Ptolemies	644
9. Hercules subdued by Omphale	720
10. Jupiter crowned by Victory	726

<sup>1</sup> Opposite the pages indicated.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## VOLUME II.

## FIFTH PERIOD.

## CONQUEST OF THE WORLD (201–133).

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ABOUT THE YEAR 200 B.C.

I. Italy, Africa, Syria, Egypt	Page 1
II. Greece	8
III. Macedon	22

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200–197).

I. First operations of Rome in Greece	28
II. Proclamation of the liberty of Greece	38

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## WAR AGAINST THE KING OF SYRIA AND THE GALATIANS (192–188).

I. Preliminaries of the War against Antiochus	41
II. Antiochus in Greece; battle of Thermopylae (192–1)	45
III. Battle of Magnesia (190); defeat of the Galatians (189)	50

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## SECOND CONQUEST OF SPAIN: SUBMISSION OF CISALPINE GAUL.

I. Operations in Spain (197–178)	65
II. Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul; Italy closed against the Barbarians (200–163)	70

## CHAPTER XXX.

## THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171–168).

I. Last years of Philip; death of Philopœmen and of Hannibal	75
II. Perseus	84

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## REDUCTION OF MACEDON INTO A PROVINCE; SUBMISSION OF GREECE.

I. Alarm of the Princes and States after Pydna . . . . .	124
II. Reduction of Macedon into a province (146) . . . . .	131
III. Battle of Leucopetra; destruction of Corinth (146) . . . . .	133

## CHAPTER XXXII.

## REDUCTION OF CARTHAGINIAN AFRICA INTO A PROVINCE.

I. Carthage, Masinissa, and Rome . . . . .	139
II. Third Punic war (149-146) . . . . .	141

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

## SUBMISSION OF SPAIN AND OF PERGAMEAN ASIA.

I. Submission of Spain (178-133) . . . . .	149
II. Reduction of Pergamean Asia into a province (133-129) . . . . .	158

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN PROVINCES.

I. Extent of the territory of the Republic about 130 B.C. . . . .	163
II. The province . . . . .	169
III. The governor . . . . .	173
IV. The legates and the quaestors . . . . .	178
V. Obligations of the provincials . . . . .	182
I. Different classes of provincial cities . . . . .	185
VII. Provincial assemblies . . . . .	194

## SIXTH PERIOD.

## THE GRACCHI, MARIUS AND SYLLA (133-79); EFFORTS AT REFORM.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

## HELLENISM AT ROME.

I. Moral condition of Greece in the second century B.C. . . . .	202
II. Greek manners and Oriental luxury in Rome . . . . .	219
III. Decline of national religion at Rome . . . . .	232
IV. Increasing popularity of Oriental religions . . . . .	240
V. Influence of Greece upon Roman literature . . . . .	257

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## CHANGES IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

I. Apparent stability of the constitution . . . . .	285
II. New social conditions . . . . .	291
III. Political changes . . . . .	316

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## STRIFE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW.

I. The reaction; Cato . . . . .	341
II. Cato opposed to the Scipios . . . . .	350
III. The censorship of Cato . . . . .	359
IV. Scipio Æmilianus . . . . .	374

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## THE GRACCHI.

I. First revolt of the slaves . . . . .	383
II. Tiberius Gracchus . . . . .	396
III. Scipio Æmilianus . . . . .	414
IV. Caius Gracchus . . . . .	420

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## THE ARISTOCRATIC REACTION; EARLY CAREER OF MARIUS; JUGURTHA (121-106).

I. Aristocratic reaction . . . . .	442
II. Early career of Marius . . . . .	445
III. Jugurtha . . . . .	449
IV. The command of Marius in Numidia (107-105) . . . . .	472

## CHAPTER XL.

## THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES (113-101).

I. Creation of a Roman province in Gaul . . . . .	483
II. The Cimbri in Gaul; battle of Aix (102) . . . . .	490
III. The Cimbri in Italy; battle of Vercellæ (101) . . . . .	502

## CHAPTER XLI.

## SECOND REVOLT OF THE SLAVES, AND NEW DISTURBANCES IN ROME (103-91).

I. Insurrection of the slaves in Italy and Sicily (103-99) . . . . .	508
II. The triumvirate of Marius, Glaucia, and Saturninus (100) . . . . .	514
III. Tribuneship of Livius Drusus (91) . . . . .	527

## CHAPTER XLII.

## THE SOCIAL WAR.

I. Condition of the Italians . . . . .	536
II. First year of the Social war . . . . .	550
III. Second and third years of the Social war (89-83) . . . . .	569
IV. Citizenship given to the Italians . . . . .	576

## CHAPTER XLIII.

## RIVALRY OF MARIUS AND SYLLA.

I. The dispute for the command in the war against Mithridates . . . . .	580
II. Flight and return of Marius; proscriptions; his seventh consulship (87-86) . . . . .	591
VOL. II. . . . .	III



## CHAPTER XLIV.

## MISERABLE CONDITION OF THE PROVINCES.

I. A provincial governor . . . . .	610
II. Exactions in the provinces; the publicans; usury . . . . .	624
III. Powerlessness of the law to protect the provincials . . . . .	634

## CHAPTER XLV.

## INSURRECTION OF THE PROVINCES; MITHRIDATES.

I. Mithridates . . . . .	639
II. Conquest of Asia Minor by Mithridates (88); invasion of Greece (87) . . . . .	651
III. Siege of Athens; battles of Chæronea and Orchomenus (87-85) . . . . .	657

## CHAPTER XLVI.

## THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

I. First year of the Civil war (83) . . . . .	674
II. Second year of the Civil war (82) . . . . .	680

## CHAPTER XLVII.

## DICTATORSHIP OF SYLLA (FROM NOVEMBER, 82, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 79).

I. Proscriptions . . . . .	690
II. Sylla's reforms . . . . .	707
III. Abdication and death of Sylla . . . . .	720

## SEVENTH PERIOD.

## THE TRIUMVIRS AND THE REVOLUTION (79-30).

## CHAPTER XLVIII.

## POMPEY, LEPIDUS, AND SERTORIUS (79-70).

I. Recapitulation of the preceding period . . . . .	732
II. Pompey . . . . .	733
III. Lepidus; new civil war (78-77) . . . . .	737
IV. Sertorius; continuation of the Civil war (80-73) . . . . .	747

## CHAPTER XLIX.

## SPARTACUS; RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POWER OF THE TRIBUNES; WAR WITH THE PIRATES.

I. The gladiators (73-71) . . . . .	772
II. Re-establishment of the power of the tribunes (70) . . . . .	781
III. War with the pirates . . . . .	791

27

## CHAPTER L.

## LAST WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

I. Victories of Lucullus over the kings of Pontus and Armenia (74-66) . . . . .	804
II. Pompey succeeds Lucullus in command of the army of Asia (66) . . . . .	821
III. Re-organization of Anterior Asia (65) . . . . .	834

## ALPHABETICAL TABLES.

I. Coins and gems . . . . .	839
II. Maps and engravings (marbles, bronzes, statues, vases, and jewels) . . . . .	842
III. Coloured maps and plates . . . . .	846
Table of contents of second volume . . . . .	847

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